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COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX.

FROM JANUARY TO JUNE,

1806.

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LIST OF HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AS IT STOOD IN JUNE, 1806.

Cabinet Ministers.

Earl Fitzwilliam	President of the council.
Lord Erskine	Lord high chancellor.
Viscount Sidmouth	Lord privy seal.
Lord Grenville	First lord of the treasury, (prime minister).
Lord Howick (late Mr. Grey)	First lord of the admiralty.
Earl of Moira	Master general of the ordnance.
Earl Spencer	Secretary of state for the home department.
Right hon. Charles James Fox	Secretary of state for foreign affairs.
Right hon. William Windham	Secretary of state for the department of war and the colonies.
Lord Ellenborough	Lord chief justice of the court of King's bench.
Lord Henry Petty	Chancellor and under treasurer of the exchequer.

Not of the Cabinet.

Lord Minto	President of the board of controul for the affairs of India.
Earl of Derby	Chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster.
Right hon. Richard Fitzpatrick	Secretary at war.
Right hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan	Treasurer of the navy.
Earl Temple	Joint paymaster general.
Lord John Townshend	
Earl of Buckinghamshire	Joint postmaster general.
Earl of Carysfort	
Right hon. Nicholas Vansittart	Secretaries of the treasury.
John King, esq.	
Sir William Grant	Master of the rolls.
Sir Arthur Pigott	Attorney general.
Sir Samuel Romilly	Solicitor general.

PERSONS OF THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Bedford	Lord lieutenant.
Right hon. George Ponsonby	Lord high chancellor.
Right hon. William Elliot	Chief secretary.
Right hon. John Newport	Chancellor of the exchequer.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX. No. 1.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1806. [PRICE 1OD.

"Will ye NOW hear, O foolish people, which have eyes, and see not; which have ears, and hear not?"—JER. chap. V. v. 21.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Will nothing, oh, people of England, short of destruction itself, convince you that you are on the road to destruction? Will you, in spite of the awful admonition of events, in spite of experimental conviction, in spite of truths that you acknowledge, still listen to the falsehoods of your deceivers? When we look back upon the year that has just past over our heads; when we recal to mind the occurrences of the winter and the spring; when we think of the conduct of Lord Melville and of the efforts made in his behalf by those who are still entrusted with the management of our affairs; when we recur to the enormous grants in pensions and in sinecure places, during last year, and reflect upon the numerous and heavy taxes imposed upon us; when we recollect the boasts, the vaunting promises, of the ministers, and compare them with the events of the war: after such a retrospect, is it possible for us not to be impressed with the most serious apprehensions for the future? Can there be, in the whole nation, one sensible man, who does not perceive, that, unless some great change speedily takes place, this country must fall beneath the power of its enemy? Can there be one such man, who any longer entertains the hope of seeing that power resisted by our present councils and our present system; by those councils and by that system, coeval with which the power of France has been constantly increasing, her conquests pushing forward, first into Holland, across all those memorable barriers, which the courage of our ancestors and the wisdom of former statesmen had raised and maintained against her; next, to the banks of the Rhine, taking in, on that side, the countries and the fortresses that had ever been a formidable and an effectual check to her encroachments; next, across the Alps, that obstacle to her attempts upon Italy, and, continuing on to the Po and the Adige, connecting, finally, by a solemn act of sovereignty, the whole country to the dominions of France; and, lastly, by the operations of only one campaign, carrying her arms and her municipal authority, from the confines of Switzerland to those of Hungary, and extending her absolute sway, from the latter country, including its capital, westward to the Rhine, and from the Danube southward to the Mediterranean sea. With this map of the progress of French power before his eyes, and with his mind duly impressed with the persuasion, that the whole force of this mighty empire, fed by inexhaustible resources of every description, directed by those talents under which so many numerous armies have fallen, and waiting patiently for the hour of advantage; thus seeing and thus persuaded, what man, having any pretensions to understanding, and unbribed by his selfishness, will say, that there is hope of salvation for the country, under the present councils and system?——Blind-folded, and descending gradually, we arrive, without a sense of danger, at the bottom of a precipice, which, to have viewed from the top, would have terrified us from making the first step. If, just a century ago, in the princely and glorious reign of Queen Anne, when, (with an annual revenue of only *four millions*) England was the arbitress in the affairs of Europe; when, laying all petty considerations aside, she stood forward, upon the great principles of public law, to maintain the balanced power of Europe, and thereby to preserve her rising generation from the dangers attendant upon the aggrandizement of France; when her armies were, on the one side, fighting the battles of Austria in the fields of Spain, and when, on the other, they were, in conjunction with the Austrians, defeating, routing, the grand French army and taking their general, upon the very spot, which has just witnessed the surrender of the grand Austrian army at the summons of the French; when, so honourable, so generous, so just, were the views, so open and so wise was the conduct, and so great was the name of England, that, whether in political or military arrangements, councils and senates waited for the communication of her will; when at the Hague and at Vienna no great measure of state was adopted without the approbation of the English cabinet, no measure

of war without that of the English general: if, in the times which immediately succeeded this glorious epoch, men could have foreseen whereunto the funding and taxing system would finally lead; if they could have foreseen, that it would, at last, fall into the hands of a man, formed by nature for pushing it to its utmost bounds, and giving to it all its powers of sapping, of subverting, and of destroying; if they could have foreseen this, they, surely, would have recoiled with horror, and have hastily retracted their steps. This foresight they, unhappily, had not; and, their sons descended imperceptibly to the state in which they were found by Mr. Pitt. Since his time the descent has been rapid indeed! But, such is the nature of the system, and so sedulously has its means of giving ministerial power been attended to, that the reason and spirit of the nation, after now-and-then an ineffectual struggle, seem to have been finally subdued by it.——If, however, there remain the means of restoration; if the sentence that appears to be pronounced upon us be not irrevocable; if there be yet a possibility of our resisting that power which now aims at erasing the very name of England from the list of independent nations; if the time for exertion be not entirely passed, there is not a moment to be lost in improving the little that remains. Let no man hope, that, because Napoleon is now at the further end of Europe, he will never return; let no man hope, that, if he should be cut off, he will not find a successor. It is *France* that has resolved upon the conquest of England; and, if we are not willing to become the slaves of Frenchmen, we must instantly determine upon, and steadily pursue the means of frustrating that resolution. The continent of Europe is now at the feet of France. There is no reason to suppose that it will stir again for twenty years. This fatal war, into which the allies were precipitated by the councils of Mr. Pitt, has cut off the *chance* of any diversion on that side; and, every man has already concluded, that we shall, alone, have to maintain the contest with the conqueror of the continent.—— Amongst all the mischiefs of the present system, amongst all the causes that tend to our ruin and our subjugation, none is more efficient than the delusion practised upon the people by the influence of a hireling press. From the commencement of the war upon the continent to the present day, the people have never been able to form a correct opinion of the dangers that awaited them. Before the battles began, they were told, that three hundred thousand Austrians and two hundred thousand Russians were actually in the field; they were led to believe that the allies were victorious, they were anxiously waiting for the news of Buonaparté's overthrow, at the very moment that he was conquering the grand army of our friends; and, while the allied army was fleeing through Vienna and that of the Archduke was seeking shelter in the wilds of Croatia, they believed that the French were falling into a snare. They saw, indeed, our nearest and best ally fleeing in haste from his capital; they saw Napoleon in the palace of Maria Theresa; they saw the Emperor of Germany bending his course to find refuge beyond the confines of Germany itself; they saw his provinces, his kingdoms occupied, and their municipal governments organized by the French: yet, they were told to believe, and they did believe, that all was prosperous, and that the enemy was about to be cut off, though backed by army upon army from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Schwartz; and, at last, when the allies had been engaged, when they had been completely defeated, when their armies were half destroyed or captured, and when the two Emperors had bowed themselves down before Buonaparté; even then was this deluded nation induced to believe, that the allies had been completely victorious. The means of deception employed in the course of the campaign can here be spoken of only in general terms; but, those made use of in the last-mentioned instance demand remarks somewhat more in detail. The work of delusion had been theretofore left to the hirelings of the press; but, their falsehoods having so often been detected, the *government* itself interfered; and, on the 17th of December, began its operations by a publication, in the form of a bulletin, of accounts received at the offices. Where are we now to look for the grounds upon which those accounts were given? Where for that defeat of the French right wing, said to be mentioned in Sir Arthur Paget's dispatch? Where for the loss of 27,000 French, on the 2d of December, together with all their artillery? Where for the rejected armistice proposed by Napoleon? Where for those victories, which were gained by the allies on the 3d and 4th, and which were given with such detail, in the government bulletin of the 19th of December, that it seemed to savour of obstinacy not to believe the facts? Where are we now to look for the cause of the enthusiasm of joy at Berlin? Where for the glorious effects of the cheering presence and

animating example of the Emperor Alexander, who rode through the ranks of his army crying "victory or death," and who was answered by acclamations from his troops, that "they never would forsake their Emperor?" And, finally, where are we to look for the agreeable news, contained in the letter to BARON JACOBI, and, for the authenticity of which letter the SUN and COURIER newspapers have declared, that they had AUTHORITY to pledge themselves? And, what are we to think of a government capable of making such publications?——With a view of preventing detection, the partizans of the ministry have had recourse to accusations and abuse against all those, who have endeavoured to stem the torrent of delusion; accusations the most false and abuse the most foul. They have accused us of wishing for that which we feared; they have charged us with disaffection to our country and its cause; they have called us malcontents and traitors; and, because I gave it as my opinion, that even the glorious victory of Trafalgar would have no material effect with regard to the final result of the war, I was pointed out as an object for public detestation, and for the vengeance of the law.——During the whole of Mr. Pitt's administration, from his first scaling the walls of power to the present day, his partizans have *represented* as traitors all those who disapproved of his measures; but, it was not till of late, that they made use of the term. This term they have recently applied, not only to the public writers opposed to him, but also to those statesmen and legislators, who, from their disapprobation of his conduct and his schemes, are denominated the Opposition. In proportion as the measures of the ministry have been foolish, in that same proportion have been the endeavours to stifle inquiry: to bully, to browbeat, to frown out of countenance; to awe into silence; to terrify by the most cowardly and execrable means. And now, when the hirelings of the press stand at the bar of the public, detected and convicted of the most infamous falsehoods; even now, they have the audacity to repeat their calumnious accusations. "Let those," say they, "who, "from party motives, opposed us upon this "occasion, glory in their triumph, and "*exult in events*, which, however, disastrous to the world, may be considered by "them as confirming their presages and "their reasonings. Our personal disappointment, at the failure of our fond "hopes, is entirely merged in the larger and "more extended affliction we feel at the "unexampled calamity that has befallen "the world. But that our reasoning was, "at least, as just, and our conclusions as "probable, as those with which events have "coincided, is sufficiently evinced by the "*surprise* with which the confirmation of "the adverse intelligence was yesterday received; and, indeed, many *well-informed* "gentlemen, can even yet hardly bring "themselves to credit the accounts thus "officially published by the government of "France." And thus they adduce, as a proof of the soundness of their reasoning, the surprise which never would have existed had it not been for the promulgation of their falsehoods. They first, by their hireling means, deceive the people; and, when the deception is dissipated by events, they bring forward the opinions of the people, opinions arising from that deception, in justification of their conduct. But, it is their calumnies; their at once impudent and cowardly calumnies, that the nation is called upon to resent, and that it will resent, if it does not deserve all, and more than all, that the councils of the Pitts and Dundases have brought upon it. "If," say they, "we were sanguine in "hopes, or easy in belief, when victory was "said to have blessed the arms of our allies, "we have, at least, this consolation, that "the impulse that led us astray was *the* "*force of the love of our country*. Those "who were opposite to us in argument and "conclusion were as opposite to us in *hopes*, "in *wishes*, in *motives*, in *interest*. They "wished for *every thing* that could embarrass the government, and bring ministers "into disgrace, cost what it might to the "country and the world." Base vermin! This, then, is your last shift? Because we augured no good; because, judging from the character and talents of the man, and confirmed in our judgment by long and woeful experience, we anticipated nothing but danger and disgrace from a coalition formed, and a war commenced, at the instigation of Mr. Pitt; and, because, as that war advanced, we discredited the falsehoods, upon which you bade the people build their hopes of success; for this cause, and this alone, it is that you now accuse us of enmity to our country. To what a state, then, is the nation at last reduced? If we disapprove of the measures of a minister, and if those measures prove successful, we are to be regarded as repining at that success, though it may be essential to the safety of the country: if the measures are not successful, if they are followed by all the disasters that we foresee and foretell, then we are to be looked upon as exulting at their failure, though therefrom we may, apparently, date the destruction of

our independence. Here, therefore, is an end to all our liberties, as far as relates to the conduct and measures of the ministry of the day. To disapprove being a mark of disloyalty and disaffection, there is nothing left to us but to approve; and, let it be observed, that, as in principle, so in the practice, this doctrine applies to persons in parliament as well as to those without. Blessed state of freedom! Precious fruit of our "invaluable "constitution!" Irresistible stimulus to exertion, to fight and to shed one's blood! Heart-cheering signal for an on-set: "*death*, "or the *privilege of applauding Pitt!*"——If ever there was a time, when every thing, whereby men may be alienated from the government (by which I mean King and parliament and the courts of justice) should be carefully abstained from; if ever there was a time, when the people should see and hear nothing to make them doubt of the *reality* of their liberties, and when the experience of every hour should more and more confirm them in that attachment to these liberties, which alone will, when the day of trial comes, encourage them to act in a manner directly opposite to that of the people of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia; if ever there was such a time, that time now is. What, therefore, are we to think of those, whose constant endeavour it is, or, at least, whose efforts constantly tend, to make us believe, that, in reality, we have no liberties at all? That what we enjoy, we enjoy by mere sufferance from the minister? That, to disapprove of his measures is, to be taken for proof of enmity to our country? That, to have discredited falsehoods, nay, direct lies, issued from the offices in Downing Street, is, even after those lies are detected, to be considered as conclusive evidence of our exulting at the disasters, which those lies were intended to keep from our knowledge? And, finally, that, to crush us, to put us out of all political, and nearly out of all physical, existence, requires only that the minister say the word?——People of England! (for to you I now speak) Do *you* approve of the measures of Mr. Pitt? He has had the management of your affairs for twenty years; he has always been the absolute master of his measures; and, do *you*, I say, approve of them? Do you *approve* of a series of measures, in peace and in war, by which your country has been reduced to its present state? And, are *you* haters of your country? Are you, in addition to all your burdens and your mortifications, to be told that you are traitors? Are you, indeed, because you wish, as you naturally must, for such a change of councillors as would be likely to produce a change of councils, to incur the imputation of enmity to your country and your King?——In England, when the hour of conflict shall come, and come, in all human probability, it speedily will, there will not be found, supposing all hearts united, one man too many. For those, therefore, who would *divide* them, who would mark out as traitors all those who cannot keep silence and who will not applaud the measures of the minister, who reject all support of the country not given conjointly with a support of Mr. Pitt, what appellation can be too harsh, what punishment too severe? To accuse their opponents of a want of loyalty and patriotism is ever the last resource of a baffled ministry; and, sometimes it may succeed; but, in the times that are approaching it will not; for, the course of events, which, for the last seven years, has been steadily making on towards the point which it has now nearly reached, will be turned aside neither by court-intrigue, by rhetorical dexterity, nor by popular clamour. No tricks like those of the pensioned patriots, who, because the people of Middlesex elected Sir Francis Burdett, cried aloud against the revival of Jacobinism, and called for the speedy resuscitation of the Society against Republicans and Levellers, will now be of any avail, though of that Society it should be proposed to put the tithe-hating and pension-loving Mr. Huskisson at the head. We are, the mere hirelings excepted, all of one mind; thanks to Napoleon, in assuming the purple, we are, as to forms of government, all of one opinion, and that is, that, after all, our own is the best. To preserve it, and with it our liberties, *as handed down to us by our fathers*, we are ready to make every sacrifice that men can make conducive to such an end. But, shall we not be allowed to inquire, whether those sacrifices are likely to be of any avail? Shall we not be permitted to ask, in what hands our resources are to be placed? Shall we be forbidden to examine into the pretensions of those, and of that minister in particular, in whose behalf the hirelings of the press prefer an exclusive claim to the directing of those means, by which alone we can be saved? Ought we not to wish for, and have we not a right to expect, that, *now*, at any rate, our affairs should be committed to men of great statesman-like talents? And, supposing us to possess this right, shall we now, with the London Mayor, think Mr. Pitt "the man "on whom all eyes are fixed, as *the last* "*barrier between Europe and slavery*;" or, shall we, following the dictates of dear-

bought experience, be convinced, that, in his whole life, having wanted nothing in the way of opportunity, he has never given one single proof of possessing such talents, in any matters whether domestic or foreign? ——Let sophisters quibble and hypocrites dissemble as they may, still, in politics, as in religion, the tree will be known by its fruit; and, what is the fruit which this tree of twenty years standing has borne us, our taste, though shockingly corrupted, will easily tell. Various are the opinions of men upon several points as to measures and causes; but, as to effects, we are upon one point, and that the main one, all perfectly agreed; namely, that we are now arrived at the eve of a great crisis; that we are now engaged in a contest for our existence as an independent state; that it is now about to be determined, not whether England shall beat France, or France beat England, but, in the language of Lloyd's, whether Englishmen shall *remain as they are*, or become *the slaves of Frenchmen*. To this question, a question never before mooted, from the times of William the Conqueror to the present day, we have been brought during the administration of WILLIAM PITT; during the administration of that man, whom the London Mayor, to his throng of listening citizens, described as the last remaining barrier between Europe and slavery. If such a question had been put at the beginning of his twenty years administration; if, when, "the perfidious and impious levity of the "multitude" was hailing him as one descended immediately from heaven; if, when he took the reins of a yet powerful kingdom, under every circumstance of advantage, not forgetting that of the decreptitude of France; if, at that time, such a question had been put, what indignation, what disdain, would it not have excited? Let us not be told of his increase of imports and exports; against the gains of the cotton-spinning nobles and those of the nabobs, we could place the more than doubling of the parish paupers. But, we are not to hear of any thing under the name of national prosperity unconnected with our relative situation with regard to France. The first concern of a nation, that, before which all others ought to give way, and, compared with which, sink into nothingness, is, to preserve its independence; and, of course, the first duty of a minister is, so to conduct the affairs of a nation as to enable it to meet its enemies, or, at least, not to suffer it to sink in this respect after it comes into his hands. Answer us not, Lord Castlereagh, with your long list of ships and volunteer-battalions: we know well, that they are numerous enough; but, still, read as long as you will, the question, the ominous and disgraceful question returns: whether Englishmen shall *remain as they are*, or become the *slaves of Frenchmen*; a question, I repeat it, that never, since the days of the Norman; never, through all the vicissitudes of our country, was mooted till the administration of William Pitt. The last poor shift, is, that he has been minister in more difficult times than were ever before known. Difficult times! *He*, indeed, has *lately* said so; and has thrown the blame upon Providence, who, says he, "has *cast our* "*lot* in times of peril." But, to say nothing, just yet, of the great convenience of a come-off like this, which of us cannot bring, from his speeches, proofs of his having, twice a year, at least, during the first eighteen years of his administration, declared the country to be in a prouder situation than she ever before stood; and, of his having dealt his sarcasms about upon all those, who expressed their fears for the ultimate safety of the country? The first eight years of his sway was a time of peace and of plentiful harvests. Every circumstance favoured him; and, when he, at last, resolved on war, circumstances there were not less so. Every year did he boast of the proud situation of England, which he failed not to compare with the exhausted, the miserable, the deplorable, the degraded state of France; every year did he promise us, that the enemy was upon the point of ruin; and, only two years before he counselled and defended the peace of Amiens, he pledged himself to the country, having just then discovered a new and solid system of finance, that he would never make peace without securing the balance of power in Europe. And, at the end of all those boastings, out he comes with his whinings about Providence! Out he comes with a canting gypsey-like story about the casting of our lot! So, Captain Bobadil, when, after all his bragging, he is getting up from beneath a cudgeling, exclaims, "I was certainly *pla-* "*net-struck*;" but, his friend, who has been a witness of the scene, very gravely assures him, that he had been struck with *nothing but a stick*. "It was a stick, in- "deed, Captain, for I saw it with my own "eyes." A similar reply may be made to our hero, who is an officer of higher rank than Bobadil, and who, we know, has studied the art of war with a degree of eagerness, that, at one time, led some folks to fear, that he really would have taken the command, if the French had landed. Providence! No, no! It is "not in his

" stars, but in himself, that he is an under-
ling. " The French are but men, and they
have been the same ever since England was
England; and, if they have employed new
means, either in the cabinet or in the field,
it was for the minister of England to keep
pace with them. If your adversary, who
has been accustomed to fight you with a
stick, comes armed with a sword, it is for
you to get a sword too, and not to run about
crying that he does not fight fair; and, more
especially not lay the blame upon Providence.
At the outset of this war, Mr. Pitt promised,
that he would " stem the torrent of liquid
" fire; " that he would " repress the am-
" bition and *chastise the insolence*" of Buona-
parté; and, in less than a year afterwards,
he falls out with Providence, notwithstand-
ing the Morning Post assures us, that
we are, and must be, " the particular de-
" light of Providence. " What are now be-
come of these boasts? *Has* he stemmed
the torrent of liquid fire? Has he, even
with the aid of Lord Castlereagh and Lord
Mulgrave and Mr. Huskisson and Old Rose,
repressed the ambition and chastised the inso-
lence of Buonaparté?——But, if the times
were difficult; allowing for argument sake,
that they were difficult; did he listen to
these who advised him what course to pur-
sue? Never. In the late war, he had, as
has been before observed, a choice between
the advice of Mr. Fox and that of Mr. Burke;
he chose to follow neither; and he and
Lord Melville pursued, without suffering
themselves to be interrupted, the course
which ended in the peace of Amiens. That
he was not sparing either in money or men,
we very well know. In fact, he took where
and what he chose, the doctrine of the day
being, that whatever men had left was so
much saved out of the fire of revolution.
Never was there in the world an instance of
a minister's having a nation so completely
at his nod! And, after all this, does he
talk of difficult times?——In the case of
the present war upon the continent, the ad-
vice he received, the solemn warning he re-
ceived, is still fresh in our memory. It is
now only six months and fourteen days ago,
that Mr. Fox besought the House of Com-
mons to grant him no money for the pur-
pose of stirring up Austria to war. This
warning we must now re-peruse; we must
keep it constantly before us; it is an unerr-
ing guide in forming an opinion of the two
men. Mr. Fox, observe, had not, as the
base hirelings of the press have insinuated,
any objection to repressing the ambition of
France; he had no objection to a combina-
tion of powers upon the continent for that
purpose; but, he objected to a premature
effort for urging those powers into a war,
and that for the reasons which he so distinct-
ly and so prophetically gave. When the House
again meets, he has nothing to do but to
read his speech of the 21st of June, and then,
with the event before them, to leave them
to judge between him and the man who has
had the presumption to be his *rival*. He
said: " After what had passed, it was a
" matter of less delicacy to express an opi-
" nion on hypothesis, as to the purpose for
" which the vote was called for; whether
" on the hypothesis, that it was to enable
" us to make terms of peace, or on the hy-
" pothesis that it was to engage the powers
" of the continent to co-operate with us in
" the war. On this head he should state
" briefly his opinion. It seemed to be the
" prevailing opinion, that to engage with
" Russia alone would make our situation
" more difficult than at present, unless
" Prussia or Austria could be included in
" the confederacy: of the first of these
" powers co-operating there was less hope,
" of the latter more, though he thought
" fear a more proper term than hope in the
" latter case. Without a sure prospect of
" efficient co-operation, he should feel
" most unhappy if he were to suffer this
" vote to pass without entering his protest
" against it, without warning this country
" and Europe against the consequences. No
" man could tell what would be the issue of
" war; but when they looked to the past,
" he asked, with what rational hope such a
" war as the late one could be begun, and
" with what rational ground of success?
" Was it intended that, at the present pe-
" riod of the year, when Austria was un-
" prepared, any operations should be un-
" dertaken, or only that every thing should
" be prepared to begin the war in the next
" campaign? If Austria were to move,
" and the consequence should be, what
" was not improbable, productive of serious
" disasters, what would become of our
" hopes of continental connexions? what
" of the liberties of Europe? what of the
" prospect of setting limits to the power
" of France, justly and rationally consider-
" ed already too formidable? Under such
" circumstances, and on such information,
" it became wise men to consider well be-
" fore they should grant any money where
" the chances were one hundred to one a-
" gainst success. But it was the manner in
" which the matter was proposed that
" weighed with him. If we had remain-
" ed at peace, as he wished we had, and Au-
" stria, Russia, or Prussia, had applied to

" us for assistance in their quarrel, no man " would be more ready than himself to agree " to granting it. But when we had dashed " singly into the war, and, as had been ar- " gued the preceding night, for the pur- " pose of rousing the powers of Europe by " our example, which we could only exhi- " bit in the case of invasion, that put the " question on a different footing. He dis- " liked the phrase to rouse Europe, because " the attempt to do so had the effect " of producing a disinclination to co-operate " with us. Every man knew that the charac- " ter of the British government in Europe " was, that it was actuated by selfish motives " in instigating the powers of the continent " to war for British interests. He hoped " that this opinion was false; but if we " should attempt to instigate the powers of " the continent to a renewal of hostilities, " whilst they wished to remain at peace, " whether for the purpose of regaining " strength or recruiting their resources, " or for whatever other reason, it would a- " lienate the affections of Europe more from " us than any inefficiency that could take " place in the conduct of the war. If Au- " stria alone were to embark with us in the " war, she could not use her exertions with " advantage to herself or to us. The in- " terests of both would be identified, could " not be separated, and consequently nei- " ther could enjoy the full benefits of her " exertions. This was a ground for think- " ing that the result could not be favorable. " Austria would be driven to the alternative " of concluding a treaty under the same " circumstances which obliged her to con- " clude the treaty of Leoben and Luneville, " and to submit to such terms as France " should dictate; for it was contrary to all " experience and history to suppose, as had " been argued, that being engaged to Rus- " sia and England, she would be bound to " hold out to the last. No country could " be obliged by any treaty to hold out to its " destruction and lie down under its ruin. " There was another alternative which " Austia might adopt, which was, to hold " out to the end; and might not that con- " duct endanger the total extinction of the " second power in Europe? If she chose, " as he thought she would, the former al- " ternative, we should then be driven, after " all our efforts and expence, either to make " a separate peace, or to carry on a defen- " sive war. He hoped we should not be " reduced to that alternative, and should not " discuss what should be our conduct in such " a case. It would be highly indiscreet in " us to form an alliance for the purpose of a " continental war with Russia and Austria, " and it would be still more indiscreet in " Austria, for Russia and Great-Britain " would be in a far different situation from " that of their ally. If such an alliance " could be formed with Russia, Austria, " Prussia, and the other powers of the " continent, as would gain their good will, " without attempting to rouse them before " their own interest, in their own view of " them, would call for their exertions, such " an alliance would afford hopes that we " might obtain reasonable terms of peace." Upon this Mr. Pitt, with that sort of can- dour for which he is so famous, observed, that Mr. Fox's observations "seemed to go " this length, that all attempts at releasing " ourselves from our present situation were " improper, because it might happen that " our affairs might be made worse. This " was a mode of reasoning that would lead " all the powers of the continent to remain " supine under the oppression of France, " and never attempt to oppose her schemes " of ambition and aggrandizement. Why? " because in opposing these schemes, they " ran a risk of making matters worse. But " were they to wait till the power of France " was much more increased, and much " more confirmed? till their own resources " were much more reduced than they were " at present, and till the power of resis- " tance was gone? This would indeed be " exposing themselves to a certainty of " having theirs made worse."——Upon this the benches at his back rang with *hear! hear!* Dearly as the nation has heretofore paid for the cheering from that quarter, this last cheering will be, by far, the dearest! Mr. Fox replied, " that, as far " as he was informed of the state of Eu- " rope, he believed, that, if Austria should " be allured to engage in a war with France, " she would expose herself to the most ex- " treme peril, to a danger far beyond any " chance of advantage." He had never said, nor did his words convey any such im- plication, that we never were to attempt any thing for fear of rendering our situation worse by the attempt. He never said, that we ought to *risk nothing*. But he said, that in urging Austria into the war, we were risking too much; and this opinion was founded upon reasons that he gave. To risk, even greatly to risk, may, in some cases, be the height of prudence; but, it is for the wise man to determine when to risk, and, it now appears, that as Mr. Fox said, the risk was all on one side.——With this parliamentary debate before them, for Mr. Pitt's partizans to tell us, that his measures

were well-planned, that he acted for the best, that to hope for success was rational, is impudence not to be borne. If you see a man upon the verge of a precipice, if you tell him that another step will bring him to the bottom, if he takes the step and falls, has any one the assurance to tell you that he was as right as you? That he ought not to have believed you, and that he is not to be blamed for his obstinacy? If, indeed, you see a measure about to be adopted, and say nothing about it till the event be known, you have no right to find fault with it afterwards; but, here the measure was objected to; it was protested against, and the reasons, whereon that protest was founded, were given. What is it that distinguishes wise men from fools? What but those powers of the mind which enable them to perceive that which fools cannot perceive? And, when they are at issue upon a matter of opinion, what is to decide, but the *event*. Besides, when the partizans of the minister tell us, that their conclusions, that is to say, the conclusions of Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville, were as probable as the conclusions of Mr. Fox, and of us who thought with him upon the subject of the present, or, rather, the *late*, coalition; when they talk of these conclusions, they, as is their invariable custom, overlook the premises. If, as they asserted, there had been 180,000 Russians, actually upon their march in the month of September, and if there had been an army of 300,000 Austrians, well disciplined and appointed, in the field at that time; if the Elector of Bavaria had joined his troops to those of Austria; if the kingdom of Hungary had poured into the hands of the Emperor more money and had raised him more men than he knew what to do with; and, finally, if Prussia had, in the month of September, or October, joined the coalition with her army of 300,000 men; if all this had been *true*, then, indeed, the conclusions of Mr. Pitt and the hirelings would have been not only as probable as ours, but much more probable than ours. But, they were false, the premises were all false; our opponents built upon sand, upon a shadow, and the consequence has been that which, in such case, necessarily must be. It is not as to conclusions that we have differed from them; it is upon points of *fact* that, in every stage of the war, we have been at variance. Mr. Pitt assumed, that the powers, with whom he was about to coalesce stood in need of nothing but British gold to enable them to face Napoleon, and to turn the tide of his fortune: Mr. Fox denied this: he said they stood in need of more, and that, if they accepted of that gold, particularly before they were well prepared, they would fail, and that then our situation, to say nothing of the loss of our money, would be infinitely worse than it was before. In every stage of the war, have the hirelings assumed certain premises: they have promulgated, as truths not to be questioned, a certain set of correspondent falsehoods. Upon these they have reasoned; from these they have drawn conclusions: and, of course, these conclusions have been false. It is not of incorrect reasoning that we accuse them; it is not of an error of judgment; but, of wilful falsehood, of criminal falsehood, of falsehood promulgated for the purposes of deception, of lies of the most mischievous tendency. They now tell their deluded hearers, that "if the means were "not proportionate to the object to be ac- "complished, it is more matter of *sorrow* "than of blame." But, they told us, and they abused us for doubting their assertions, that the means were fully proportionate to the object. They told us, that Napoleon was taken by surprize; that the Austrians had got the start of him; that the Russian armies were following each other through the Austrian dominions; and, finally, that this wonderful promptitude was entirely to be ascribed to "the all-commanding genius of "Mr. Pitt." Far, they say now, from blaming the minister for endeavouring to bring about "a coalition *capable of setting* "*bounds to the ambition of Buonaparté*, "we regard it as a highly meritorious in- "stance of his exertions for the preserva- "tion of this country and the general deli- "verance." But, they were told, that *this* coalition was not capable of doing it; they were told that its materials were crude, its foundation unstable, and that the time and manner of it were not calculated to produce success. They were told so, and with what calumnies have they repaid their admonishers! What term, expressive of ignorance, of wilfulness, of baseness and of treachery have they not applied to all those who endeavoured, though in vain, to guard the deluded people against their deceptions! "To us," say they, "it ap- "pears that the moment was come," and they quote the words of Demosthenes, after the battle of Chœronea, so fatal to the liberties of Greece. "I could not foresee, "that the event would have been as it has "turned out, but if any divine revelation "had presented it to me in all its horrors, "I would, I ought, still to have acted as "I have done." Will Mr. Pitt avail himself of this hint? Will he make a declara-

tion like this? When destruction is the obviously certain effect of inaction, then, indeed, such a defence may be made; because, action affords a chance, at least, of deliverance. But, who will say? What honest man has been so far deluded; or, what hireling has been so highly bribed, as to assert, that this was the case with respect to Austria and Prussia? Who, on the contrary, does not perceive, that, if the coalition had not been so soon formed, and so hastily driven into action, that Napoleon could not have made any further encroachments of importance, without great disadvantage to his cause; without drawing the powers together by natural ties? Who does not see, that he would have lost strength by every further aggression? And, who does not see, that, if the English parliament had withheld the means of *precipitating* Austria into the war, the battle of Austerlitz would never have been fought, and that Austria would still have been a great power, would still have been an object towards which England might have looked with hope? It is not the principle of continental coalitions that we have ever condemned. Without such a coalition there was no hope of obtaining honourable terms of peace, at least, in any reasonable length of time. But, because it is good to rise, and even to rise early, is it, therefore, good to rise at any time, to rise at midnight, in the dark, and to grope our way about? We were in a situation when it became us to act with caution; to take time; so to lay the foundation of our measures as for them not to be easily shaken. But, though we could have waited, the minister could not. *His* affairs demanded, imperiously demanded, dispatch. The season was advanced; the Russians in Sibèria, or God knows where; the Austrians unprepared; but, parliament was again to meet in December or January. Something was wanted, absolutely wanted, and something, therefore, was to be done. With what exultation, with what unmeasured insolence of triumph, did the hirelings of the press hail the first movement of the Austrians! In their anticipation of the effect in parliament, they seemed entirely to overlook the consequences upon the continent. At the prospect of seeing (I use their own words) "the attention of "the House of Commons *turned from the* "*little nonsense* about naval inquiries and "Tenth Reports to the mighty concerns "connected with the deliverance of Eu- "rope," their joy was unbounded! What the great object of Mr. Pitt might be we cannot exactly know; but, we do know, that, from the moment the Austrians made the first step in that war, which, in the space of two months, has laid their unfortunate and misguided Sovereign at the feet of his and our enemy; from that moment did the hirelings, whom we have recently seen maintaining the truth of the two bulletins, begin to hold a language, calculated to convince every one, that *they*, at least, looked forward to the effect which the campaign on the continent would produce upon the divisions in parliament; and, as upon the occasion of the loss of the first Austrian army, we now see them deeply engaged in the task of proving, that Mr. Pitt was not to blame, and that, on account of the frustration of his schemes and the terrible disasters arising from a war of his fomenting, he ought *to lose no votes in parliament!* Such then was, and now is, the consolation which they tender to their country and to the Emperor of Austria! The *motive* of the minister himself we cannot precisely ascertain; but, that it was he who *precipitated* the House of Austria into the war can no longer be denied. It is a fact established, not by evidence such as that, whereon the Two Bulletins were issued; not by hearsay and rumour; not by what has been said to have been said by an Estafette or a king's messenger; but, by the concurrent testimony of official documents; by the intercepted letter of Lord Harrowby (the authenticity of which has never, even yet, been denied), the report of the Archduke Charles of the cause of his retreat; and, lastly, by the declaration of the Emperor of Austria himself, as recorded in the French bulletins. This declaration, is, we are told, fabricated; but, people of England, deceived, duped people of England! I beseech you to remember, that this is told us by those, who have constantly denied the truth of those fate-bearing bulletins; by those, who told you, that the French were defeated at Ker...s; by those who told you that the Archduke was falling upon the rear of Napoleon with 90,000 men; by those who told you, that 150,000 Prussians were first upon their march into Franconia, but had made a short turn to the left, and were, by forced marches, going through Bohemia to attack the French in Moravia; by those who told you of the famous royal swearing at Potsdam; by those who told you that the Emperor Napoleon and his army were drowned in the Danube; by those, who, in winding up the climax of atrocious impositions, gave you, in the form of authentic documents, assurances, that, on the 3d and 4th of December, the Emperor of Russia, after having performed feats of valour more than mortal, had comple ely

defeated the French, captured 40,000 prisoners and all the artillery of the enemy. From the pens of these identical persons, observe, it is, that you *now* are to learn, that the declaration of the Emperor of Austria is a fabrication; it is the words of these persons, who declared the Russian proposition to capitulate, to be a forgery; who asserted to be a forgery the letter of Count Palfy to Marshal Davoust, stipulating for the neutrality of Hungary; who stigmatized as a forgery the proclamation received by M. Bourienne, and who marked out as traitors all those who believed in its authenticity; and, who, to the very last hour, asserted, that the Argus, though it contained the official details of the battle of Austerlitz, was an infamous fabrication for stock-jobbing purposes: it is the word, the bare word of these very persons, that you are now called upon to believe, in direct contradiction to the statements of those bulletins, which have uniformly proved so minutely and so fatally true! No, no! It is not a fabrication: it is authentic; and it comes, with force irresistible, to confirm the opinion, that Austria had, by English councils, been *precipitated to her ruin*. And, shall not those councils be changed? Shall they still be supported? Shall we still see the representatives of the people voting our money, by millions upon millions, into the hands of the man who has therewith purchased the battle of Austerlitz?—"But the king; the *will* of the king!" Base, false, slavish insinuation! As if His Majesty could wish that which tends, that which has constantly tended, to the subjugation of his people, and, of course, to the subversion of his throne, and the throne of his children! The king's *will!* then, indeed, it were time to cease talking of the constitution of England! The king, no one denies it, has an uncontrolable right to appoint his servants; but, shall our representatives, for fear of thwarting the wishes, or disturbing the arrangements or pleasures of the king, not refuse to commit the resources of the nation to the hands of those servants? It is our duty, a duty enjoined by religion as well as by honour, to lay down our lives, if necessary, for the defence of the person and dignity of the king; but, that we live not under a despotism consists entirely in the power which the parliament has of refusing to grant money to his servants; and, if that power be given up, whatever be the motive for which the surrender is made, whether of love or of fear, then are we, though not nominally, really under a despotism. But, in behalf of our sovereign as well as ourselves, it behoves us to reject, with disdain, these insinuations, the last resource of discomfited baseness. His Majesty, who must be fully sensible of the awfulness of the danger with which we are now menaced, waits, doubtless, to hear the voice of his people, or, at least, of those amongst them, qualified by their talents and their information to afford him advice. And shall we, like the wretches suffocating in the Black-hole of Calcutta, be told that his repose is not to be disturbed? I trust, that with such an answer we shall not be satisfied; but, that, in *all the ways* pointed out by the constitution, we shall approach his throne with an expression of our desire to be saved, and, with a hope, that he will, as far as lies with him, afford us the means; with a settled resolution to sacrifice our all, if necessary, in defence of our liberties and of his person and family; but, with a confident expression of our wish and our expectation, that he will change those councils, by which the enormous sacrifices we have hitherto made have been rendered of no avail. I trust, that we shall not regard ourselves as intruders; that, while, with affectionate attachment, we own his sway, while we know the crown of England to be his, we feel that England is *our* country; that we have, down to the meanest man amongst us, a deep interest in all that honour and renown, in those liberties and that happiness, which are now brought into jeopardy, and that, upon the immutable principles of justice, as well as from usage and from law, we have a *right* to be heard.

The following Preface to the 8th volume of the Register must supply the place of what I intended to have inserted, according to annual custom, at the head of this volume.

PREFACE.

In closing this volume, I think it proper, considering the great interest which we must all, at this time, necessarily feel as to the transactions between nation and nation, to point out the utility of this work, as a Register of those transactions. One of the principal objects of the undertaking, was, to insure to my readers the possession of *all* the authentic documents, which should, during the continuance of the work, appear in print, relative to transactions between nation and nation; and, so unremitted has been my attention thereunto, that, I think I may safely assert, that no document of that description has been omitted; an assertion, which, I am persuaded, cannot, with truth, be made in favour of any other work extant. In every other work, professing to be a Register of the times, the compilers

have, for some reason or other, contented themselves with a *selection* of documents. For most present purposes this may be sufficient; but, every selection must depend upon the taste, or the opinion, of the person selecting; and, from one cause or another, it must produce a representation, which, in a greater or less degree, is deficient in point of impartiality, though, perhaps, contrary to the wishes of the compiler. The great source of error as to transactions of pass times is the want of a collection of *all* the documents relating to them. This must have been perceived by every reader of history. For the want of such a collection, what great and mischievous errors have descended to the present day! To what acrimonious and disgraceful disputes; to what doubts, what distrust, what unsettled notions, and to what inconsistency of action has this deficiency of record given rise! To prevent those evils, as far as may relate to the times of which this work will be a Register, has been an object of which I have never lost sight. In the opinions and the statement of my own, I am not inclined to deny that prejudice and passion have frequently had their influence; but, in giving *all* the authentic documents, I have done my best to guard future times, at least (if my work should happen to outlive its author) against the effect of such influence.—The same motive has been my guide in collecting and recording the documents relating to the internal concerns of foreign nations, as well as those relating to the internal concerns of our own country; and, I fear not to repeat, that, under the three heads; First, of PUBLIC PAPERS; Second, of FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS; and, Third, of DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS, the Political Register contains a collection such as is to be found in no other work. The total number of these documents, contained in the Eight Volumes, must astonish any one not accustomed to much observation upon the subject, there being of the first class 764; of the second, 825; and of the third, 680, making, in the whole, 2269; all arranged in the chronological order of their first appearance in England, that being the order of all others best calculated to further every object of research, especially as each volume is furnished with Indexes as well as with Tables of Contents made out under an experimental conviction of their utility.——It may be useful to observe, that, since the commencement of the PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, as a separate work, the documents, of whatever description, *officially laid before Parliament*, have been recorded there; and, as to the Debates themselves, which must be considered as amongst the first of materials for history, I risk no contradiction in saying, that they are, (to say nothing of the MINUTES, which connect them with one another and which must always render the whole perfectly intelligible at the first glance) recorded with a degree of copiousness and of accuracy, hitherto unknown in similar compilations.——Indulging, as I long have, and as I yet do, the hope of being, for a few years, at least, now and then remembered as one of those, whom the spirit-stirring circumstances of these awful times have drawn forth from their native obscurity, I have never ceased anxiously to desire, that the events, amidst which I have lived, and in which I have taken so deep an interest, may be handed down to posterity undisfigured by falsehood. Actuated by this desire, I have bent my mind on securing of a faithful record of those events; and, if popular delusion and popular baseness, fed by the corruptions of the commercial system, should continue to triumph till the very names of liberty and of honour shall be expunged from the English language, and till every man shall be brought to lend his hand to the muzzling of his neighbour, I shall still have the satisfaction to reflect, that, on my part, no effort has been wanting to prevent this consummatton of national infamy.

The number of sheets in the present volume is *thirty-three*. Each of the three preceding volumes contain the same number; and, this is, indeed, the fixed bulk of the volumes, the *annual* cost being, of course, 2*l.* 15*s.*

As the early volumes of the Register have been reprinted, *complete Sets* may be had by applying to R. Bagshaw, No. 31, Bow-Street, or J. Budd, No. 100, Pall-Mall; to whom all orders should be addressed.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, 28th Dec. 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*(Continued from p. 962.)—Thirtieth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Austerlitz, Dec. 3.—On the 27th ult. the Emperor, upon receiving the communication of the full powers of M. M. Stadion and De Guilay, offered previously an armistice, in order to spare the effusion of blood, if any real intention were entertained of coming to an arrangement and a definitive accommodation.——But it was easy for the Emperor to perceive that they had other projects; and as the hope of success could only be derived from the side of the Rus-

sian army,' he easily conjectured that the 2d and 3d armies were arrived, or were on the point of arriving, at Olmutz, and that the negotiations were only a *russe de guerre*, to lull his vigilance to sleep.—On the 28th, at 9 in the morning, a cloud of Cossacks, supported by Russian cavalry, made Prince Murat's advanced posts fall back, surrounded Wischau, and took 50 of the 6th regiment of dragoons. In the course of the day the Emperor of Russia repaired to Wischau, and the whole of the Russian army took up a position behind that city.—The Emperor sent his aid-de-camp, General Savary, to compliment the Emperor of Russia, as soon as he knew of the arrival of that Prince in the army. General Savary returned at the moment the Emperor was reconnoitering the fires of the enemy's out-posts at Wischau. He spoke in warm terms of commendation of the handsome reception, the favours, and the personal sentiments, of the Emperor of Russia, and even of the Grand Duke Constantine, who shewed him every attention; but it was easy to understand, from the conversation he had for three days, with some 30 coxcombs, who, under different titles, are about the Emperor of Russia, that presumption, inconsiderateness, and imprudence, reigned in the decisions of the military cabinet, as much as they had reigned in those of the political cabinet.—An army so conducted, could not but commit faults; the Emperor's plan was, from that moment, to wait for them, and to watch the moment for profiting by them. He immediately ordered his army to retreat in the night, as if he had been defeated, took a good position, 3 leagues in the rear, and laboured, with much ostentation, at fortifying it, and raising batteries.—He proposed an interview to the Emperor of Russia, who sent him his aid-de-camp. Prince Dolgorucki; that officer might remark, that every thing breathed reserve and fear in the appearance of the French army. The placing the strong guards, the fortifications made with such haste; every thing shewed to the Russian officer, an army half beaten.—Contrary to the Emperor's custom, who never receives with so much circumspection the flags of truce at his head-quarters, he went himself to the advanced posts. The Russian discussed every thing, with an impertinence, difficult to be conceived; he was in the most perfect ignorance of the interests of Europe, and of the situation of the Continent. In a word, he was a young trumpeter for England. He spoke to the Emperor, as he speaks to the Russian officers, whom he has long disgusted by his haughtiness and improper conduct. The Emperor repressed his indignation, and the young man, who has a real influence over the Emperor Alexander, returned with a conviction that the French army was on the eve of ruin. One may be convinced, above all, of what the Emperor must have suffered, when it is known, that, towards the close of the conversation, he proposed to him to cede Belgium, and to place the Iron Crown upon the head of the most implacable enemies of France. All these different steps are attended with their due effect. The young heads that direct the Russian affairs gave themselves up, without measure, to their natural presumption. It was no longer, whether the French army shall be beaten? But, whether it shall be turned and taken? It had only done so much through the cowardice of the Austrians. We are assured that several old Austrian generals, who had made campaigns against the Emperor, warned the council, that it was not with that confidence that one ought to march against old soldiers, and officers of the first merit. They said, they had seen the Emperor reduced to a handful of men, re-possess himself of victory, under the most difficult circumstances, by rapid and unforeseen operations, and destroy the most numerous armies; that here no advantage had been obtained; that, on the contrary, all the affairs with the rear-guard of the first Russian army had been in favour of the French army; but, to that the presumptuous young men opposed the bravery of the 80,000 Russians, the enthusiasm inspired by the presence of their Emperor, the picked corps of the imperial guard of Russia, and, what probably they dared not say, their talents, of which they were astonished the Austrians would not acknowledge the power.—On the 1st of Dec., the Emperor, from the heights, saw, with indescribable joy, the Russian army beginning, within twice the distance of cannon-shot from his advanced posts, a flank movement to turn his right. He perceived then to what a pitch presumption and ignorance of the art of war had misled the councils of that brave army. He said, several times, "Before to-morrow night, that army shall be in my power." Yet the enemy's idea was far different; they appeared before our posts within pistol shot; they defiled by a flank march upon a line four leagues long. In passing the length of the French army, which seemed not to dare to quit its position, they had but one fear, that the French army should escape. Every thing was done to confirm the enemy in this idea. Prince Murat sent out a small corps on the plain; but all at once it seemed asto-

nished at the immense force of the enemy, and returned in haste. Hence every thing tended to confirm the Russian general in the miscalculated operation which he had determined upon. The Emperor put the annexed proclamation in the order of the day. At night, he wished to visit on foot, and incognito, all the posts; but he had not gone many steps when he was recognized. It would be impossible to depict the enthusiasm of the soldiers upon seeing him. Lighted straw was placed in an instant upon the tops of thousands of poles, and 80,000 men appeared before the Emperor, saluting him with acclamations: some to celebrate the anniversary of his coronation, others saying, that the army would to-morrow offer its *bouquet* to the Emperor. One of the oldest grenadiers went up to him, and said, "Sire, you need not expose yourself; I promise you, in the name of the grenadiers of the army, that you shall only have to fight with your eyes, and that we will bring you to-morrow the colours and artillery of the Russian army to celebrate the anniversary of your coronation."—The Emperor said, upon his return to his guard-house, which consisted of a miserable straw cabin, without a roof, which the grenadiers had made for him, "This is the finest evening of my life; but I regret to think that I shall lose a good number of these brave fellows. I feel, by the pain it gives me, that they are indeed my children, and I often reproach myself for this sentiment, for I fear it will terminate in rendering me unfit to carry on war." If the enemy had seen the sight, it would have terrified them; but the unthinking enemy continued their movements, and hastened, with quick steps, to their ruin.—The Emperor made his dispositions for battle immediately. He sent off Marshal Davoust, in great haste, to the Convent of Raygern: he was, with one of his divisions, and a division of dragoons, to keep in check the enemy's left wing, in order that, upon a given signal, it might be quite surrounded.——He gave to Marshal Lannes the command of the left wing; to Marshal Soult the command of the right; and to Marshal Bernadotte the command of the centre. Prince Murat received the command of the cavalry, with which he was posted on one point. The left of Marshal Lannes approached Santon, a superb position, which had been fortified and mounted with eighteen pieces of cannon. From the preceding evening, he had entrusted the keeping of that firm position to the 17th light infantry, and certainly it could not be guarded by better troops. General Suchet's division formed the left of Marshal Lannes; the division of General Cafarelli formed his right, and was supported, at the same time, by Prince Murat's cavalry. The latter had before tt the hussars and chasseurs under General Thellemon, and the dragoon divisions of Walther and Beaumont, and, in reserve, the cuirassier division of Generals Nansouty and Hautpoult, with 24 pieces of light artillery.—Marshal Bernadotte, that is to say the centre, had, on the left, the division of General Rivaud, which also communicated with Prince Murat's right wing, and, on the right, the division of General Drouet.—Marshal Soult, who commanded the right wing of the army, had, on his left, the division of General Van Damme; in his centre, the division of General St. Hilaire; and, on his right, the division of General Legrand.——Marshal Davoust was detached to the right of General Legrand, to observe the road between the lakes, and the villages of Sokolnitz and Celnitz. He had with him General Friant's division, and the dragoons of General Bouchier's division. The division of General Gudin was directed to march at day-break from Nicolsburg, to stop the corps of the enemy which might have outflanked the right wing.—The Emperor, with his faithful companion in war, Marshal Berthier, his first aid-de-camp, Colonel Junot, and all his état-major, were in reserve, with the ten battalions of his guard, and the ten battalions of General Oudinot's grenadiers, part of whom were commanded by General Duroc. —This reserve, ranged in two lines, in columns by battalion, deployed at a distance, having in the intervals 40 pieces of cannon, served by the cannoniers of the guard. It was with this reserve, that the Emperor intended to push forward wherever it would have been necessary; we may say this reserve was worth an army.—At one in the morning, the Emperor got on horseback to visit the posts, reconnoitre the fires of the enemy, and get an account of what the guards had learned of the movements of the Russians. He heard that they had passed the night in drunkenness and noise, and that a corps of Russian infantry had appeared in the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division under General Legrand, who had orders to reinforce it.——Day dawned at length on the second: the sun rose bright; and the anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor, upon which one of the greatest feats in arms of the age was to be performed, was one of the finest days in autumn.—This battle, which the soldiers persist in calling the day of the Three Emperors, which others call the day of the An-

niversary, and which the Emperor named the Battle of Austerlitz, will be ever memorable in the annals of the great nation.—— The Emperor, surrounded by all the marshals, waited only for the horizon to clear up, to issue his last orders. When the sun shot forth his first rays, the orders were issued, and each marshal joined his corps, full gallop.—The Emperor said, in passing along the front of several regiments: "Soldiers, we must finish this campaign by a thunderbolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies:" and instantly hats were placed at the point of bayonets, and cries of *Vive l'Empereur* were the signal for battle. A moment afterwards, the cannonade began at the extremity of the right, which the enemy's advanced guard had already outflanked, but the unexpected meeting with Marshal Davoust, stopped the enemy short, and the battle began.—Marshal Soult put himself in motion at the same moment, proceeded to the heights of the village of Pratzen, with Generals Vandamme and St. Hilaire's division, and cut off the enemy's right, whose movements became uncertain. Surprised by a flank march, whilst it was flying, believing itself to be attacking, and seeing itself attacked, it considered itself has half defeated. —Prince Murat was in motion with his cavalry. The left wing, under the command of General Lannes, marched forward also, *en echelons*, by regiments, in the same manner, as if they had been exercising by divisions. A tremendous cannonade took place along the whole line: 203 pieces of cannon, and nearly 200,000 men, made a dreadful noise. It was really a giant combat. Not an hour had elapsed, and the enemy's whole left was cut off; their right had already reached Austerlitz, the head-quarters of the two Emperors, who marched immediately to the Emperor of Russia's guard, to endeavour to restore the communication of the centre with the left. A battalion of the 4th of the line was charged by the imperial Russian guard, on horseback, and routed; but the Emperor was at hand; he perceived this movement; ordered Marshal Bassieres to go to the succour of his right, with his invincibles, and the two guards were soon engaged. —Success could not be doubtful, in a moment the Russian guard was routed; colonel, artillery, standards, every thing was taken. The regiment of the Grand Duke Constantine was annihilated. He owed his safety only to the swiftness of his horse.— From the heights of Austerlitz the two Emperors beheld the defeat of all the Russian guard. At the same moment, the centre of the army, commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, advanced; three of his regiments made a very fine charge of cavalry. The left, commanded by Marshal Lannes, made several. All the charges were victorious. General Caffarelli's division distinguished itself. The cuirassier division took the enemy's batteries. At one, p. m. the victory was decided; it had not been doubtful for a moment; not a man of the reserve was wanted, and had assisted no where; a cannonade was kept up only on our right. The enemy's corps, which had been surrounded and driven from all the heights, were on a flat, and near a lake. The Emperor hastened thither, with 20 pieces of cannon. This corps was driven from position to position, and we saw the horrid spectacle, such as was seen at Aboukir, of 20,000 men throwing themselves into the water, and drowning themselves in the lake.——Two columns of Russians, 4000 each, laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. All the enemy's park of artillery is taken. The result of this day is 40 Russian standards, amongst which are the standards of the imperial guard; a considerable number of prisoners; the état-major does not yet know how many; we have already an account of 20,000, 12 or 15 generals; at least 15,000 Russians killed on the field of battle. Though we have not yet the report, we may, at the first *coup-d'œil*, estimate our loss at 800 killed, and 15 or 1600 wounded. This will not surprise military men, who know that it is only in a rout that men are lost; and no other corps, but the battalion of the 4th, was penetrated. Amongst the wounded are, General St. Hilaire, who, wounded at the beginning of the battle, remained the whole day on the field. He covered himself with glory; generals of division, Kellerman and Walther; generals of brigade, Valhabert, Thiebault, Sebastiani, Compar, and Rapp, the Emperor's aid-de-camp. It was the latter who, in charging, at the head of the grenadiers of the guard, took Prince Repnin, captain of the chevaliers of the imperial guard of Russia. With respect to the men who distinguished themselves, it was the whole army that covered itself with glory; it constantly charged to the cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, and the idea of celebrating so gloriously the anniversary of the coronation, animated the soldier.—The French army, though fine and numerous, was less numerous than the enemy's army, which was 105,000 strong; 80,000 Russians, and 25,000 Austrians; the half of this army is destroyed; the rest has been completely routed, and the greater part threw away their arms.—This day will cost tears of

blood at St. Petersburgh. May it cause the gold of England to be rejected with indignation! And may that young prince, whom so many virtues called to be the father of his subjects, tear himself from the influence of those 30 coxcombs, whom England pays, and whose impertinence injures his intentions, makes him lose the love of his soldiers, and hurries him into the most ill-judged operations. Nature, in endowing him with so many great qualites, had meant him to be the consoler of Europe. Perfidious councils, by rendering him the auxiliary of England, will place him, in history, in the rank of men, who, perpetuating the war upon the Continent, will have consolidated the British tyranny upon the seas, and produced the misery of our generation. If France cannot arrive at peace, but upon the conditions proposed by the aid-de-camp, Dolgorucki, to the Emperor, and which M. Novositzoff was ordered to make, Russia should not obtain them were her army encamped upon the heights of Montmatre.—In a more detailed relation of this battle, the état-major will make known what each corps, officers and general, have done, to render the French name illustrious, and to afford proof of their love for the Emperor.—On the 3d, at day-break, Prince John of Lichtenstein, commanding the Austrian army, came to the Emperor's head-quarters, in a barn. He had a long audience; yet we pursue our successes. The enemy have retired by the road of Austerlitz to Godding. The French army is already on their rear, and follow them sword in hand —Never was there a more horrible field of battle. From the middle of the immense lakes, we hear still the cries of thousands of men who could not be assisted. Three days must elapse 'ere all the wounded enemy are carried to Brunn. The heart bleeds. May so much bloodshed, may so many miseries fall, at length, upon the perfidious Islanders who are the cause of it! May the cowardly Oligarchs of London bear the burthen of so many evils!

Order of the Day.—On the Field, Dec. 1.

Soldiers, the Russian army is before you, to avenge the Austrian army at Ulm. They are the same battalions you beat at Hollebrun, and which you have constantly pursued. The positions we occupy are formidable; and whilst they march to my right, they shall present me the flank.—Soldiers, I shall direct myself all your battalions; I shall keep at a distance from the firing, if, with your accustomed bravery, you carry confusion and disorder into the enemy's ranks; but if victory be for a moment doubtful, you shall see your Emperor expose himself to the first blows; for victory cannot hesitate, on this day, in which the honour of the French infantry, which is of so much importance to the whole nation, is concerned. Let not the ranks be thinned under pretext of carrying off the wounded, and let each be well persuaded, that we must conquer these hirelings of England, who are animated with so deep a hatred to our nation. This victory will finish our campaign, and we shall resume our winter quarters, where we shall be joined by the new armies forming in France; then the peace, which I will make, will be worthy of my people, of you, and of me. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

PROCLAMATION.

Soldiers,—I am satisfied with you. In the battle of Austerlitz, you have justified what I expected from your intrepidity. You have covered yourselves with eternal glory. An army of 100,000 men, which was commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, has been, in less than four hours, either cut off or dispersed. What escaped your swords have thrown themselves into the lakes.——Forty stand of colours, the standards of the Russian imperial guard, 120 pieces of cannon, twenty generals, and above 30,000 prisoners, are the fruits of this ever-memorable battle.—That infantry, so celebrated, and superior to you in numbers, has proved unable to resist your charge, and, henceforth, you have no rivals to fear.——Thus, in less than two months, the third coalition is conquered and dissolved. Peace cannot be at a great distance; but, as I promised to my people, before crossing the Rhine, I will conclude it only upon terms consistent with my pledge, and which shall secure not only the indemnification, but the reward, of my allies.—Soldiers! When the French people placed the Imperial crown upon my head, I trusted to you to enable me to maintain it in that high splendour of glory, which alone could give it value in my estimation, but at that moment our enemies entertained the design to tarnish and degrade it; and the Iron Crown, which was gained by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they would have compelled me to place on the head of my bitterest foe; an extravagant and foolish proposal, which you have brought to nought, on the anniversary of your Emperor's coronation. You have taught them, that it is easier for them to defy and to threaten, than to subdue us.——Soldiers! When every thing necessary to the security, the happiness, and prosperity of our country has been achieved, will I return you my thanks in France. Then will you be the objects of my tenderest care. My people

will receive you with rapture and joy. To say to me—'I was in the battle of Austerlitz,'—will be enough to authorise the reply—'That is a brave man.' (Signed) NAPOLEON. Head-quarters at Austerlitz, Dec. 3, 1805.

Circular Letter to the Bishops and Presidents of the Consistory. Dated Austerlitz, Dec. 3

The signal victory which has attended our arms over the combined armies of Russia and Austria, commanded by the Emperors of Austria and Russia in person, is a visible proof of the protection of God, and requires that solemn thanksgiving be celebrated throughout the whole extent of our empire.—We hope, that such marked successes as those we have obtained at Austerlitz, will induce our enemies at length to give up the perfidious councils of England, the only means that can insure peace to the Continent.—Upon receipt of these presents, you will, according to custom, sing a *Te Deum*; at which it is our intention, that all the constituted authorities, and our people, assist. This being the whole object of our letter, we pray God to have you in his holy keeping. (Signed) NAPOLEON. Bishop of the Diocese of ——.

Armistice concluded between their Majesties the Emperors of the French and Austria. Done at Austerlitz, Dec. 6, 1805.

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, and his Majesty the Emperor of Germany, being desirous of coming to definitive negociations, in order to put an end to a war which has devastated both their dominions, have previously agreed upon an armistice, to exist till the conclusion of a definitive peace, or the rupture of the negotiations. In the latter case, hostilities shall not recommence within fourteen days; and the cessation of the armistice shall then be announced to the plenipotentiaries of both powers, at the head-quarters of their respective armies.—Art. 1. The line of both armies shall be in Moravia, the Circle of Iglau, the Circle of Znaim, the Circle of Brunn, a part of the Circle of Olmutz, upon the right bank of the little river of Trzeboska, before Prostnitz, to the spot where that river discharges itself into the Marck; and the right bank of the Marck to the junction of that river with the Danube, Presburg being included. No French nor Austrian troops shall, on any occasion, be stationed within five or six leagues of Halitch, upon the right bank of the Marck. Further, the line of both armies shall include in the territory to be occupied by the French army, all Upper and Lower Austria, Tyrol, the State of Venice, Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, the County of Goritz and Istria, and lastly in Bohemia, the Circle of Montabor, and the whole space to the eastward, from Tabor to Lintz.—Art. 2. The Russian army shall evacuate the Austrian States, with Austrian Poland, viz. Moravia and Hungary, within the period of fifteen days, and Gallicia within a month. The routes shall be prescribed to the Russian army, that it may be always known where they are, as well as to prevent any misunderstanding.—Art. 3. There shall be no levy en mass, or insurrection in Hungary, nor any extraordinary recruiting for troops in Bohemia, nor shall any foreign army be permitted to enter the territory of the house of Austria. The negociations for both powers shall meet at Nicolsburg, for the immediate commencement of negociations, in order to effect, without delay, the re-establishment of peace and a good understanding between the two Emperors. The duplicates of this instrument are hereby signed by us, Marshal Berthier, Minister of War, Major General of the Grand Army, Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and Prince John of Lichtenstein, Lieutenant-General and Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, &c. MARSHAL BERTHIER, J. PRINCE OF LICHTENSTEIN, Lieut.-Gen.

NAPLES.——*Royal Decree issued at Naples November 20, 1805.*

The arrival of an Anglo-Russian squadron in this road having given occasion to a report, that the legation and the French consulate had removed the arms of their Sovereign, &c. to the great displeasure of his Sicilian Majesty; and as it is presumed, that the persons concerned in the commerce of Italy, Liguria, Batavia, &c. may be alarmed for the safety of their property in his Majesty's estates, his Majesty has authorised me to communicate to the Exchange, in his royal name, that, whatever may be the consequence of this event, the property of the said nations, the allies of France, shall remain under the protection of the government; and that his Majesty will also permit them to continue their commerce in every respect, just the same as if the legation and consulate continued in the exercise of their functions.—To prevent any misunderstanding, this guarantee is not understood as extending beyond the continents of his Majesty's kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. (Signed) LOUIS DE MEDICI. Done at the Palace, Nov. 20, 1805.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" Thus has the country been led on from fallacy to fallacy, and from fraud to fraud, and as soon as either " has been detected, resort has been had, not to defence, not to argument, but to new promises as false as " the former. Thus criminal deception has been made the ground of future confidence; and, as fast as " one set of promises has been violated, a new set has been held forth, and the country has been, in the " names of loyalty and of patriotism, loudly called upon to become again the dupes of those who had " before deceived them."——MR. FOX's Speech, 5th May, 1785.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MINISTERIAL DECEPTION.—The motto to the present number has not been selected so much because of its being so very applicable to the times, as because it is calculated to revive in the minds of those, who are not dead to the powers of recollection, the deceptions by which the fatal Pitt ministry *began;* the fallacies, the frauds, the big-sounding and hollow promises, wherewith it set out on that career, which has brought us to put the question, whether *we are to remain as we are, or become the slaves of Frenchmen?* Of this ministry, now, after a twenty years trial, the characteristics still are all retained. It has exhausted the country; it has drained away its spirit, and has blasted its reputation; it has perverted good to bad, and has made bad ten thousand times worse; but, still has it lost nothing of its own nature. It was " conceived in sin, and brought forth " in iniquity;" it has been nursed and raised and protected by those means of deceiving and corrupting the people, which first gave it existence; and that people are now justly smarting under the consequences of their perverse credulity and their baseness. Let the light-headed and perfidious multitude that clamoured against the former ministry, and that, instigated by the corrupt and all-corrupting metropolis, called upon their sovereign to exert, to the farthest bounds, his power of controuling the House of Commons; let those, who so loudly bawled for " the heaven-born minister," to protect them from an invasion of their property, and to preserve their liberty; let them *now* tell us, whether their property has been, and is protected, and whether their liberties have remained unimpaired and are in no danger. Where are now the sarcasms, the taunts, the insolent exultations of " the " heaven-born minister" himself? " The " right honourable gentleman" (said he, speaking of Mr. Fox, in the very debate from which the motto is taken) " has con- " trived to introduce a subject, calculated to " afford him an opportunity of gratifying " his passions and resentments, and of giv- " ing vent to those violent and splenetic " emotions, to which his *present situation* " so naturally gives birth; a situation, in " which to the torments of baffled hope, of " wounded pride and disappointed ambition, " is added the mortifying reflection, that, " to the improvident and intemperate use he " made of his power and influence, while " they lasted, he could alone attribute the " cause of all those misfortunes, to which " he is in the habit so constantly, so pathe- " tically, but so unsuccessfully, to solicit the " *compassion of the House.* Feeling, as I " do, for the right honourable gentleman, " I declare, that I should think it highly " unbecoming in me to consider any of his " transports, any of those ecstasies of a " mind labouring under the aggravated load " of disappointment and self-upbraiding, " which at present are his lot, as objects " of any other emotion in my breast than " that of *pity*; certainly not of resentment, " nor even of *contempt.*" The time, when these saucy taunts were uttered, was that when after the dissolution of parliament at the end of five years, the re-election had filled the House with those new and strange-looking faces, which, as Mr. Burke then observed, no man in respectable life had ever before beheld. It was at the time, when the clamours, the catch-words, the misrepresentations, the falsehoods, of the fund-dealing crew had so blinded and misled the people, in every part of the kingdom, as to induce them to give the minister ample means to carry him through those measures, which led to the establishment of his political power. But, when the giddy people were thus acting; when they saw their work in this prosperous way; when they beheld " the heaven-born" minister and his colleague Dundas, supported by the Rolles, the Bassets, and the Marshams; by the Jenkinsons, the Wedderburns and the Edens; by the Wilberforces, the Thorntons, the Smiths, the Beaufoys and the Hills; and, though last not least, by PAUL BENFIELD and his

trusty crew: when the people were exulting at this the effect of their clamorous folly, little did they imagine to what it would finally lead; little did they, though repeatedly warned of the danger, believe, that the end of all this exultation would be, first unbounded corruption and degradation at home, and next, the most imminent danger from abroad. Little did they believe, that at that time; yea, at that very moment, was beginning, under the loudest professions of purity, under the guise even of acts of parliament for the professed purposes of œconomy and for the prevention of abuse; little did they believe, that then, even then, was beginning that system, that settled system of peculation, now brought to light by the Tenth Report of the Naval Commissioners. As little did the "heaven-born" minister and his trusty colleague anticipate the final result of their schemes of ambition. When the above-quoted saucy speech was made, they no more imagined that they should live to see the day, when Mr. Fox would be commissioned, by his constituents, to carry to the King an address describing and reprobating the course of their conduct relative to the management of the public money; no more did they imagine this, than their friend and supporter, PAUL BENFIELD, with a million in his purse and with eight members of parliament at his back, imagined that he should live to beg his bread. By the debate reporter, we are told, that, upon the occasion above referred to, there was a *loud laugh* from the Treasury Benches. Does Paul Benfield, who doubtless, joined in that laugh, laugh *now?* Does his friend Mr. Dundas, though become a peer, laugh *now?* Does his other friend, Mr. Pitt, though he has been able to keep his place for twenty long years, laugh *now?* Does the country laugh *now?* Mr. Burke warned them, at the time, that, though they appeared dead to the voice of all other admonishers, calamity would become their teacher, and would instruct them through the means of their feelings. But, even Mr. Burke, with all his prescience, never could have imagined, that the delusion would have continued so long; never could have imagined, that calamity and disgrace would have so long continued to produce no effect as to the opening of the eyes of the people; never could have imagined, that the reign of delusion would have lasted to the days of the Two BULLETINS, and that, at last, it would have been successfully carried on by the William Dundases, the Wards, the Cannings, and the Huskissons: even Mr. Burke, who had seen so much of the folly and the perverse blindness of the people, never could have regarded it as possible, that their minds would, at last, become so perverted and brutified as to become the sport of such men.——To advert to the endeavours that are still employed to deceive the people, with regard to the future prospects of the war, is hardly worth while; or, those who can believe in any of the stories that are now told them about the successes of the Archduke Charles, with 90,000 men at three posts distance from Vienna; about the future exertions and wonderful exploits of the gallant youth, who, as they told us, took such a solemn oath upon the tomb of the Great Frederick, at Potsdam, and whom we know to have accepted of Napoleon's permission to march home by a route marked out for himself and his army; about the warlike attitude of the King of Prussia, who, as they told us, was, a month ago, at the head, actually at the head, of an army of 140,000 men, making through Bohemia by forced marches to attack the Emperor Napoleon; about the operations of the army of Russians, Swedes, and English in the North of Europe: it is hardly worth while to advert to these endeavours to keep up the system of delusion; for those who can be deluded by them, may be, and, by all reasonable men, must be, considered as belonging to that class of animals which are to be instructed only by chastisement, by nothing but mere bodily suffering.——There is, however, one topic, connected with these endeavours at further delusion, upon which it is our duty to speak out; I mean, the censure, nay, the down-right abuse, which the ministerial writers are now heaping, without measure, upon the head of the unfortunate and ill-advised Emperor of Austria; and this their conduct is the more censurable, and, indeed, detestable, as it must now be evident to the whole world, that his misfortunes, his ruin as a great potentate, is to be chiefly ascribed to his having yielded to those amongst his advisers who adopted the precipitate councils of the English cabinet. These ministerial writers were, the public must recollect, clamourously loud against all those, who appeared to doubt of the firmness of the Emperor Francis. They applauded him; oh! how they applauded him, when he was fleeing through his dominions, leaving them a prey to the French! With what delight, with what exultation, did they find that he had sacrificed even his capital to to what *they called* the common cause! He was *then* "the best of men;" the "father of his people;" a "most beloved "sovereign;" a "gallant and magnanimous prince," and every thing else that

was good and great. The being the "particular delight of heaven," that, indeed, the Morning Post news-paper reserved for our sovereign and for us; but, every thing, short of that was the Emperor Francis. How, alas! is the tone now changed! He is now, in the language of these papers, these vile and versatile papers (language, however, that I will not quote,) the very reverse of all that he was before. Not a month has passed over our heads since the ministerial papers called upon the ministry, and, perhaps, they had some notion that the call would not be in vain, to *prosecute* their opponents for ridiculing the sovereigns who were the allies of this country, and particularly for having said that the Emperor Francis was what nobody but themselves had ever called him. And, is he not still our ally? Or, is misfortune, misfortune brought upon him, too, by our councils, to be pleaded as a justification for abusing him?

"Why yes; if satire knows its time and place,
"You still may lash the greatest—in disgrace:
"For merit will, by turns, forsake them all;
"Would you know *when*? Exactly when they *fall*."

These maxims, laid down in the sport of imagination, and lashing baseness by exaggerated statement and ironical advice, are now acted upon by the hirelings of the present day, with as much coolness and as much confidence as a good man acts upon the precepts of the decalogue. Each of them seems, with Satan, to have said: "Evil, be "thou henceforth my good;" and to have resolved, like him, to have devoted his mind to the purposes of deception and destruction. ——As to the fact; what was the Emperor Francis to do? He had done all that was in his power, not only for himself, but for *his allies*. "Will Austria hold out to the last?" (said Mr. Fox in his memorable speech quoted in the preceding sheet, page 13) "No: it is contrary to all experience and "history to suppose, as has been argued, "that, being engaged to Russia and En-"gland, she will be bound to hold out to "the last. No country can be obliged, by "any treaty, to hold out to its destruction "and to lie down under its ruin." So says reason; and so says, too, the public law of Europe. But, what are reason and the unanimous voice of the civilians to the politicians of 'Change Alley? What are the preservation of the last remains of the ancient and venerable House of Austria and the happiness of twenty millions of Austrian subjects in competition with the safety of the treasures of five or six hundred Jews or Jew-like fund dealers? What care they who sinks, so that they swim? After all, however, these censures, this cowardly abuse, of the Emperor Francis is *entirely* without foundation; for, except as to what would have obviously been of no avail, he *did* hold out to the last. He gave up his capital, his revenues, his arsenal, and his means of raising men. He was pursued to the very confines of his dominions, and there, in a last stand, was compleatly defeated. There was nothing left for him, but submission to the will of the conqueror, or a flight out of his dominions; and, this latter would have answered no good purpose to his allies, because, by such a measure, he would only have left Napoleon to erect another royal or ducal house instead of the House of Austria. By submission, by acceding to the will of Napoleon, and by agreeing to propositions which it would have been useless to reject, he obtained, at least, that on which these same ministerial writers appear yet to set a high value; to wit; the safety of the Emperor Alexander and the remnant of his army.—Whether, in the treaty of peace between Austria and France; or, rather, in the terms, upon which Napoleon shall allow the House of Austria to retain its title and some part of its territory, there will be found any conditional arrangement for the purpose of putting *English* generosity to the test, we have yet to learn. If there should: if the territory upon the Inn, or any part of the Venetian states, or of Corinthia, or Styria, or any thing else, should be given back to Austria, upon the condition that England will give something up to France; if this should be the case, we shall have a fair opportunity of showing how ready *we* are to make sacrifices in "the *common cause*," and how disinterested we are in our views with regard to wars upon the continent. Now, observe, I do not *recommend* any such sacrifices: I pledge myself to nothing upon the subject: it is our duty to preserve ourselves; but, can we, then, deny, that it was the duty of the Emperor Francis is to preserve himself with a crown upon his head, and with some small remains of power in Europe?——If it be unjust to reproach the Emperor Francis for his submission, it is, if possible, still more *impolitic*; for, the inevitable consequence of such reproaches must be, to excite hatred against us, not only in the dominions of Austria, but, in every part of the world; and, when we affect astonishment at the language, said, in the French bulletins, to have been made use of, with respect to this country, by the Emperor Francis, we, surely, forget the odious comparison which our ministerial papers drew,

with such insolent triumph, between the conduct of *our navy* and of *his army*. A prince and his army are something like man and wife: they will pretty freely find fault with and reproach one another; but, they do not easily digest the interference of third parties, and especially if the lesson proceeds upon a comparison of their faults with that of the virtues of those who interfere. From the very onset of this contest, the papers, well known to speak the sentiments of office, have been dealing their reproaches out against every prince upon the continent, in whom they perceived a backwardness to oppose the French. There has been, in these reproaches, no consideration at all, as to the situation of the parties reproached; no account has been made of their danger; it never having appeared to enter into the minds of those writers, that, when the object was to draw the power of France off from England, the safety, the very existence, of those by whose means the object was to be obtained, was of any importance. In short, like the cock upon his dunghill, they seem to have looked round over the states of Europe, and to have said: " all these were made for us." If we persist in this presumptuous, this ungrateful, this odious, this dishonourable, this detestable course; if we persist in abusing all those who will not join us, and all those who do join us the moment they fall a sacrifice to that junction, those that are yet standing, will certainly prefer our abuse without destruction to our abuse with destruction; and, in spite of the cheering paragraphs of those choice " young friends," Messrs. Huskisson and Ward, I cannot help being of opinion, that the king of Prussia will prefer the latter, though we were assured that he had been swearing upon the tomb at Potsdam, and though our " young friends" almost swore, that he was, a month ago, actually upon the march, at the head of an army of one hundred and forty thousand men.

" Perish Commerce."——This is the title of an article in the Courier of the 6th instant, in which an attempt, by way of *last shift*, I suppose, is made to terrify the fundholders and the merchants with the persuasion, that, if the Opposition were to come into power, they would instantly overset the funds, that they would destroy all the manufactories, and that they would give up our ships and our colonies to the Emperor of the French, and that, too, because the monied and commercial influence have been the support of Mr. Pitt.——The words; " perish commerce," are put into the mouth of Mr. Windham, though every reader must now know, that they, with their context, " let the constitution live," which expressed the proper sentiment, that, to preserve the constitution we ought to wish the loss of our commerce; it is well known, and it has been so stated more than once in the House of Commons, that Mr. Windham never used these words; but that they were used by Mr. Hardinge, who, in his place in parliament, owned, or rather claimed, them as his. To this fact, if the reader will add another, and that is, that the words were uttered at the time that Mr. Windham, even supposing him to have spoken them, was in office *with Mr. Pitt*, he will have tolerably good means of judging of the candour of this tool of the " young friends," as well as of the sincerity of that alarm for the safety of commerce, which alarm he would fain make us believe, arises, in part at least, from this sentiment having been expressed by Mr. Windham.——After quoting, or rather garbling, several passages in the Register and one in the Morning Chronicle, rrelating to the funding and commercial influence of the nation, and more especially to the dangerous *predominance* of that influence over every other, over the spirit of the people as well as over the legal and constitutional prerogatives of the crown; but, at the same time, making such an arrangement of, and giving such a turn to, these passages as to make them convey a personal censure upon, and a personal hatred of, all monied and all commercial men; after this effort of candour, the writer proceeds as follows: " Such are the sentiments, the views, and " the expectations, of the two journals of " the two party branches, which, united, " make the coalition. Though disagreeing on " so many points, on the subversion of the " commercial system, on the ruin of com- " mercial men, they are most cordially of opi- " nion, for no other reason, than, that Mr. Pitt " having successfully cherished that system " and these men, who in their turn support " him, both must be swept away, that the " road to power may be made accessible for " the Opposition. It is for the King and " the Country to consider whether an Oppo- " sition having such designs should be en- " trusted with any degree of power, *even* " *with the privilege of sitting in Parliament.* " To nothing is this nation so much in- " debted for its greatness as to its commer- " cial system. Every commercial nation in " the world has been powerful as well as " rich. There never was a commercial na- " tion in the world the twentieth part so " powerful or so rich as England now is; " nor was there ever one the twentieth part

"so formidable as a *military state*. In our "navy we have more than 100,000 of the "bravest, of the most skilful, of the best "troops in the world; they are the bulwark "of this country; but *without the reprobated commercial system that gallant race of men would soon be extinct*. It is for "the King and the Country to consider whether they will give the reins of Government to a party whose first object *avowedly* is to destroy that system, for the purpose of crippling a political rival."—— Of the *tolerance* and the *truth* of the direct assertions, here made, nothing needs be said; but, there is one opinion, upon which I cannot refrain from offering a remark or two. And, first of all, who has said, that *commerce* was injurious to this country? I have always said, that, without commerce, and particularly *commercial navigation*, that this island could not *possibly* continue to be great; that it could not *possibly* retain its consequence amongst the nations of Europe. With this qualification I have always spoken; but, it is the system of rendering *every thing* commercial; of making merchants and bankers into Lords; of making a set of fund-dealers the distributors of honours and rewards in the army and the navy; of the government, in its several departments, making official reports to Lords Mayor and Lloyd's Coffee-House; of a system, in short, which, day by day, is drawing every thing, in the way of influence, from every part of the country, and depositing it in the hands of those, who necessarily become tools in the hands of the minister of the day, *be he who or what he will*. It is the commercial system, thus distended, thus spread over the whole country, thus swallowing up and preventing all the influence of the aristocracy and the church and all the constitutional influence of the crown; it is this system that I reprobate, and that, most assuredly, has nothing to do either in creating or in supporting "that "gallant race of men," by whom the nation has been so long defended, and by whom her glories have been caused to shine forth in every quarter of the world. In what way is the creating or the preserving of this race of men connected with the commercial system, as now extended and perverted? How does gambling in the funds tend to support the navy? England was great; she was powerful upon the sea; she was queen of the ocean; all this was long, very long indeed, before her sons ever heard of *funds*. The *real* merchant, as I have a hundred times observed, is a person to be cherished; his calling is as honourable and as conducive to the good of the country, as that of the farmer. It is only when his calling is perverted; when his trade becomes, as it must become under a funding system so extended, a species of gambling; when he trusts more to craft than to industry, prudence, and integrity; when he, if he be *lucky*, may become richer than a lord by the speculations of a few days; when his fortune may be made, when the means of bringing five or six members in amongst the *representatives of the people*, may be obtained in consequence of one valuable hint from a minister, or a minister's favourite. Then it is, that the commercial system becomes dangerous to the liberties of the people and the throne of the king; and then it is, that it becomes an object of my reprobation.——But, to suppose, that the Opposition would set about overthrowing the fund-dealers, because they have been, and are, staunch friends of Mr. Pitt, is to have a very great opinion of their vindictiveness, or a very little one of their discernment and their recollection; for, must they not have perceived, that it is to the minister of *the day*; not, to this or to that minister, but to the minister of the day; the minister who makes loans and lotteries, and who gives bonuses; the minister who makes contracts for hemp and timber and tents and baggage and slops and corn and wine and brandy, and who expects, perhaps, to be *treated civilly in return*: must not the Opposition have perceived, that it is this sort of minister that the money-lenders and merchants are attached to? And, must they not remember, that the money-lenders and merchants were as much attached to Mr. Addington as to Mr. Pitt? Or, if there was any little falling off in the case of Mr. Addington, might it not be reasonably ascribed to his not having afforded any of those little *accommodations* so judiciously afforded by his predecessor to those excellent persons Messrs. *Boyd and Benfield*? And, if the Opposition, thus perceiving and thus remembering, should harbour any designs hostile to the fund-dealers and the merchants, must they not be actuated by something other than a love of place and emolument?—As to the *way* of lessening, or of removing, if possible, the enormous evils attendant upon the funds, I know, as I have frequently said, nothing of the sentiments of any one member of the Opposition; no, not even by hear-say; and, being fully persuaded, that the whole nation will think with me at last, I am by no means anxious to hear their opinions. *My own* I shall freely state, as often as it appears proper and is convenient. In the next number but one I intend to do this somewhat at

large; and, in the mean time, I beg leave to refer the reader to a letter, which he will find in a subsequent page, and to which letter I propose to give an answer. I will just now observe, however, not by way of answer to the COURIER, whose paragraphs I only introduce as convenient openings to my remarks (and very convenient and useful they are in that respect), but by way of remonstrance to those, who seem to think me rash, upon this subject, and *unaware of the consequences* of the measures I have sometimes alluded to as necessary; and, I must say, that before such an opinion be expressed, something should be done, in the way of *argument*, to convince me of the erroneousness of the premises whence my conclusions have been drawn. This has been attempted by my correspondent; and, if I am not convinced by him, I shall, I trust, be able to shew that my want of conviction is founded on reason; and, at any rate, the reader will have an opportunity of deciding between us; but, to the conduct of those who bestow the term *rashness* upon my opinions, without giving me any, even the least, proof, that they have themselves ever taken the trouble to *think* upon the subject, I cannot bring myself, to affix any epithet milder than that of presumptuous. I mean not this for the Huskissons and the Cannings and the Old Roses and the Wards: I mean it not for the men of the Two Bulletins; but for men whose opinions I respect, but whom I cannot permit to censure my opinions, unless they condescend to favour me with the reasons whereon that censure is founded.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.—As was naturally to be expected, the calamities upon the Continent have produced upon the men of the Two Bulletins an apprehension for nothing but their places; and, of course, all their endeavours, in all manner of ways, are bent towards the preservation of them. One of their efforts is directed towards bringing men's minds back to the political and parliamentary divisions of the last war, to revive the party animosities, the popular prejudices and passions, and, if it may, by any means, be possible, the party divisions, of those days, particularly with regard to the French revolution, and (as if the dangerous principles of that revolution were still afloat) with regard to peace with France. Amongst the attempts of this sort I shall select one only; but, upon that, when I have inserted it, I shall have to beseech the reader's attention to a few observations.—"We cannot see, therefore, in what way it can be "maintained, that the disasters and dangers "in which the Continent unhappily is involved, are imputable to this country. "Those disasters are all to be attributed to "one event; the imbecility or treachery "that led to the destruction of that fine army which was placed under the command "of General Mack;—an event in which "Mr. Pitt could have had no concern. "'But if we must fight the French single-"'handed,' say the Opposition writers, "'must it be under those leaders whom the "'French have beaten?' They would give us "Mr. Fox, we suppose, for a leader; and how "would he enable us to fight France single-"handed? He has no jealousy of Buonaparté; thinks him a harmless man, "who had no views against this country, "but those of innocent commercial *rivalité*. "In the character of a minister who is to "conduct a war against France, it has been "supposed that some degree of jealousy and "suspicion of the designs of that power "were necessary, but here the Opposition "would give us, to conduct the war against "Buonaparté, a man who, if he be not the "admirer of Buonaparté, is at least not prepared to view him with that jealousy, distrust, and hatred, which ought deeply and "invariably to influence the feelings of "every man in the country. The nation, "thank God! is not reduced to such a state "of humiliation as to render it necessary "for it to look for its security and salvation "to the friends of O'Connor."——As to the first part of this paragraph, there is nothing to be done, except merely to repeat, what we have said before, and of the truth of which the country is unanimously persuaded; namely, that our ministry were the great cause of the calamities upon the Continent, because they urged and precipitated Austria into the war, in spite of advice, founded upon clearly expressed reasons, to the contrary. But, this repetition is, in fact, useless; because, with those who think the present minister and his young friends capable of conducting the nation through the perils that await her, no argument in favour of a change need be urged. With those who do think a change necessary, a speedy change of councils absolutely necessary, in order to give the country a chance of preserving its independence; with those, very little, I should think, would be required to show the fallacy, the hypocrisy, and, when compared with what the same writer has so recently maintained, the profligate inconsistency, of the remaining part of the paragraph.——"The friends of O'Connor." Now, supposing us all, on both sides, still to retain, in their utmost extent, all the opinions, which we entertained during the

whole of the revolution, and, until the hour, and after the conclusion, of the Peace of Amiens; supposing us all to retain those our opinions (except Mr. Pitt, indeed, who, has shifted, and is allowed to shift, his backward and forward as circumstances may require), what ground would that be for an objection to Mr. Fox? I mean amongst us, who so widely differed from him, and by whom his opinions and his conduct were so unqualifiedly censured? The *personalities* must be buried in oblivion. We have, in this way, so much to atone for, on both sides, that I must always protest against their being brought to a balance of accounts. I will, for my part, never retract one single word; and, if I ask no one to retract with respect to me, I think, I may rest satisfied of a clear conscience. If the French revolution were to return, we should, I am persuaded, stand, with respect to each other, just as we did before; with this exception only, that those, who, like me, were induced to give our support to the destructive power of Mr. Pitt, would not again be so induced. But, can this state of things *return?* Are not the circumstances changed? Are they not *all* changed? Instead of a wild democracy in France, is there not a perfect military despotism in that country? Instead of being all upon the alert for the rights of man, in England; instead of clubs and societies for the propagation of principles of liberty, is not the nation, as to matters of that kind, as silent as the grave? Is there? I appeal to the common sense of the reader: is there *now* danger to be apprehended from councils impregnated, nay, howsoever deeply impregnated, with the doctrines of liberty? And, is there one man, who will still call himself an Englishman, and who, while despotism is insolently staring us in the face; while the question is, whether we shall become slaves or not; while this is the question before us, is there any such man, who can seriously fear, that we have danger to apprehend from councils which have a strong, and, if you will, a too powerful, bias, towards the side of liberty?——But, "*jealousy* and *suspicion*" of the designs of France are, we are told, necessary in a leader, at the present time. Jealousy and suspicion are the inmates of weak, of mean, and of cowardly minds; and, if they alone were sufficient in a political leader, there are few persons, I am persuaded, who would think, a change of ministry necessary. But, these excellent qualities are not all that are wanted in a ministry of a great state, at any time; and, at this time, we want them not at all, there being not one person in England; no, not an underwriter, with his black short pen stuck behind his ear, nor an underwriter's wife "in the family-way" pressing forward to touch the wonder-working minister, nor even a "young friend" with his imitative nasal croak and grin of conscious impunity; there is not one even of this race of beings, who stands in need of suspicion and jealousy wherewith to meet the designs of Napoleon, who has proclaimed those designs from one end of the world to the other, and who has given us a proof of his sincerity in his terror-striking preparations at Boulogne.——Never did Mr. Fox say, that Buonaparté was "a harmless "man;" never did he say, that he apprehended nothing from the increase of French power; but, over and over again, has he, in the most explicit manner, declared the direct contrary; and, as to the *personal hatred* of Buonaparté, how long is it, to you who hear me I put the question, how long is it, since these very writers, taking their tone from Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Pitt, reprobated the perpetuating of animosity against this same Buonaparté, and applauded the prosecution of Mr. Peltier for having made endeavours to the contrary, which prosecution they themselves recommended?——But, whence this new-light as to the *unfitness* of Mr. Fox for the task of opposing France? Reader, need I recall to your mind the memorable occurrences of the spring of 1804? Need I remind you, that, at that time, when it was the anxious wish of the whole nation to see formed such an administration as would inspire confidence at home and respect abroad, at the same time that it put an end, for ever, to the political animosities engendered during the French revolution and its attendant war; need I remind him, that, at that time, when the hopes of this loyal and suffering and patient people were again blasted by low intrigue and by ambition still lower; need I remind him, that at that time, these very writers, who are now endeavouring to excite doubts as to the cabinet-worthiness of Mr. Fox, first most distinctly reprobated the formation of any ministry, of which he should not form a part; and, afterwards, *defended* the conduct of Mr. Pitt, by the assertion, that that gentleman spent three quarters of an hour in an useless effort to persuade the King, to admit Mr. Fox into his councils; and, that, in a still later stage of the intrigue, and as a further means of defence, they asserted, that Mr. Fox had received an offer from the minister to go as a general negotiator, with unlimited powers, to France and to all the courts of the Continent, la-

menting, at the same time, deeply *lamenting*, that he could not be prevailed upon to accept of the offer? Need I remind the reader of these things; and need I, then, call for his detestation upon the head of these versatile hirelings?

Botley, Thursday,
9th Jan. 1806.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

[The reader will recollect, that I have frequently asked the question; whether, supposing us to be obliged to continue paying the interest upon the national debt, it be *possible* for us to carry on the war for five or six years longer? He will recollect, that I have invited those who differ from me upon this important point, to state the reasons whereon that difference is founded. This invitation has been accepted of by a correspondent, whose letter I here insert, and to which letter I beg leave to solicit the attention of my readers. That it may have a fair chance of producing all the effect that it is calculated to produce, I shall leave it for one week; nay, for two weeks, without an attempt to answer it. In the Register after the next, I shall offer some remarks upon it; and, in the meanwhile, I shall content myself with requesting it to be observed, that, as to the *evils* of the Funding System, *such as it now is and is becoming*, my correspondent perfectly agrees with me. He admits, that the national debt is likely to go on accumulating, unless some effectual measure be adopted to prevent it; and, he, of course, admits, that Mr. Pitt's schemes, for that purpose, are not effectual. He admits, that a farther great accumulation (suppose of another hundred millions) would be an intolerable evil. He admits, that the debt, "in its "present magnitude, goes far towards cramping "public spirit, enervating patriotism, and deadening the love of our country; for, that, if "taxes upon taxes not only abridge, but annihilate, the comforts of the people, they cannot "fail to extinguish virtuous independence; that "the public mind is thereby fettered and enfeebled; "that patriotism evaporates, and gives place to dependence and degradation." ——These admissions are manly. They discover a love of truth. They form a basis whereon to reason. They express a decided opinion, that *something* is absolutely necessary to be done; that *some change* must take place in the Funding System, and that right speedily; and, it only remains for us to inquire, whether the change, which I think necessary, be necessary and justifiable; and whether the change, which this gentleman proposes, would be effectual; or, rather, whether the change proposed by him would, upon the whole, be preferable to the change proposed by me; or, more properly speaking, the change which I regard as absolutely necessary to the salvation of the country.]

SIR,—I read your Political Register with much satisfaction. I admire the masterly manner in which you discuss the vast variety of subjects which you bring forward, and I am astonished at the stretch of mental exertion which enables you to pursue the same train of thought with so much energy and ardour. But, Sir, there is one subject occasionally introduced into your work, and treated by you as if your sentiments with regard to it were matured, which leads me, in common with many of your admirers, to regret that you cannot be supposed to have the time at command which should enable you to devote to it the attention which its magnitude, its incalculable importance, imperiously demands. I mean that of the National Debt.—For a considerable time, Sir, I read the hints which you casually threw out on this subject merely as matters of speculation. Many valuable men, men possessed of transcendent talents, have been notorious for riding their *hobbies*; and I had no objection to Mr. Cobbett's trotting his. But, Sir, your work is one of no common merit; it finds its way to every corner of the British Empire, and it must necessarily produce great effects on the public mind. I therefore, Sir, would solemnly put the question to your feelings, to your principles, to your honour. Do you seriously mean to recommend to Britons to cancel their public debts by the application of a national sponge? Do you really mean to argue, that a British Parliament should enact, or that a British Public should sanction, a measure which, if acted in private life, would expose the most hardy individual of that public to the lash of British law, as well as to merited reproach and indignation? Surely, Mr. Cobbett, you are not fully aware that the measures which you appear (for I will yet, only say appear) to recommend, is one of the most awfully important that can possibly be suggested. I say awfully important, because of the principles in which it originates, and because of the tremendous effects which would necessarily result from it. — With regard to the principles in which it has its origin, I do not hesitate to affirm that they are intimately connected with those of the rankest democracy; that they are scions which spring from the poisonous roots of the infamously misnamed tree of liberty: for, Sir, what is a democratic revolution? What is the

French revolution but a revolution of property? The multitude seized by force the property of the few, and by force they retain it. Can it be denied that the measure of laying hold of our national funds is of this description? A holds in his hands the property of B; but, instead of making any effort to pay him, he tells him, "I will not give you principal or interest, and because you are poor while I am powerful I set you at defiance: go, beg your bread." If such a doctrine be not of the essence, the very kernel, of democracy, I know not what it is; for, if you deprive me *brevi manu* of one part of my property, a part of it, too, which I trusted to your honour and your integrity, what security can I have against your farther encroachments, against your noonday robbery or your midnight plunder?—I therefore enter my solemn protest against this doctrine, because I conceive that its advocates do much towards planting the roots of revolution. It is a doctrine which breaks down the mound of national virtue, and by so doing, permits the ingress of the demon of democracy, and of principles which will not and cannot be bridled until they spread far and wide the scourge of ruin and desolation. The measure in question is one against which I protest, because of the awful effects which would necessarily flow from it. Give me leave, Sir, to solicit your indulgence, while I very briefly state my reasons for thinking that it would be barbarous and cruel, unjust and dishonourable, unwise and impolitic; and, I will venture to add, unexpedient and unnessary.—It would be a barbarous and cruel measure; for, I would ask, who would be the sufferers in the first instance? It will be answered; a few hundred rich Jews! Supposing this to be the fact; upon what principle can an attack on their wealth be justified? That because a man is rich, he should be pointed out as the object of public indignation is a doctrine which may suit the other side of the streights of Dover, but it is one which will, I trust, never debase the heart of a Briton.—But, Sir, I aver, that the sufferers in the first instance would be among the middling ranks of life. Many who are not possessed of money enough to enable them to purchase land are glad to invest their little all in the public Funds and on the faith of British honour: others who are anxious to withdraw a part of their capital from the chances of commerce conceive that there is here a place of safety wherein to deposit it. Some are desirous to set apart the produce of their industry, so as to leave numerous familes unsubjected to the inconveniencies which attend the division of heritable property: these also become stock-holders. There are multitudes who cannot embark in commercial pursuits: and not a few, such as Clergymen, &c. who are incapacitated by law for exercising their talents for business. These are the national creditors. Your Angersteins, and Barings, and Goldsmids might suffer, but their sufferings would be comparatively trivial. They have property elsewhere, and a thousand other sources would be open to their talents and industry; but I repeat, that the load would fall with insupportable weight on those classes of the community, who would be most helpless and destitute. The widow, the fatherless, and the orphan, would sink under its pressure into the vale of misery, calling for the vengeance of Heaven, on the barbarous authors of their misfortunes and ruin.—But I have farther called the measure in question, unjust and dishonourable. It would stain the annals of our age and country, with an everlasting stigma. What, Sir! shall the names of Britons be handed down to posterity, with a tarnished, a polluted character! What! while British credit is yet unimpaired, while an immense British capital, (a capital which I venture to pronounce, little short of two thousand millions sterling, is still untouched, shall it be said by our children's children, that we had treacherously betrayed and ruined those of our fellow-subjects, who trusted their all to our honour, that though able to liquidate our debts, we would not make the attempt; but that we resolved to riot in luxurious indulgence, while with hearts, steeled against every benevolent feeling, we beheld thousands and tens of thousands of our countrymen, who had hitherto known ease and independence, reduced by our baseness to wretchedness and despair. Forbid it honour! forbid it every principle that is dear to the virtuous mind! Who, Sir, can be so base, as not to venerate the character of the Monarch who immediately after a battle, which was fatal to his army, and to his prospects, thus addressed his Queen, in a short but dignified epistle: "We have lost all but "our honour." He retained a gem infinitely more splendid than any in his crown. It is a gem which I trust will ever be dear to a free-born British heart.—But I have farther called the measure which I deprecate, unwise and impolitic: unwise, because it would completely defeat the end which on a superficial view, it seems calculated to produce. The great end which the advocates for this summary method of extinguishing our national debt profess to have in view, is, that thus they would at once annihilate

our public burdens; thus would they at once cancel an annual payment of 25 millions sterling. Admirable calculators! But will these gentlemen take the trouble of reflecting, what would be the effect of extinguishing 25 millions from the annual circulating capital of this country! Of this country. did I say! the expression is too feeble. I will adopt a more suitable one, and affirm that this act would overthrow, from its very foundation, a fabric which would bury under its ruins the commerce and the wealth of the world.—Is there, Mr. Cobbett, among your readers, a single individual who has not heard repeatedly of the widely-extended distress, which has, often followed the failure of a single commercial house? Supposeyou were enabled to announce at Lloyd's, that Coutts, and Co. and Smith, Payne, and Co. had just stopped payment, you would most indubitably announce, what would create infinite distress in the metropolis: nay, the stock would probably extend to the ends of the empire. But, compared to the crash which the measure in question would produce, these would be but as the dust of the balance. Instead, therefore, of the supposrd effect of annihilating our burdens, this plan would unquestionably render them intolerably oppressive. We should have to make bricks without straw; to raise taxes, and furnish supplies from the midst of bankruptcy and ruin. Hence it would follow, that to pay our army and navy, and to defray the expenses of government would prove a task infinitely more arduous than it has ever yet been; a task, Sir, which it would be absolutely impossible to accomplish.—And after all *cui bono?* It will be answered, land will escape the shock; for, landholders have a solid property. A solid property! Yes; and so have landholders in Upper Canada, where the fee simple of 1000 acres can be purchased for £50. What is land, Sir, without farmers, or skill, or capital, wherewith to cultivate or enrich it? And how shall wealthy landholders or opulent farmers exist, if our great cities, instead of furnishing ready markets for produce, should only pour forth upon them a hungry bankrupt beggared population, who, like locusts, should devour the fruits of the earth? I have already said that the middling classes of the community would suffer in the first instance: but, to suppose that the ruin would extend only to one class; nay, that every rank and every station would not ultimately feel its awful effects, would argue (at least in my humble apprehension) an incurable degree of folly.—The measure in question would further be impolitic in the extreme, because its immediate effect would be to cut the sinews of war and to lay us low at the mercy of the modern Polyphemus, who has already swallowed the greater portion of the christian world. Permit me to illustrate the former and this idea by a similitude.—Suppose yourself, Mr. Cobbett, on board of one of our first-rate men of war, while a dreadful hurricane threatened it with destruction. Suppose, that the violence of the storm causes the ship to heel; what would you think of the experience of the crew who would rush with precipitation to the lee side; and, with the view of lightening the ship, should cast into the sea guns, water-casks, and ballast from *that side only?* Would not the immediate consequence be, that if a prudent commander did not interfere in time, the vessel would instantaneously fall to the other side and with a fearful yaw sink into the deep? Or, suppose that the crew (instead of casting away useless lumber and cautiously stowing her ballast) should cast *all* her guns, shot, and powder overboard.—Why thus, Sir, the vessel and her sapient sailors might weather the storm, they might exist; but no longer would this existence be that of a British man of war. As an useless hulk would she float on the ocean the prey and the scorn of any petty privateer. Precisely thus, Sir, would it happen to an isle that has hitherto lifted up its head in the ocean as the wonder and the envy of the world. Let us but once indulge the folly of attempting to lighten the British oak by casting her incumbrances from *one* side: or, without metaphor, let us but attempt to prop one half of the community on the ruin of the other half—still we might exist. Without capital, commerce, or credit; without ability to borrow a single guinea on the faith of our departed honour, we might, as a province of France, and at the mercy of a despot, contrive to carry our chains; but our proud pre-eminence would be gone for ever, and we should sink among the nations unpitied, execrated as slaves who were unworthy of the blessings which they enjoyed. —But, Sir, I have farther ventured to call the measure in question one which is inexpedient and unnecessary. And this I do the more readily in consequence of the invitation which you held out to your readers in your 13th No. vol. 8, p. 490, now before me. There you "invite those who differ from "you in opinion to shew how we are to "maintain a war for 6 or 7 years longer, "and at the same time continue to pay the "interest of the national debt, which debt "must be increased to six or seven hundred "millions before the end of that time." —That the national debt is likely to accu-

mulate, if no effectual measure is adopted to prevent it, I admit; that its accumulation to the extent which you mention, would be a most intolerable evil I also admit: nay, farther, I am as much disposed as any man can be to allow that its magnitude already goes far towards cramping public spirit, enervating patriotism, and paralysing the love of our country. For, if taxes upon taxes not only abridge but annihilate the comforts of the people, they cannot fail to extinguish honorable and virtuous independence; the public mind is fettered and enfeebled, patriotism evaporates and gives place to dependence and degradation.—But, Sir, I would address my countrymen and say, far be from your minds the feelings of despondency or despair; I would say—rouse from your lethargy and from your fears; ye are able to cancel your debts in the manner that will afford you the consciousness of having acted honorably: ye have yet in your power to direct toward your country the eyes of Europe to behold her sons united in the noble resolution of maintaining unsullied integrity. I would say to my countrymen, pay your debts like honest men who would part with their last guinea rather than forfeit honor. Or if it is found impracticable to pay your debts; at least let the attempt be made with unanimity let an effort be made that shall be worthy of the British character, and then, if there is a deficit, *let it fall as it ought to do, equally on all.*—But, Mr. Cobbett, it is not necessary to call for the last guinea. I do not hesitate to express my belief that one tenth of the national capital, that is, of the capitals of every individual, rich and poor, throughout the kingdom, if applied in the purchase of stock at par, would completely extinguish one full half of our present debt. I say at *par*; because, if the national creditors are paid thus, they have no right to complain of injustice. Those of them who have purchased below par would be benefited; such as have paid a higher price have so far been speculators and have no title to insist for remuneration.—I have already expressed my opinion, that the capital of this kingdom is little short of two thousand millions sterling; and I argue as follows: The Chancellor of the Exchequer has informed us, that the rent of land is above thirty-two millions per annum: value this at 25 years purchase, and you have eight hundred millions. Add the amount of the national debt; because, in a great national measure, there is nothing unfair in calling on the public creditor to contribute his share; my wish would only be to shield him from robbery, not to screen him from his full proportion of the burdens of his country. Thus you have, suppose four hundred millions more, in all, twelve hundred millions. Look around you then, Sir, and consider the value of the houses, plate, jewels, mines, manufactures, stock in trade, ships, horses, cattle, sheep, carriages. Do I exaggerate when I venture to call our capital little short of two thousand millions?—One-tenth of this sum applied in purchasing stock at par, would extinguish *above three hundred and thirty millions of that stock!!*—Need I, Sir, expatiate on the amazing advantages which would necessarily result from such a measure as this? I could address the most selfish individual in Britain, the sordid being, whose heart never felt the *amor patriæ*; and even, to such a person, I think I could demonstrate that this measure would advance his interest, would consolidate and secure his property, and, in fact, would most essentially advance his pecuniary advantage. While this measure would *leave our capital equally productive of revenue as heretofore*, it would at once give us the command little short of twenty millions sterling per annum, because a decrease of ten millions of annual expense, would, in fact, prove equal to a two-fold increase of income. Thus would we be able to carry on war in *infinitum*; without the necessity of levying a single additional tax; or, in other words, we should be able to pay the expense of any war in which we could engage from our current revenue and without borrowing an additional shilling.—While the odious measure which I reprobate, would not only destroy at once four or five hundred millions of our capital, but would also infallibly involve in ruin our manufactures, our commerce, and our wealth of every description, that which I propose, would *arrest for ever* the progress of taxation, would unload and unfetter our commerce, would place our credit on an immoveable basis, would convince our enemies that our resources are not to be exhausted, and, above all, would preserve our national honour and glory unstigmatized and unimpaired. The former measure would call into action some of the worst and most malignant passions in the human heart; the latter would rouse and invigorate some of its most virtuous propensities. *That* would debase and degrade; *this* would dignify and exalt the British character.——But, here, it will very naturally be asked, how is it possible to accomplish a measure of such gigantic magnitude? while, in passing, I must express my surprise, that the highly respectable prelate, the Bishop of Llandaff, has hitherto said nothing to illustrate his ideas

on this subject, or to shew how his proposition could be reduced to practice, I will briefly state, that in my apprehension, this is by no means, the arduous or formidable task that it may appear to be on a cursory view of it.—1st. Two commissioners, of known independence and integrity, to be appointed for each county in the kingdom or for each district, comprehending, suppose, three or four counties; and having authority to call the assistance of the magistrates, clergymen, and others, of summoning juries (where necessary) to value any subject, and of examining parties on oath, might in less than six months, ascertain the whole property throughout Great Britain.—This I should propose to do with the strictest accuracy: let no risk arising from the exposure of property; let no evasion or subterfuge of any description, be admissible; let the ability of every one of Britain's sons to contribute to the salvation of his country be clearly and distinctly specified and marked in the books of the commissioners; of which a duplicate for each county should be deposited in the hands of the sheriff or chief magistrate.—2dly. Whenever this preliminary step is taken, let a tenth part of the property of each individual be declared a debt to his country; and, of course, a debt preferable to any other he may contract thereafter, until it is completely liquidated by such instalments as may be determined on.—3dly. Where this tenth does not exceed £100, let it be paid in the course of the year to the collector of the district, just as the assessed taxes are now paid. This would subject very few individuals to any hardship; because where a man's property is thus limited it is generally moveable and tangible. It is placed, for instance, in a banker's hands, in the funds, or it is lent to some landholder at 5 per cent. interest. In the two former cases, the mode of procedure is obvious. In the latter case, the commissioners for the district could be authorized to discharge the amount of the assessment and place it at once to the debt of the landholder. Thus, A. has an estate worth 25000l., but he owes the contents of five bonds value 1000l. each; where can be the difficulty of discharging the tenth of each of these bonds and taxing the estate of A. with the whole debt to the country? By this plan, A. becomes the debtor of his former creditors, only for £4,500 while he becomes debtor to his country for the full proportion arising from his property, say £2500.—4th. Where the tenth exceeds £100, or, in other words, where the value of a property exceeds £1000, let the proprietors in every county to this extent and upwards, be formed into a kind of corporate body, who shall be conjunctly responsible for the quantum of tax which may affect their properties; and let a quorum of their number, chosen by themselves, keep an account current with the commissioners for liquidating the national debt, to whom they should have to remit the amount of charge against the county in such sums, and at such times, as might be most convenient for themselves, with regular interest half yearly until payment is made: but with an express proviso that *the whole must be paid in a given time*, suppose ten years.* — This would completely obviate the strongest objections, which I ever heard started to the plan of paying the national debt; which was, "that it would bring such an extent of land into the market at once, that it would be completely depreciated." For this, there would, thus, be no necessity. A proprietor would manage ill indeed who could not in less than ten years procure cash sufficient to pay all incumbrances. In very few instances would a sale of land become necessary; and it is evident, that thousands of the present stock-holders, who would be paid off, would rejoice at having opportunities of granting loans of cash in a manner so completely secure and unexceptionable.—Indeed, so perfectly satisfactory would this county security be, that I can conceive no valid objection to some such measure as that of an immediate transfer of the claims of the national creditors, to the different counties, and instead of calling them consols, reduced, long annuities, &c. I would call them Cumberland stock, Northumberland stock, Yorkshire stock and so on; making each of them transferable and redeemable at pleasure. In this or some such manner, Sir, the pecuniary concerns of the landed and monied interests throughout the kingdom would be blended so gradually, and almost imperceptibly, that even from mere selfishness, if no nobler principle should animate them, they would become mutual and powerful supports—By

* Some proprietors who have the command of cash may be able to pay their proportions at once. Let them be permitted to do so, and get their discharges from the county managers. Their concerns with the county is then ended, excepting in as far as they are guarantees for the other proprietors, but in this guarantee there is not a possibility of risk, because it is possessed by its value tenfold, while at the same time it simplifies the business infinitely more than if the commissioners had to correspond with each proprietor.

the mode of cancelling the national debt which I have reprobated, every ruined stock holder, if he does not (through jealousy and a sense of the wrongs done him) become the direct enemy of the land holder, he at least has no interest in supporting his rights against revolutionary encroachments.—By this plan, on the contrary, they are linked in the same bond, and the one has an evident stake to urge his exertions for the protection and security of the other.—Thus, Sir, have I attempted to give you the outline of a plan for the redemption of the national debt, which may be characterised in a few words. It is a plan for the advance of an adequate war fund, while war may be necessary, for the advance of a premium of insurance against future taxations; and it is a proposal to deposit the purchase money for the redemption and annihilation of ten millions of taxes whenever our country shall be blessed by the restoration of a solid peace. That objections cannot be started to this measure, I by no means pretend to say, the sordid spirit of old Gripus would immediately be alarmed.—"My fortune, my fortune, my estate, my estate"!!—But, Gripus, thou art a wise man! I would ask thee to look at the picture which is exhibited by Mr. Cobbett in his 23d No. page 880 vol. 8; and, on comparing it with that which I have delineated to make thy choice; I would farther ask thee, where are the fortunes of the French landholders, under the old regime? *Sat verbum sapienti.* The fact, however, would assuredly turn out to be, that in a very few years every inconvenience that could possibly arise from this measure would vanish as if they never had existed.—But, Mr. Cobbett, I presume too much on your patience. Happy would I be, could I observe your own very brilliant talents engaged in recommending the above measure to our countrymen. I have spoken to many of them on the subject, and I have never yet seen one man capable of arguing who did not acquiesce in its propriety. Your work is addressed to, and is indeed peculiarly calculated for the thinking part of the community; and I have not a doubt that the serious application of your abilities, in pressing this measure on the public mind, would soon enable you to say with truth "*Exegi monumentum ære perennius.*" At all events, if your insertion of what I have written proves the means of leading men of talent to a discussion of the subject, I confidently indulge the hope that much good would result. To some few of your readers the whole may be rendered more intelligible by the narration of a short family history with which I beg to conclude: there lives in this country, a worthy respectable knight, whose name is Sir John Bull, Bart. He has a numerous offspring, whom it has been his constant aim to educate in the best possible manner; for his eldest son he purchased an estate in Yorkshire; his second son was brought up to the bar, and is now one of its brightest ornaments; the third is a merchant, and he has acquired honourable opulence; the fourth went to India and advanced the honour of his country in the civil service at Madras; two other sons are in the army and navy; and by their abilities and spirit, defend and support their country.—But the expense attending the education of his children, and, the advancement of their views seriously affected the worthy baronet's fortune, and, to add to his embarrassment, it was his misfortune to march with two most troublesome neighbours, one of them, remarkable for duplicity and bad faith, and by the honest peasantry called Monsieur Tyger; the other was a pompous irascible fellow who was readily led into Mons. Tyger's plans, and known by the name of Don Ignatio de Castile. These neighbours forced the good knight into frequent and expensive law-suits, so that in self defence, and with the view of protecting the inheritance conveyed by the family charters, his income was much involved; thus situated, he called his children together, and explained to them, how matters stood, nor did he so in vain, the generous spirit of the Bull family ran in their veins, and having compared fortunes, they all united in proportion to their ability, and paid off every incumbrance which effected the Bull property, so that now, while the Tyger and Castile families are running to perdition, Sir John has resumed his wonted splendour, and his benevolence and hospitality render him a blessing wherever he moves. D. N. *Ult. Thule, 26th Dec.* 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Continued from p. 22). Thirty-first Official Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Austerlitz, Dec. 5.——The Emperor left Austerlitz yesterday, and is gone to the advanced posts near Suruchets, where he had fixed his night-guard. The Emperor of Germany arrived soon after, and these two Monarchs had an interview, which lasted two hours. The Emperor of Germany did not conceal on his own part, nor that of the Emperor of Russia, all the contempt which the conduct of England had inspired. 'They,' said he, 'are the merchants who excite the fire of discord upon the Conti-

nent, to secure to themselves the commerce of the world.' These two princes have agreed upon an armistice, and the principal conditions of peace, which will be negotiated and concluded within the course of a few days. The Emperor of Germany also made known to the Emperor, that the Emperor of Russia wished to make a separate peace; and that he would entirely abandon the affairs of England, and no longer maintain any interest in them. The Emperor of Germany several times repeated in the conversation, that there was no doubt that the quarrel with England was just on the part of France. He also demanded a truce for the remains of the Russian army. The Emperor Napoleon gave him to understand, that the Russian army, being surrounded, not a man of them could escape: "but" (added he) "as I wish to oblige the Emperor Alexander, I will suffer the Russians to pass; I will order my own columns to halt; but your Majesty must promise me that the Russian army shall return to Russia and evacuate Germany, Austrian and Prussian Poland." "That (answered the Emperor of Germany) I can assure you is the intention of the Emperor Alexander; besides, in the course of the night, your own officers may convince you of the fact." We are assured, that the Emperor said to the Emperor of Germany, when he was introduced to the station of his night guard, 'I receive you in the only palace I have lived in these two months.' The Emperor of Germany replied, with a smile, 'You have turned it to such good account, that you have reason to be pleased with it.' This, at least, is what is thought to have been heard. The numerous attendants of the two Monarchs were not so far distant, but that they could hear much of their conversation. ——The Emperor attended the Emperor of Germany to his carriage, and caused the two Princes of Lichtenstein and General Prince Schwartzenberg, to be introduced to him. He returned afterwards to sleep at Austerlitz.——All the particulars are collecting, to give a fine description of the battle of Austerlitz. A great number of engineers are taking plans of the field of battle. The loss of the Russians was immense; Generals Kutusow and Buxhowden were wounded; ten or twelve generals were killed. Several aides-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, and a great number of officers of distinction, were killed. It was not 120, but 150 pieces of cannon that were taken. The columns of the enemy, which threw themselves into the lakes, were favoured by the ice; but some cannon shot broke it, and two entire columns were totally annihilated at the beginning of the battle, and during several hours in the night, the Emperor went through the field of battle, and had the wounded removed; a horrible sight, if ever there were one! The Emperor, who was mounted on a very fast horse, passed along with the rapidity of lightning, and nothing was more affecting than to see those brave men recognize him on the field. Some of them forgot their sufferings, and exclaimed, 'is the victory quite certain?' Another said, 'I have been in torture these eight hours, and since the commencement of the battle I have been deserted, but I have done my duty.' Others said, 'You ought to be well satisfied with your soldiers to-day.'——To every wounded soldier the Emperor left a person to take him to the waggons provided for the wounded. It is horrible to mention, that 48 hours after the battle, there were a great number of wounded Russians that could not be dressed. All the French were dressed before night. Instead of 40 stand of colours, at this hour 45 have been brought in, and the remains of many more have been discovered.——Nothing can equal the gaiety of the troops at their posts. Whenever they perceive an officer belonging to the Emperor, they exclaim, 'is the Emperor satisfied with us?' In passing by the 28th of the line, which has a number of the conscripts of Calvados, and the Lower Seine, in it, the Emperor said, 'I hope that the Normans will distinguish themselves to-day!' They answered his expectations; the Normans did distinguish themselves. The Emperor, who knows of what kind of men each regiment consists, said something applicable to each, and this expression came and spoke to the hearts of those to whom it was addressed, and became their rallying word in the midst of the fight. He said to the 57th, 'Remember that, some years ago, I gave you the title of The Terrible.' We should mention the names of all the regiments; there was not one of them which did not perform prodigies of bravery and intrepidity. We might almost say that death became afraid, and fled before our ranks to fall upon those of the enemy. Not a corps made a retrograde movement. The Emperor said, 'I have fought thirty battles like this, but I never saw one where the victory was so decided, and the fate of battle so little balanced.' The foot guards of the Emperor could not engage; they cried through spite, as they absolutely insisted upon doing something. 'Be satisfied' (said the Emperor) 'that you have nothing to do: you are to engage as the reserve; it will be so much the better if there be no occasion for you

to-day.'——Three colonels of the Imperial Russian guard are taken, with the general who commanded it. The hussars of this guard made a charge upon the division of Caffarelli. They lost, in this one charge, 300 men, who remained upon the field of battle. The French cavalry proved their superiority, and behaved nobly. At the end of the battle, the Emperor sent Colonel Dellemagne, with two squadrons of his guards, as partisans, to scour the neighbourhood of the field of battle at discretion, and bring back the runaways. He took many stands of colours, 15 pieces of cannon, and 1,500 prisoners. The guards regret exceedingly Colonel Morland, of the horse-chasseurs, who was killed by a grape shot, as he was charging the artillery of the Imperial Russian guard. This artillery was taken, but the brave colonel was killed. No general was killed on our side. The brave colonel Maaz, of the 14th of the line, was killed. Many commanders of battalions were wounded. The light troops rivalled the grenadiers. The 55th, 43d, 14th, 36th, 40th, 17th; but we dare not particularize any corps; it would be an injustice to the rest. They all did every thing which was possible. There was not an officer, a general, or a soldier, who was not determined to conquer or die. —We must not conceal an incident which does honour to the enemy. The commander of the artillery of the Imperial Russian guard lost his cannon. He met the Emperor: 'Sire,' said he, 'order me to be shot, I have lost my cannon.' 'Young man,' replied the Emperor, 'I esteem your tears, but one may be beaten by my army, and still retain some pretensions to glory?'—Our advanced posts are arrived at Olmutz: the Empress, and all her court, fled from it in haste. —Colonel Corbenau, equerry to the Emperor, commanding the fifth regiment of chasseurs, had four horses killed under him. He was wounded on the fifth horse, after having taken a stand of colours. Prince Murat speaks in high terms of the brilliant manœuvres of General Kellerman, of the fine charges made by Generals Nansouty and Hautpoult, and, in fact, of all the generals, whom he abstains from naming, because he should name them all.—The soldiers of the train have merited the esteem of the whole army. The artillery did prodigious mischief to the enemy. When a report of it was made to the Emperor, he said, 'This success gives me great pleasure, for I do not forget that it was in this corps I began my military career!'—General Savary, aide-de-camp to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, after the interview between Napoleon and the Emperor of Germany, accompanied the latter, to know whether the Emperor Alexander would agree to the above-mentioned capitulation, when he found the remains of the Russian army without artillery or baggage, and in the greatest confusion. It was midnight, and the Austrian General Meerfeld had been driven from Godding by Marshal Davoust. The Russian army was inclosed, so that a single man could not escape. Prince Czartorinski introduced General Savary to the Emperor. 'Tell your master,' said this Prince, 'that I shall retire; that yesterday he has performed miracles, and that my astonishment respecting him has increased; that he is some chosen instrument of heaven; and that it will require a century to make my army equal to him. 'But can I withdraw with safety?' Yes, Sire, said General Savary, 'If your Majesty is resolved to accede to the capitulation agreed upon between the Emperors of France and Germany.' 'And what are its contents:' 'That your Majesty's army shall withdraw by the routes prescribed by the Emperor; and that you shall evacuate Germany and Austrian Poland. Upon these conditions I have his Majesty's authority to repair to my nearest advanced posts, which have already surrounded you, and to give them orders to cover your retreat.' The Emperor willing to evince his respect for the friend of the First Consul, then said, 'But what pledge must I give you!' 'Sire, your word.' 'I give it you.' Hereupon the adjutant withdrew, full gallop, to Marshal Davoust, to whom he communicated orders to halt, and put a stop to all the movements of the army, and to remain quiet.—May this act of generosity of the Emperor of the French, be not so soon forgotten in Russia as that noble proceeding of the Emperor, who sent back six thousand men to the Emperor Paul, with so much respect and marks of esteem for him. General Savary conversed an hour with the Emperor of Russia, whom he found to be a man of sense and firmness, notwithstanding the misfortunes which he had met. This Monarch asked him the particulars of the action. 'You,' said he, 'were inferior in numbers to me, and yet you were more numerous at the points of attack.' 'Sire,' replied the general, 'it is the art of war, and the result of fifteen years of glory; it is the fortieth battle the Emperor has fought!' 'That is true, he is a great warrior. As to myself, this is the first time I have seen fire. I never presumed to compare myself with him.' 'Sire, when you have experience, you will, perhaps, excel him.' 'I shall return to my capital. I came to assist the Emperor of Germany; he has sent to inform me that he is satisfied; so am I.'—In his in-

terview with the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor said, ' M. and Madame Colloredo, Messrs. Paget and Rasumowski, are one and the same with your Minister Cobentzel; these are the true causes of the war, and if your Majesty shall continue to give yourself up to those intriguers, you will ruin your affairs and alienate the hearts of your subjects; you, who have so many qualities, deserving to be loved and happy.'—An Austrian major presented himself at the advanced post, bearing dispatches from M. de Cobentzel to M. de Stadion, at Vienna. The Emperor said, ' I will have nothing to do with that man; who has sold himself to England to pay his debts, and who has ruined his master and his country, following the advice of his sister and Madame Colloredo.'—The Emperor has paid particular attention to Prince John of Lichtenstein; he said several times, ' How, when there are men of such high distinction, can one suffer his affairs to be conducted by fools and intriguers?' In fact, Prince Lichtenstein is one of the persons the most distinguished, not only for his military talents, but for his character and information.—It is said, that the Emperor observed, after his conference with the Emperor of Germany: ' This man makes me commit a fault, for I could follow up my victory, and take the whole Russian and Austrian army, but a few tears the less will be shed.

Thirty-second Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Austerlitz, Dec. 6.——General Friant, at the battle of Austerlitz, had four horses killed under him; Colonels Conroux and Demoustier distinguished themselves. The brave actions are so numerous, that as fast as they are reported to the Emperor, he observes, ' I shall have occasion for all my power to make proper recompence to all those brave men.'—The Russians, when they engage, have a custom of taking off their havre-sacks. As the whole of the Russian army was routed, our soldiers took a great many of these havre-sacks. They also took a great quantity of baggage, and found a great deal of money in it.——General Bertrand, who was detached, after the battle, with a squadron of the guards, picked up a number of prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, and a number of carriages filled with property of various kinds. The number of cannon taken amounts to one hundred and seventy pieces.——The Emperor expressed some dissatisfaction that plenipotentiaries were sent to him on the eve of the battle, and that the diplomatic character was thus disgraced. This is worthy of M. de Cobentzel, whom the whole nation regards as one of the principal authors of all these calamities.—Prince John of Lichtenstein came to the Emperor, at the Castle of Austerlitz. The Emperor admitted him to a conference which lasted several hours. It is remarked, that the Emperor converses very freely with this general officer. This Prince has concluded with Marshal Berthier, an armistice, of the following tenor.—M. Talleyrand is going to Nicolsburgh, where the negotiations are to be opened.

Thirty-third Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Austerlitz, Dec. 7.—General Buxhouvden, and a considerable number of other Russian generals, whose names are not yet known, are killed. The Russian General Kutusow is wounded, and his son-in-law, a young officer of great merit, is dead.—— Among the killed there were 18,000 Russians, 600 Austrians, and 900 French. We have taken 7000 wounded Russians, and the French wounded amount to 3000. General Roger Vilhubert died of his wounds. An hour before his death, he wrote to the Emperor: " I wished yet to have done more " for you; I must die in the course of an " hour. I do not regret dying, as I have " shared in a victory which will insure to " you a happy reign. When you some- " times remember the names of those brave " men who were devoted to you, you will, " I trust, also think of me. I yet beg leave " to remind you, that I leave a family be- " hind, but to recommend them—I need " not."—The Generals Kellerman, Sebastiana, and Thiebaut, are out of danger. The Generals Marisy and Dumont, are wounded, but by no means dangerously.—Names of the Russian generals taken prisoners; Bubizenski, Wimpfen, Muller, Zazowski, Berg, Vekechon, Stritzy, Szerkakoff, Prince Repnin, Prince Siberki, Adrian, Laganoff, Sulima, Mezenkoff, Woycikoff.—Besides many more generals who died upon the field of battle, they count among the killed from 4 to 500 officers, among whom there are 20 majors and lieutenant-colonels, and more than 100 captains. The Emperor has sent for Talleyrand at Vienna to come to Brunn. The negotiations are carried on at Nikolsburg. M. Maret has been at Austerlitz, where the Emperor has signed the papers of the ministers and the council. The Emperor will sleep this night at Brunn.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" Here, in England, no collection, even for charity (unless for the poor of the same parish) is, by law, to " be made, but by leave and permission of the King; gathering of money being so nice a matter, that it " must not be done even for charity, without his leave, in the most compassionate cases. But this method " (the act of the defendant) were giving a go-by to all Royal Licences, and putting it in the power of the " clergy to do all acts of charity themselves, at the expense of the people; and to be sole judges of the " occasions, and to make what application and account they please."——Charge of SIR LITTLETON POWYS in the case of the King against Hendley.

SLAVE TRADE.

[Having always regarded this as a subject of the utmost importance, and being fully persuaded, that on the country's coming to a *fixed opinion* with respect to it depends, in no small degree, the prosperity, and not only the prosperity, but the safety of the West-India Colonies, as dependencies of the British crown, I, of course, think it my duty to lend all the assistance in my power towards the removing of those prejudices, which have been, by the real humanity and by the benevolent dispositions of some persons, and by the low ambition and hypocrisy of others, excited against the continuance of the Slave Trade. From this motive it is, that I insert the following Address to the Good Sense of the People of the United Kingdom, in which the reader will find much useful matter, and by which he will, if he yet remain unconvinced by the arguments of the author, find pointed out ample means of further inquiry. I would beg leave to request his particular attention to the argument grounded upon the *principle of population*, as laid down, and, indeed, established, by MR. MALTHUS. Before the rays of this luminous principle, the mists of erroneous or hypocritical humanity instantly vanish, and leave the field clear for the operation of reason.——I cannot refrain from adding here, an exhortation to the reader, to reflect on the consequences which have already proceeded from the mischievous policy of our ministers having, for the last twenty years, so decidedly preferred the East to the West-Indies: I cannot help exhorting him to reflect on the dangers which are now to be apprehended from our having so widely extended our conquests in India, having raised the trade with that country into such importance, and having thereby excited such universal jealousy of us, without at all adding to our strength, while we have, on the other hand, been, by all sorts of means, discouraging and depressing our colonies in the West-Indies, our ancient possessions, that were become so naturally and so firmly attached to the mother-country as to be, by foreign nations as well as by ourselves, regarded as a part of England: I cannot help exhorting him to reflect on what may, at a time so critical, when all men of property must necessarily be anxious for the *security* of what they possess; at such a time, I cannot help exhorting both the people and the government, to reflect on what may be the consequences of proceedings calculated to make our West India colonists seriously apprehensive for the tranquillity and security of their possessions, under the present order of things. The wise decision of the House of Commons, during the last session, did, as far as the Slave Trade was concerned, greatly tend to remove apprehensions of this sort, and, I trust, that, if the subject should be revived, the parliament will so express itself as to allay them for ever.]

AN ADDRESS TO THE GOOD SENSE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The interesting and important subject, the ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, has repeatedly been submitted to Parliament, and, during the ensuing session, will, probably, again be discussed in the House of Commons. The investigation of this subject does not demand a separate consideration of the humanity, justice, and policy of the measure; because, the abolition of laws which have had long experience and repeated sanction, upon the faith and foundation of which rests a considerable portion of the public stock of population, industry, and prosperity, can only be a proceeding just and humane, when it is, strictly speaking, reconcileable with that liberal, enlarged, and impartial policy, the principles of which inform the mind and direct the conduct of a truly wise and energetic statesman. Such a statesman must be by nature so endowed, by laborious study so instructed, by accident and fortune so circumstanced and placed, that we are not to wonder if the character occur but rarely, even among the most civilized people and in the most enlightened

times. Its perfect pattern is to the nation, and, indeed, to the age in which he lives, a benefactor of the highest order, and of the most extensive influence. Conversant with all that is to be gathered of authority and of use in history, he applies the lessons of times past to the advantage of the present and of the future, not with the servility of a copyist, but with an adaptation analogous to that by which the judicious translator infuses the spirit of a dead language into the genius and idiom of that in which he writes. He estimates not, and still less does he adopt, measures without attentively surveying all their relations and connections, and looking forwards to all their possible consequences. Provident of future danger, the occasion of which he knows must have its embryo and its infancy, he is watchful to arrest its progress, and, if possible, to extirpate its germ. *Leniter in modo, fortiter in re,* the object he pursues is constantly in view, the steps by which he attains it often imperceptible. His ends are grand and striking, his means simple and unobtrusive. Single projects he imparts, and skilfully distributes their execution; but the train is in his own mind, and his connecting thread can be traced only in the accomplishment of his purpose. In the public benefit centre all his aims, but he has studied human nature, and, since fallible men must be his instruments and his materials, his projects of reform are not extravagant or impracticable, and his progress is rather sure than rapid: with him the lesser object must always give way to the greater, and that which is distant and doubtful to that which is at hand and certain.——That such statesmen have existed, and do still exist, I am willing to believe; but an attentive perusal of the records of our own nation, during the last twenty or thirty years, will perhaps induce us to more than doubt, whether our leading men have been formed after this model, or our affairs directed after these principles. Posterity, when they read this portion of our history, will be ready to exclaim, "What patient endurance, what "persevering spirit in the people: what "generous contributions of the opulent, and "magnanimous sacrifices of the poor; what "vast sums raised and expended, and yet "what resources perpetually displayed; "what examples of valour, discipline, and "ardour in fleets and armies: what in"stances of individual heroism in both! "Then, too, what splendour of eloquence "in the senate and at the bar; what talents "and what parts elicited in the conflicts of "parties and in the contentions for power; "what ingenuity of defence and of attack, "to protect, displace, or restore successive "administrations!" But will not they who read of these most perilous times also exclaim, "What a lamentable deficiency of "sagacity in discerning, wisdom in plan"ning, vigour and decision in executing, "great measures of state; in peace what "improvidence, in war what imbecility of "council; what fluctuating principles of "state policy and of political economy; "what devotion to private, what dereliction "of public, views; what juggling for pow"er, tricks for popularity, intrigues for "place, crimes for wealth, and rancour in "the recriminations of parties! Brave, "high spirited, intelligent and opulent na"tion; it has been thy fate, in the most "momentous period of thy history, al"though blest with an admirable constitu"tion of government, to suffer a weak and "inefficient at least, if not a flagitious ad"ministration of it, and to pay full dearly "for thy confidence!"—Such, I fear, will be the impartial judgment of posterity upon the history, and particularly upon the state policy of the times in which we live; and I have introduced the topic that I may draw a conclusion, *inevitable if these premises are just*—that upon this great question, the ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, we derive no trust-worthy light from the authority and opinions either of ministers or their opponents. To abolish a slave trade, or to set free a slave, be it where or when it may, is a proposition, the bare mention of which recommends it to the free people of this kingdom; and no small pains have been taken to interest them in the question. In parliament, therefore, for the sake of carrying popularity, the abolition has been supported by the leaders on both sides with much ability, ingenious argument and brilliant rhetoric: but we know not that the question has ever undergone the calm, discriminating scrutiny of a state council, or if it have so done, what has been the result. Judging from the past, even this high authority, if obtained, might fail to create conviction in those who chuse to examine before they act; but, in the present instance, it is worth considering, what ends are to be answered by thus throwing *upon the people* the conduct of a question which is specially one of high state policy, demanding the union of every channel of information which can possibly centre in a wise, provident, and penetrating administration; a subject particularly unfitted for mere popular discussion, and unquestionably one upon which the people, if they regard their own interests, will be wary in deliberation and slow in decision.—

Little as we know, in this instance, of the collective sentiments of our successive State Cabinets, yet, observing that the speeches of our prominent public men have, with few exceptions, been all in favour of abolition, at the same time that the question has been left to the fortune of desultory debate in parliament, and to the influence of the popular cry out of doors, we have some reason to conclude, either that gentlemen have one language for the House of Commons, and another for his Majesty's Council Chamber, or (what is more probable), that the subject has one appearance in calm, well informed, deliberate discussion, and another in warm and oratorical debate, and that, although the passions may be enthusiastically enlisted in one place, the reason cannot be substantially convinced in another. And yet there should be no such trimming conduct nor uncertainty of opinion among ministers: the matter is of high importance, and has been long before them. If Abolition, attentively considered in all its bearings, cannot be reconciled to true policy, it is neither just nor humane, and ministers should have the candour and resolution to say so; and had the Cabinet otherwise decided, a manly and vigorous administration would give to the cause they had embraced, a steady and collective support,—Are *we*, then, *the people of this kingdom*, called upon eventually to assume all the responsibility of this experiment, that if it should fail of producing the good effects we have fondly imagined, and on the contrary should entail upon the West India Colonies the fatal consequences against which we have been repeatedly warned, we may the more patiently sustain the burthens which inevitably await us? The first of these must be that indemnification which the justice of the British nation will not deny to the sufferers; to those who, contrary to their consent and in contempt of their frequent and earnest remonstrance, shall have experienced the reversal of a system of legislation, upon the faith of which they have built their all; a system recognised, sustained, and confirmed for a century and a half, and from which have sprung up, grown and flourished colonial establishments, often pronounced by the legislature to have been "highly advantageous to the trade, navigation, and prosperity of the mother country;" and which, by this "*wheel of the course of justice*" shall have been involved in destruction? But, though this be no light matter, (for the property embarked in the West India Colonies is little less than *one hundred millions*), yet it sinks in comparison with the consideration of the sacrifice to be made of that large proportion which the colonial intercourse contributes to the revenue, trade, and navigation of the kingdom; a sacrifice which must, in the first instance, unquestionably look for its counterbalance out of the remaining resources of the public; although those should be found in the end all inadequate to the object, and the fabric of the national prosperity thus the sooner hasten to its decay. Are we in such a conjuncture to be told, that this measure was peculiarly conceded to the earnest and almost unanimous wishes of the people, whose humane purpose was manifest, and that we are therefore chearfully to swallow the fruits of our own planting, how bitter soever they may be? If such is the responsibility we are to assume, let us look about us.—In what manner has this subject been introduced to us, and what is the information we possess concerning it? The question was first, I believe, started in France. A society called the "Friends of the Blacks" began to assemble there in the years that immediately preceded the revolution, when schemes for reform in every department of morals and legislation were constructed, and those wild notions avowed which not only occasioned, but marked with indelible disgrace and horror the revolutionary tumults and massacres of that country. The "*Friends of the Blacks*" were successful, as they doubtless would consider it; for the French slave trade was stopped, and the negroes in their colonies set free. Anarchy and devastation in all their colonies, and utter ruin to Saint Domingo, by far the richest and most flourishing among them or in the world, ensued. The Blacks and Mulattoes contended for superiority; the Blacks prevailed; the Mulattoes first, and next the Whites, were murdered; and, finally, the Blacks have, by their excesses and their internal quarrels, nearly exterminated themselves.—And *here, too*, let us not omit to remark, that the question has been made the business of Association; we are all of us aware of the unwearied diligence with which, at a considerable expense, publications have been disseminated, urging the people of this kingdom to petition for abolition, and even to forbear the use of colonial productions till it be obtained. How few of us are there who are competent judges of the truth and value of the facts and reasonings which we read in these publications! What do we, for the most part, know of Africa or the West Indies? We have no slaves here; but we have ranks and degrees, very distant from each other, and very differently accommodated; and we know that this is right. In various distant countries

there are other and inferior ranks and degrees, perhaps suited to the nature and circumstances of those countries and their inhabitants; and may not this be right too? If a man, kind and humane, were to be born and nursed in a palace, experiencing there all the gratifications of luxury, and entirely ignorant of what was passing in the world, and suddenly, with all his benevolent emotions about him, were to witness the toilsome occupations and scanty accommodations of our labouring poor, would he not conclude that they were oppressed and miserable, and be an advocate for lifting them out of their condition? Yet, in so doing, he would not benefit the community, nor eventually those very poor, however he might gratify his personal feelings. We are liable to the same imposition when we take a superficial view of slavery, of which we know so little, although it be a condition of life, inevitable, in the present state of things, of a very large portion of mankind. We see around us every day various evils springing up and gaining ground, of the effects of which we *are* well able to form a competent judgment, and which are fair objects of political remedy. The yearly increase of the vagrant Poor for instance, who have no attractive or stimulative tie with society, and who live a burthen to themselves and to the public, is an evil of this sort. Why are not our Associations bent with the same zeal for the remedy of these proximate and obvious disorders, as for those remote and more unquestionable? Why do not subscriptions for these purposes pour in from every quarter? Are we purposely diverted, by interesting and romantic pursuits, from those of a more homely nature upon which our every day experience might prove troublesome? Or, is it our main object to obtain the reputation and self-complacent conviction of benevolence, and professing ourselves to be champions in that cause, do we look for a speedier and more brilliant triumph in a Quixotic expedition, of which we may be left to tell the story, and to paint in imaginary colours the terrors and the difficulties, than in a conflict with an adversary who comes to our door and challenges us to fight in the open field and in day light, with a ring around us of our neighbours, who can see and fairly estimate the relative force and means of the combattants?——But, in the publications I have mentioned, no room is left to you for doubt or hesitation; every thing there asserted is professed to be proved beyond controversy. If the argument of an opponent be noticed "it is a miserable sophism, "it adds insult and injury to crime *;" and you are told, not as declamation, but as the result of a critical discrimination, that "the Slave Trade is a traffic which con-"demns a whole quarter of the world to in-"creasing and ferocious warfare; which an-"nually exterminates more men than fall "during the bloodiest campaign of Euro-"pean hostilities, and regularly transports "every six months, in circumstances of un-"paralled affliction, more innocent persons "than suffer in a century from the oppres-"sion of all the tyrannies of the world. *" I give you the words of an able and acute writer, to whose ingenious remarks upon this subject I am not afraid to refer you, and he acts consistently in announcing these and such like assertions with all the authority of admitted facts; for, I will venture to say, that they are not and cannot be proved, and yet, that less than their incontrovertible proof should not induce you to risk, by your interference, the destruction of the colonies. —But, the very persons who write thus, know that every one of these positions is, upon the most respectable and impartial authority, denied and controverted; and that it stands upon most credible testimony of fact and observation; that the slave trade is not the *cause* but the *effect* of the present uncivilised and barbarous state of a great part of Africa; that, considering the condition of that country, and the alternative that must happen if this trade were discontinued, so far from meriting the charge of exterminating lives, it tends rather to preserve them, and that, relatively to the state of society in Africa, to its governments and habits, the annual transport of a part of its inhabitants to the West Indies, and their labour and condition there, do not add to, but alleviate, the general mass of misery and affliction which the negroes endure.—As it is my aim rather to induce you to pause, to doubt, and to inquire, than, either in this short Address to present you with a summary of the argument on a subject so extensive, or to demand, as others have done, your implicit confidence in my assertions, I will refer you to Leo Africanus, Bruce, and Park, as the best authorities ancient and modern, respecting those parts of Africa which are most frequented for the purposes of the slave trade; and you will find that, from the times of Leo Africanus (about A. D. 1492) down to those of Park, the Africans are little if at all changed in manners, habits and civilization, and, that the wars

* Edinburgh Review, No. 8.

which the Slave Trade has been said exclusively to cause or to aggravate, occurred as frequently, with the same characters of ferocity, and upon provocations as frivolous, in the latter part of the fifteenth century.—Mr. MALTHUS, a writer, whose deep and careful investigation of the interesting subject of population, has excited general attention and approbation, gives us the following, among other observations, upon "*the checks to population in Africa.*" "The parts of Africa visited by Park, are described by him as neither well cultivated nor well peopled. He found many extensive and beautiful districts entirely destitute of inhabitants, and in general, the borders of the different kingdoms were either very thinly peopled or deserted. The swampy banks of the Gambia, the Senegal, and other rivers towards the coast, appeared to be unfavourable to population, from being unhealthy; but other parts were not of this description, and it was not possible, he says, to behold the wonderful fertility of the soil, the vast herds of cattle proper both for labour and food, and reflect on the means which presented themselves for vast inland navigation, without lamenting that a country so abundantly gifted by nature, should remain in its present savage and neglected state.—The causes of this neglected state, however, clearly appear in the description which Park gives of the general habits of the Negro nations. In a country divided into a thousand petty states, mostly independent and jealous of each other, it is natural to imagine, he says, that wars frequently originate from very frivolous provocations. The wars of Africa are of two kinds; one called Killi, that which is openly avowed, the other Tegria, plundering or stealing; these latter are very common, particularly about the beginning of the dry season, when the labours of harvest are over, and provisions are plentiful; these plundering excursions always produced speedy retaliation.—— The insecurity of property arising from this constant exposure to plunder, must necessarily have a most baneful effect on industry. The deserted state of the frontier provinces, sufficiently proves to what a degree it operates; the nature of the climate is unfavourable to the exertions of the Negro nations, and as there are not many opportunities of turning to advantage the surplus produce of their labour, we cannot be surprised that they should in general content themselves with cultivating only as much ground as is necessary for their own support. These causes appear adequately to account for the uncultivated state of the country. The waste of life in these constant wars and predatory incursions, must be considerable; and Park agrees with Buffon in stating, that, independent of violent causes, longevity is rare among the negroes. At forty, he says, most of them become grey-haired and covered with wrinkles, and but few of them survive the age of fifty-five or sixty. Buffon attributes this shortness of life to the premature intercourse of the sexes, and to very early and excessive debauchery; without attributing too much to this cause, it seems agreeable to the analogy of nature to suppose, that as the natives of hot climates arrive much earlier at maturity than the inhabitants of colder countries, they should also perish earlier. —— Polygamy is universally allowed among the Negro nations; and, consequently, without a greater superabundance of women than we have reason to suppose, many will be obliged to live unmarried. This hardship will probably fall principally on the slaves, who, according to Park, are three to one to the freemen. A master is not permitted to sell his domestic slaves, nor those born in his own house, except in case of famine, to support himself and family. We may imagine, therefore, that he will not suffer them to increase beyond the employment he has for them. The slaves which are purchased, or the prisoners taken in war, are entirely at the disposal of their masters; they are often treated with extreme severity, and in any scarcity of women arising from the polygamy of the free-men, would, of course, be deprived of them without scruple; few, or no women probably remain in a state of strict celibacy, but in proportion to the number married, the state of society does not seem to be favourable to increase.—Africa has been at all times the principal market of slaves; the drains of its population in this way have been great and constant, particularly since their introduction into the European colonies; but, perhaps, as Dr. Franklin observes, it would be difficult to find the gap that has been made by a hundred years exportation of negroes, which has blackened half America: for, notwithstanding this constant emigration, the loss of numbers from incessant war, and the check to increase from vice and other causes, it appears that the population is continually passing beyond the means of subsistence. According to Park, scarce

" years and famines are frequent. Among " the four principal causes of slavery in " Africa, he mentions famine next to war; " and the express permission given to mas- " ters of famillies to sell their domestic " slaves for the support of their families, " which they are not allowed to do on any " less urgent occasion, seems to imply the " not unfrequent recurrence of severe " want. During a great scarcity which " lasted for three years in the countries of " the Gambia, great numbers of people be- " came slaves. Park was assured by Dr. " Lairdly, that at that time many freemen " came and begged, with great earnestness, " to be put upon his slave chain to save " them from perishing with hunger. While " Park was in Manding a scarcity of provi- " sions was severely felt by the poor, as the " following circumstance painfully con- " vinced him. Every evening during his " stay he observed several women come to " the Mansa's house, and receive each of " them a certain quantity of corn; 'Ob- " serve that boy,' said the Mansa to him, " pointing to a fine child about 5 years of " age, 'his mother has sold him to me for " 40 days provision for herself and the rest " of her family. I have bought another " boy in the same manner.' In Sooseeta a " small Jallonka village, Mr. Park was in- " formed by the master, that he could fur- " nish no provisions, as there had lately " been a great scarcity in that part of the " country He assured him, that before " they had gathered in their present crops, " all the inhabitants of Kullo had been for " 29 days without tasting corn, during " which time they had supported themselves " entirely on the yellow powder, which is " found in the pods of the nitta, so called by " the natives, a species of mimosa, and " upon the seeds of the bamboo cane, which " when properly pounded and dressed tasted " very much like rice. It may be said, " perhaps, that as, according to Park's ac- " count, much good land remains unculti- " vated in Africa, the dearths may be attri- " buted to a want of people; but, if this " were the case, we can hardly suppose that " such numbers would yearly be sent out of " the country. What the Negro nations " really want is security of property, and " its general concomitant, industry; and, " without these an increase of people would " only greatly aggravate their distresses. If, " in order to fill up those parts that appear- " ed to be deficient in inhabitants, we were " to suppose a high bounty given on chil- " dren, the effects would probably be, the " great increase of wars, the increase of the " exportation of slaves, and a great increase " of misery, but little or no real increase of " population." —— I have given this long extract, because the book of Mr. Malthus, although so instructive upon the present state of Africa, is written without the most distant reference to the subject of Abolition. It is an ingenious illustration of the principle, which has been sanctioned by many eminent writers on Political Economy, that in every country the population is, on an average, proportioned to the means of subsistence. But, the statement of Mr. Malthus (connected as it is with the well known fact, that the wars which Park declares to be the primary cause of Slavery in Africa, are at this day neither more frequent, more atrocious, nor more lightly undertaken than they were in the same districts three or four hundred years ago), seems to me to lead to a conviction that the abandonment of the Slave Trade would, under such circumstances, no more benefit Africa than the drawing an impenetrable line of circumvallation around it, would benefit a garrisoned town, already overstocked with inhabitants.——The purchase of the Negroes on their own coast, their passage to the West Indies, and their labour and treatment there, are always to be considered relatively to these leading features of the State of Society in Africa. Here, however, has been found much matter of pathetic appeal to the passions, and the occasion has not been thrown away by a want of ability and diligence in the use of it. But, that may be grievous to individuals, ignorant of the fate they are to encounter, which is, upon the whole, beneficial to the cause of humanity; and, until the Negro nations shall be submitted to governments under which property is secure, and freedom invariably valuable, the evils they now endure are not the worst which it may be their lot to encounter.—— As to the *general* treatment of slaves in the West Indies (for while men are men there must exist instances of abuse there), the advocates for Abolition of the present day, seem not to build much on that part of the investigation; sensible perhaps, that the more correct and compleat the information obtained in this instance may be, the more it must tend to lessen the effect of their former high wrought pictures, and to convict them of much past erroneous or injurious aspersion. It is an inconsistency hardly worth noticing among the many which have been advanced on this subject, that, while the planters are told, " The advocates for " the Abolition of the Slave Trade most " cordially reprobate all idea of emancipa-

"ting the slaves that are already in our "plantations,"* it should at the same time appear to be forgotten, that there must exist distinctions, both of opinion and of fact, betwixt freemen and slaves, in a society composed of both. Strangers who visit the West Indies are surprised to find the slaves possessing property, protected by laws, enjoying much leisure, and undisturbed in manyof their enjoyments and pursuits: while those who treat of the subject here, although they profess that the conditions of slave and freeman must of necessity remain, would break down the barriers that separate the classes.—I must be allowed to doubt, however, whether the assertion I have quoted respecting Emancipation, be either generally admitted or understood. Can you read this distinction in most of the books, which, with so much industry, have been disseminated to afford you light upon this subject? Do you not feel the same propensity and call to set the slaves free, as to buy no more slaves? The French "*Friends of the "Blacks,*" and many stout reformers of our days have had no such hesitation. But, perhaps, it may be prudent now, while the measure of Abolition is in contest, to keep out of your view this further consequence, lest the horrors of Saint Domingo, and the almost total extirpation of the free Negroes there, should stare you in the face, and induce you to pause upon the preliminary! Or, if those who make this declaration are sincere, how comes it that something has, upon attentive investigation, arisen to correct and to control the first dictates of the heart, and to prove that, what appeared to our unbiassed native feelings so just and humane, would not in the experiment, turn out so. Do not the advocates of abolition themselves here teach us a lesson of caution, and inculcate the great truth, that this is indeed, altogether a statesman's question, concerning which superficial views and ill digested proceedings are calculated to do mischief rather than good?—Great pains have been taken to persuade the planters that this measure is even calculated to promote *their* interest and security. The eloquence of the present Chanc. of the Exchec, has been powerfully directed to this point, and, eloquent as he is, it cannot be surprising that he should have made some, very few, proselytes. But, the great body of the planters continue steady and unvarying in sentiment, and they not only affirm, but give cogent reasons for their persuasion, *that to abolish the Slave Trade is the sure way to depopulate the islands both of whites and of blacks, and to introduce Emancipation with all its train of horror, desolation, and ruin.* By a very able writer they have been warned of *a Crisis** in which it is supposed they stand, and the prospect of an independent free Black Government, established near them, has been set out as pregnant to them with dangers. Yet they have seen that free and independent Black Government attempted, and they have seen it, too, crumbling, by its own weight, into destruction.—In a case of experiment and doubt, the value of the object at stake should be kept in view. The measure projected is to stop at once, and entirely change the system on which the West India Colonies have been settled, improved and brought to their present progress in cultivation. What are these Colonies, and what figure do they assume in the general Table of the National Prosperity? The investigation would carry us too far; but some notion may be gained from a few Custom House documents:

The average real annual value of Exports to the British West-India Colonies for 3 years ending 5th January, 1804, was .	£5,020,924 11 3
The average real annual value of Imports from the said Colonies for the same period, (duties not included) was	9,430,454 11 9
The average tonnage of Shipping this Trade annually employed say 654 ships, was . . . Tons	189,856
The number of Seamen annually employed, was	10,600
The average nett annual Revenue collected upon the *Imports* after deducting bounties, expenses, &c, was	£3,170,000 0 0

Of the goods *exported*, as stated above, the proportion of British manufactures, amounted to 4,748,866l. 19s. 11d. In which estimate are not included charges of freight, insurance, commission, and shipping, which these exports pay to British merchants, ship-owners, underwriters, wharfingers, &c. —— Of the goods *imported* about 4-9ths were consumed at home; the rest, amounting in nett value to 5,307,271l. 5s. 9d. annually, (exclusive of the charges just mentioned) were paid for by foreigners, adding so much to our mass of national wealth, and

* Edinburgh Review, No. 8.

* Crisis of the Sugar Colonies.

to our favourable Balance of Trade.—It is to be observed, that the average exports to the West India Islands, of the three years ending the 5th of January, 1800, amounted to 6,054,890l.; and that the falling off (upwards of a million annually) in these latter years, is intirely to be imputed to the discouragements which have hung over the colonies, the impending question of Abolition among the rest. To these discouragements it is owing that their cultivation has been checked, their credit impaired, and that a rigid and afflictive economy has, through necessity, been introduced into their supply. The British manufacturer, who must feel the consequence, ought to know the cause.—— Our inveterate and formidable enemy declares that he wants "ships, colonies, and "commerce:" he discerns the intimate connection which these objects have with each other, and he feels the vast power which united they confer. It is against us that he is now plotting future mischief, and respecting his ability to harm us, and our means of resistance, it is much the same thing whether *he obtains* or we *cast off* these acknowledged sources of national strength and grandeur. Ought we to risque their diminution in the present conjuncture?—But, I have trespassed too long on your notice, and will conclude with repeating a caution which, on this subject, has already been held out to you, that you bring not on yourselves the fate of a certain Italian, who, blest with a good constitution, killed himself with experiments upon it, and ordered these words to be engraven on his Tomb-stone: *I was well, but would be better—and* HERE *I am.*

SENEX.

LORD NELSON'S REMAINS.

SIR;—As the conductor of a Political Register, it has not seldom fallen to your lot to become the guardian of those morals, which either folly from mistake, or knavery by design, were about to violate. I call upon you to stigmatise with all the energy of your style the conduct of those persons, who, by a shameless abuse of office, are now collecting immense sums, for the open exposure of the honoured dead. St. Paul's Cathedral, Sir, is at the present moment like the keeper's lodge, at the Tower, where you pay a shilling to see the noble animal in his den. The grave (I beg pardon, I mean the marble pavement) of Lord Nelson continues open, and the coffin is exposed at the distance of hardly more than four feet from the surface. Crowds are from morning until dusk pouring into the cathedral to gaze upon it, and are thus suffered to commit sacrilege out of veneration, that an immense sum may fall into the pockets of certain people. There is something so depraved, so shameless and unfeeling in the business on one side, and so entirely misconceived on the other, that the evil cries aloud "from earth as it were to heaven," for immediate censure. To point out topics of reproof to such a mind as yours is totally unnecessary; but one might have hoped that Englishmen would have had too much sense and feeling, too much reverence and gratitude, to consider the hallowed relics of Nelson as a means to satisfy impertinent curiosity and unbounded avarice. I am, &c. N. O.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

SWEDEN AND FRANCE.——*Declaration of the King of Sweden, dated Marswinsholm, near Ystad, Oct.* 31, 1805.

We, Gustavus Adolphus, by the Grace of God, King of Sweden, the Goths and Vandals, Heir of Denmark and Norway, Duke of Sleswig and Holstein, &c. &c. declare and make known, that when we entered upon the government of our kingdom, the unfortunate French revolution had prevailed for some years, while the most sanguinary and unheard-of scenes which had been there perpetrated, had spread discord, insurrection, and war, over the greatest part of Europe. During the nine succeeding years, the French revolution never ceased to threaten an interruption of the general tranquillity, and to excite the attention of every country. Trusting in the fidelity of the Swedish nation, and favoured by its distance from France, we witnessed, without alarm, the furious zeal of the factions, and their tyranny over a divided state, persuading ourselves, that the experience of these great calamities, produced by dissention and oligarchy, might at length be the means of restoring order, and an equitable government, for the security of the French people, and other states. This pleasing hope was not fulfilled; the government was indeed frequently changed; but the fundamental principles, so dangerous to all Europe, still remained unaltered. They were not only retained under the consular government, but in proportion as power came into the hands of the First Consul, his ideas of law and justice were diminished; every thing was now sacrificed to that ambition which usurped an authority over the rights of nations and treaties, and even over that respect which all governments wish to preserve for themselves. The blood of one of the worthy descendants of the ancient and honourable family of France was not long since shed by the hand of violence. This

shocking circumstance was not only a specimen of the ideas which the French government entertained of law and equity, but also a most disgusting picture of the system it had adopted; and, in every respect, affording a signal warning to all governments. While this encroachment furnsshed the great states with such a view, as enabled them to draw the most genuine conclusions respecting the irresistible power of France, the smaller states were converted into provinces by violence or intrigue; and the danger appeared not less general than overwhelming, as it seemed that security against these menaces was no longer to be found in any distance from the scenes of action.——The most justifiable claims, made by us upon the French government, were fruitless, in obtaining indemnities for the demands made by several of our subjects, respecting unlawful captures, arbitrary freightage, and an illegal embargo; as the lawless proceedings of the French government were carried to such a pitch, as to lay the Swedish commerce under considerable embarrassments in the French ports, during the space of nine months. Such proceedings could only increase the apprehensions entertained of this dangerous conduct, and excite, as it doubtless has in every loyal Swede, a wish for the organization of an adequate counterpoise against a power which had so rashly committed itself in its endeavours to obtain a superiority, and availed itself of every unjust means to obtain the end proposed.—But as no state was powerful enough to escape the effects of these practices, we hoped that the general experience of these outrages, would finally unite, and concur in their efforts to remove this common nuisance, and effectually to resist that power the object of which was, by degrees, to subjugate all others.—This period has at length arrived, and the greatest powers in Europe have taken the field, to support their own dignity and independence. We have united ourselves with them in every worthy and friendly connection, and for the purpose of sharing in all undertakings, have drawn closer the ties of amity; and we hope, with the assistance of Providence, to contribute to the restoration of the general tranquillity. With this view, we have now passed over, with a part of our army, to Pomerania, there to unite our power with the Rnssian forces; and, further, to act with energy in such a manner as circumstances may require.——In consequence of this laudable and weighty determination, we fully expect to be accompanied by the blessings and prayers of our faithful subjects, as it is our purpose to contend for the future independence and the honour of the Swedish name. And since it has been our care, that, during our absence, the administration of public affairs should be preserved, and carried on without obstruction, in its usual course, we have graciously thought proper to establish a Regency, and to nominate and appoint, as members of the same, the Swedish Baron Wrangle, Bailiff of the Empire, President, &c. &c. Count Charles Axel, Major-General, &c.; Count Samuel Uglas, Lieut.-General and Inspector of the Cavalry, &c.; Baron Brock Cederstrom, President of our Chancery, and Commandant of the Order of the Northern Star; Baron Frederick William Ehrenheim, our Chancellor of the Court; and our Adjutant-Generals of the fleets and armies.——Our gracious will and pleasure, therefore, is, that all our loving subjects and faithful servants, of high and low degree, shall yield the same obedience and obsequiousness to the Regency appointed in our Royal Name, as to ourselves. To this end, all whom it may concern are commanded to conform themselves; and for the better security of the same, we have, with our own hand, signed this present, and verified it with our Royal Seal. (L. S.) GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. M. ROSENBLAD.

WIRTEMBURGH AND FRANCE.——*Speech of his Serene Highness the Elector of Wirtemberg, to the Deputies of the States, at Stutgardt, October* 5, 1805.

During the eight years of my government, I think I have given so many proofs of my paternal attention to the welfare of my subjects, to which my conscience bears witness, that I am convinced I may justly claim the confidence of my states, and of my subjects. Some time ago I communicated to the deputies, through my privy council, which is the connecting link between me and my country, and has equal duties to perform towards both, the perilous situation in which my native land, and my Electoral House, were placed, as well as the urgent necessity of devising means to avert the impending danger.—The answers which I received on this subject were replete with mistrust. My privy council, by my command, repeated the same sentiments; but with as little effect. Of the many disrespectful expressions, interspersed in these answers, I took no notice whatever. I returned; still I could obtain no decisive declaration, and my good intentions were misconstrued. Nevertheless, I did not suffer myself to be diverted from my exertions for the benefit of my country.—I sought to obtain an armed, or a simple, neutrality for my dominions;

but neither the Emperor of the French, nor the Emperor of Russia, would comply with that desire. Both were equally solicitous to attach me to their cause, and even a powerful German court, in which I was justified in placing the greatest hope, came to no determination. All my endeavours were ineffectual. Circumstances turned out as I had foreseen.—The French armies inundated my dominions; and my very residencies were not spared; the one was partly taken by storm, and the other was threatened with it. I remained firm; I despised the danger which menaced my person, my dignity, and those who are united to me by the most sacred ties of blood, my wife, my children, in a word, all that is dear to my heart. I had pledged myself not to abandon my subjects; I remained. The French Emperor came in person to me; I intreated him to grant me a neutrality. "He that is not with me, is against me," was his answer.—At that moment the fate of Wirtemberg was in my hands. Had I made opposition, my dominions would have been involved in ruin. My Electoral House was exposed to the danger of incurring the melancholy fate of so many other sovereign families, who are reduced to the necessity of living upon the charity of other courts, and who receive, by way of alms, the sum assigned for their maintenance. My country would have been treated by the victorious French army as a conquered province; it would have been compelled to furnish a contribution of eight millions, 2000 horses, and as many men as were required for conveying the artillery, and for other purposes.—The terms offered to me were, that Wirtemberg should join to the French army a force of 10,000 men, including 1,000 cavalry. I answered, that this exceeded the limits of my ability; that the resources for the maintenance of my troops were insufficient, without discharging a considerable portion of them in the course of the year. "If you cannot maintain them, your country can," said Napoleon. "My states will not consent," replied I. "Against them, I will support you," rejoined the French Emperor.—I had no choice left; I subscribed. The articles of the treaty which I have concluded, I will now read to you.

[Here follow the articles of the treaty, which have already been given.]

This treaty I have signed: I will, I must keep it. But, I cannot fulfil it, unless you provide me with the means. I request your consent to the raising of 2000 men, and desire you to furnish me with a sum of ready money. For the present occasion, at least, half a million will be required. Had I pleased, I should not have had occasion for this formality; the Emperor, who signed this treaty, would have advanced me a still greater sum had I wished it; but I would not accept his offer.—The French Emperor set off this afternoon, and confidently trusts, that every thing will be most punctually performed. Should we fail in the least to comply, disagreeable consequences for the country will inevitably ensue.—You are the representatives of the country: in your hands is now placed the fate of your native land; on your resolve depends its salvation or its misery. Weigh the subject maturely, I intreat you, as a father. Mistake me not; it is not my demand, it is the demand of the French Emperor. Mistake me not; a third time I repeat, mistake me not. I implore you duly to consider, and calmly to reflect what a heavy account you will have to render to God, to your own consciences, and to posterity, if in this perilous situation of your country, you leave it on the very brink of the precipice, and suffer it to be parcelled out and divided. I will do my duty.—No, I swear I will not permit my house, my family, to be plunged into wretchedness. I submit this matter to your tranquil consideration; but, there is no time to be lost, and I have therefore directed an apartment to be prepared for you in my palace, where you may hold your deliberations unmolested. I will remain with my privy council assembled, and when you have finished your consultation, inform me, that I may again grant you access to me. All of you will then appear before me; none shall remain behind, none shall be acquited of that responsibility you would incur, by a refusal, which, however, I hope not to receive.

Declaration of the Deputation of the States to his Serene Highness the Elector of Wirtemberg, Oct. 5, 1805.

The communication so graciously made to the deputation of the states, by your Electoral Highness in person, concerning the perilous and unfortunate state of the country, could not fail to place before their eyes, that highest of duties which outweighs every other consideration, however important, to preserve the menaced integrity and constitution of the country, and to excite them to prove their ever-devoted and unshaken attachment to your Electoral House in this extraordinary crisis.—While the deputation submit to the unavoidable pressure of circumstances, and to the rigid laws of necessity, and coincide, in general, in the sentiments of the supreme power, filled with per-

fect confidence in the truth and paternal aid and solicitude of your Electoral Highness, and with the most ardent hope, that, exhausted as the country is, the necessary sums of money may be borrowed on the general credit, they are, at the same time, obliged by their duty, to give a respectful caution against all participation in any designs contrary to the principles of the constitution, which may have been introduced into the convention recently concluded.

(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LLOYD'S FUND.——The money now in the hands of the self-erected corporation at Lloyd's amounts to nearly a *quarter of a million.* This is, according to the evident intention of the Committee of underwriters and fund-dealers, to go on accumulating for the purpose of enabling them to grant marks of honour, sums of money, and pensions, *out of the interest*; and there needs no more sense than that possessed by the Wards and the Cannings and the Huskissons to perceive, that, thus, a permanent body, a rival of the crown, will, if not very soon put an end to, be established beyond the power even of parliament to resist. Many persons, and, amongst others, the valuable, though unknown correspondent, who has favoured me with the hints that led to the selection of the motto to this sheet, have congratulated me upon the effect produced by my endeavours to expose the unconstitutional principle, the insolent and tyrannical proceedings, and the nefarious tendency of this project (one of the last, I hope) of the paper-money makers; and, as far as I am able to judge from appearances, the thinking part of the people begin to be seriously alarmed at the contemplation of what may be the final consequences of a Fund for pensioning and otherwise rewarding the army and the navy, independent of the crown and the parliament.——To the instances before given of the means made use of to constrain, to bully, people, into a contribution towards the patriotic and *voluntary* undertaking at Lloyd's, I will now add one more. The REV. NICHOLAS BULL, Vicar of Saffron Walden, Essex, and of Ickleton, Cambridgeshire, in a sermon preached by him, on the thanksgiving day, in the parish church of the former place, and since published, "for the benefit of the Patriotic Fund," asserts, by way of conclusion to a long list of texts about war and the movements of the sea, picked out of the Concordance; by way of conclusion to 23 pamphlet pages of common-place dulness, this Rev. gentleman makes the following assertion, that "they who can resist such an appeal" [the appeal he had just made in behalf of the Fund-holder's establishment], "can have *little title to the character of* "*Christians, and are utterly unworthy of* "*the name and privileges of Englishmen.*" If any one had risen up and asked the Rev. gentleman how he could reconcile it to his *oath* to be vicar of two parishes, and those so situated as to render it *impossible* for him to perform his duty at both; if any one of his insulted parishioners had asked him this question, I wonder what he would have said. If he has not quite forgotten the canons of the Church, *he* will know very well what I mean, and that may suffice for the present; but, not for the future; for, since so many of the clergy have now, through ignorance or something worse, so clearly shewn themselves to be of a party with the fund-dealers, it is time for the people to examine into *their* conduct: since they have chosen to become the echo of the placard of Lloyd's; since they have called upon us to perform *our duty*, as they have dared to call it, in subscribing to the Lloyd's fund, it is time for us to enquire whether they perform *their duty*, and whether it be not *to them* that we have to look for the causes that have, within these few years, driven a million and a half of the king's subjects into methodist meetings.——In his parish, his *vicarage*, observe, of Ickleton, this anathematizing gentleman (whose *clerical* capacities shall certainly be the subject of remark upon some future occasion) keeps *a curate.* This curate consulted one of the churchwardens, a principal farmer in the parish, as to the propriety of making a collection at the church on the day of thanksgiving. The churchwarden told him, that he was decidedly adverse to the measure; that he should not subscribe any thing himself; and, of course, should not apply to others for that purpose. The objections which he stated, were, that a large sum, already subscribed, still remained in the hands of the Committee; and, that the Committee consisted, for the most part, of men, to whom he was not inclined to give much credit, either for patriotism or benevolence. No collection, therefore, took place; but, in order to remind his parishioners of Ickleton of their duty, the vicar sent his sermon amongst them, by the hands of his curate; from which sermon they were to learn, that they, or their churchwarden at least, "had little title to the name of Christians, "and were utterly unworthy of the privi- "leges of Englishmen." *What* privileges

he did not particularly mention; if he had, he surely would not have forgotten the invaluable one of being abused, and almost cursed, for not giving their money to a *voluntary* contribution.——We must not, however, leave this Lloyd's Fund to work its way, though we were to be loaded with curses more bitter than that of Ernulpus. It may be, and it is, too much to hope from the people by whom the scheme was projected and carried into execution, such fruits of amendment as those pointed out by my correspondent, in the Register of the 28th of December last; but, if these men shall not, and that very soon too, place the disposal and management of their fund, as well as of any future augmentation of it, under the only constitutional superintendance, I hope, and confidently rely, that their proceedings will be checked by parliamentary interference. In better times; in times when men yet adhered to the principles of the constitution; in times before the Pitt system had confused and confounded men's notions of constitutional rights and duties, it would not have been necessary to call to the recollection of the reader any instances of the very great jealousy which has always been entertained of voluntary contributions for national purposes (even though to be disposed of by the Crown) without consent of parliament; and, as to members of parliament themselves, it is, surely, even now unnecessary to refer them to the learning, on this subject, contained in the precedents of Mr. Hatsell; Vol. III pages 71 and 72. But, as the Fund-Dealers have thought proper to press into their service the clergy and the churches; and, as the clergy have (with more alacrity, I hope, than thought, in most instances) lent themselves, their churches and their sacred functions to further the purposes of those Fund-Dealers, it may not be amiss, in addition to what has already been said upon the subject, to admonish them, that, unless the law be changed since 1719, this perversion of their churches and their characters is an offence at common law, punishable by fine, imprisonment, and the pillory; and, so firm was my conviction of this from the out-set, that, if a collection had been made at the church of the parish where I live, I was resolved upon putting the law, upon this subject, to the test, and upon deciding the great question now at issue, whether the Funds had actually superseded the law of the land, or not? For an offence, analogous to those we have been speaking of, a clergyman of the name of HENDLEY was, with others, prosecuted in the reign of George I. and, in conviction, was fined. The trial is briefly reported in the Appendix to the 10th vol. of the State Trials, p. 85. And, at the end of this report is printed a letter to the Lord Chancellor from Judge POWYS, who tried the defendant, giving an account of the proceedings, and, in particular, of his directions in point of law. "This case," says he, "is of a vast extent and mighty "consequence to the king and to the peo- "ple; and at which the very legislature "may take great umbrage. The levying of "money is the tenderest part of our con- "stitution. And, if it may be done arbi- "trarily, under *a shew and form of charity*, "it cannot be said whither it may go. Col- "lections, as for charities, *may be set up in* "*all the churches of England by the clergy*, "as often as they please. And, though it "be said, it is all but *voluntary* giving, yet, "it is a sort of compulsion, by the solemni- "ty in the church, and *vying with others*, "and being *marked out*, if refusing or giv- "ing meanly."——How true! How just! How wise the law; and how grossly has it now been violated! These researches have not been made for the purpose of defence against the aspersions and calumnies of such men as the Goldsmids and the Angersteins, and the rest of that committee, who caused placards to be stuck up about the metropolis, accusing, by implication, all those of a want of patriotism, who did not subscribe to the fund; nor against the more bitter calumnies of such men as Mr. Nicholas Bull and Dr. Ireland of Croydon: they have been made for a much more important purpose; that of preparing the public mind for the discussions, relative to the subject, which, at a very early stage of the session, will, surely, take place *in parliament*. From the churches alone, it now appears, that more than 60,000l. have been collected by a self-created body of men, who hold a regular board at a coffee-house in London, and whose professed object is, to grant, out of this money, rewards, some of them by way of *pension*, to the army and the navy. This body of men is, too, composed of underwriters, fund-dealers, contractors of various sorts, and, in short, of that description of persons, whom it would be the most dangerous to suffer to gain an ascendancy in our troops, either by land or by sea. They have opened an official correspondence with our commanders, to whom they have communicated their decrees, in order to their being officially made known to the men under their several commands. Many of these commanders have made reports to them as have also the Secretary to the Admiralty,

and the Directors of the Royal Hospitals for Invalids. They have sent out their decrees to the governors of our islands and provinces, who have, several of them, raised money upon the people under their government, and have remitted it to Lloyd's, making their reports to the Committee, without any permission from king or parliament. Private soldiers and sailors have made application to the Committee, and grants have been made by it, in consequence of such application. And, shall the parliament; if the ministry do: if the king's servants wink at this daring, this audacious contempt of the law; this most dangerous invasion of the royal authority and office; if the "king's friends;" if the ever-famous "king's friends" wink at this, for fear of offending the loan-makers, shall the *parliament* wink at it too? If there be no one to speak for the king's prerogative, shall there be no one to speak for the privileges of the people, thus set at nought by the means, so well described by Judge Powys? Will the House of Commons stand quietly, and look on, while a quarter of a million of money is thus levied upon their constituents without their consent, and a considerable portion of it through the means of collections in the parish churches? If they do, we may continue to *talk* about the great powers and the watchfulness of the House of Commons; but, there will remain but very few persons, upon whom such talk will make much impression. It is said, indeed, that the ministers themselves mean *to do something*; but, what that something will be, that it will go no further than a miserable compromise, have we not reason to fear? That they (or, at least, the more rational part of them) have not countenanced the impudent proceedings at Lloyd's, is certain; and, except in one instance, that of a letter, in the COURIER, in defence of Dr. Ireland and Colonel Robinson, which letter, from its indescribable dullness, one would attribute to Dr. Ireland himself, the ministerial papers, though devoted to the fund-dealers, have, of late, said very little in defence of the corporation at Lloyd's. But, this is a grievance, the redress of which ought not, for one hour, to be left to the ministers. It is one which calls aloud for the interferance of parliament; and particularly of the House of Commons. Here are the means of rewarding and the maintaining of an army and a navy raised without even the semblance of their assent; and that, too, through the instrumentality of the magistrates and the clergy, acting upon letters missive, openly and expressly acting upon letters missive from a self-created corporation at Lloyd's, transmitted to them under the frank of the Secretary of the General Post-Office. Would it not be a libel upon the House of Commons to suppose, that they would wink at such an outrageous violation of their privileges? *Somebody* must begin. The thing must be put a stop to; for, proceed it cannot, without withdrawing the army and the navy from the king; and, if this terrible mischief were less to be apprehended than it is, what a precedent, if nothing be done as to those ministers of the church who have made collections, will be established? Money may be, by them, raised upon the people for *any* purpose. Why not for a disabled minister, as well as for a disabled seaman or soldier? Why not? And, when the people come to consider, that the army and the fleet can be rewarded by *voluntary* contribution, would it be very extraordinary, if they should think *that* to be the best way, and should regard it as unreasonable to be *taxed* for that purpose, especially as a considerable saving must arise from the money being distributed by men, who so generously perform the office of distributors *without taking any salary* for so doing? So numerous are the evils, attendant upon this audacious innovation, that there is no getting rid of them. They meet us like thorns in a hedge, and stick about us like burrs. Yet, amongst them all, that which I first of all perceived and pointed out to the public, is by far the greatest; namely, that of creating, in the army and the navy, a feeling that shall prefer the duration of the *Funds* to the duration of the *Monarchy*. My opinion respecting the approaching necessity of making a very great deduction, at least, from the interest now paid upon the national debt; this opinion, though firmly rooted in my mind, *may possibly* be erroneous; but, if it should not; if, as many, very many, persons begin to think, my opinion be well-founded; if it should become a question, whether such a deduction be not absolutely necessary to the preservation of the throne and of our liberties; if this should, at no very distant day, become a question in parliament, what will then be our situation, the soldiers and sailors being duly apprised of the circumstance, that the source of their rewards and that the payment of the numerous pensions already granted them, depend entirely upon the undiminished existence of the Funds; upon the continuation of the prosperity and the predominance of the Fund-Dealers? With this question I take leave of the subject, for the present, beseeching the reader, particularly if he be a

member of parliament, to honour it with his serious consideration.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—Upon this subject little remains to be said, at present, but to express, what the reader will not fail to remember I expressed long ago, a regret, that any of the few regular soldiers we had should, under such inauspicious circumstances, have been sent to the continent. But, it should not be forgotten, that the sending of our troops to the *North* of Europe, instead of sending them to Italy, where, if any where, they might have been of some service to the common cause, was, by the ministerial writers, upon the assertion, a hundred times made, that Prussia was with us in the war. It will be recollected, how often this assertion was repeated by them, and in how many ways they propped up the falsehood; how many times they said and swore, that Prussia was *decidedly hostile* to France; and, indeed, that her armies had actually marched to the attack; *now*, however, it would seem, that Prussia has *deceived* us; and, this is stated pretty broadly upon the anticipation of the capture of our troops in Hanover, whither they were sent for purposes that Mr. Pitt and the Colonels of the Horse Guards can best tell. "Supposing," says the COURIER of the 14th instant, "that the French do "make an attack upon our troops in "Hanover, why are ministers to blame?" Why, for sending them there, and keeping them there, doing nothing at all, till Napoleon had dispatched the allied armies, and had troops to spare to send against them. But, to proceed with the extract: "Our "troops were sent to co-operate with the "Russians, Swedes, *and Prussians*; there "was *no doubt then of the co-opevation of "Prussia.* But if, in consequence of recent "events, which *no man living could foresee*, "and which even the Opposition with all "their eagerness to predict defeat and dis-"aster to every effort against France, *did "not venture to presage*, Prussia deemed "it prudent to abandon her intention of "acting against Buonaparte, why are mi-"nisters deserving of censure? The troops "were sent where, in the event of "the continuance of the war, it *was deem-"ed* they would be most useful. If it be "asked why they were not sent in prefer-"ence to join the Austrians and Russians in "Bavaria or Moravia, the answer is, that "the combined force of those two Powers "*was deemed* equal to contend with any "force France could bring against it; "but upon this part of the subject, we "have expressed our opinion at length in "our review of the conduct of the war. "The disasters in Moravia, by producing "a change in the sentiments and system "of Prussia have, it is true, left our troops "exposed to an attack from an army supe-"rior in numbers. But that is an event, "for which, however we may deplore it, "no man can justly blame his Majesty's "Ministers—they could not possibly have "foreseen it."—*Was deemed!* But, supposing the *motive* to have been good, which I do for argument's sake, what has that to do with the *blame?* The blame then is only transferred from the heart to the head. And, as to *presages*, what assurance must this man have to assert, at this day, that the Opposition writers never foretold that Austria would be defeated, and that Prussia would *not* join us in the war! The readers of the Register must have been wearied with my endeavours to warn them against the belief of Prussia's taking part in the war. Not only might the ministers have foreseen what has happened; but it was foreseen to their hands; and, instead of profiting from the advice, they obstinately persevered in their schemes, while their underlings invented and published falsehoods to keep them in countenance.—The main point now to be noticed is, however, the saying and unsaying of these writers with respect to Prussia; and I beg the reader to compare what I have just extracted with what I am about to extract from the same publication of the 6th instant. "There is another very material "point too to be considered with respect to "Prussia; she *has never deceived us;* she "has never *promised support and then with-"held it;* she has never *held out hopes and "expectations which she has afterwards re-"fused to fulfil:* she has always acted in an "*open, candid,* and *manly manner towards "us: she has never deceived us.* We trust "therefore, we shall hear no more irritating "and goading language applied to her; our "policy should be to conciliate her by all "possible means; to be upon the most "friendly and cordial footing with her, and "to do every thing in our power to create "and cement the most intimate alliance be-"tween her, Russia, and this country."—Well, then, what fools, or, rather, what barefaced liars (for nothing else can they be called) must those writers and their employers have been! Never even *held out hopes!* Good God! And yet, they have the effrontery to defend the sending of our troops to Hanover upon the ground of hopes and expectations of the hearty co-operation of Prussia! But, of the language and conduct of such men it is waste of time any more to talk. It is for the *members of parliament*,

for those to whom the people now look for wisdom, firmness, and decision; it is for them now to inquire, and to obtain a specific answer, whether Prussia has or has not deceived us; whether she did, or did not hold out hopes and expectations. To them, as to our last remaining hope, we now look for satisfaction as to the cause of all our calamities and our dangers, and that satisfaction we have a right to expect. We have long enough been the sport of the Wards and the Cannings; we have been, or, at least, the great mass of the people have, long enough been, deluded by them and their newspapers; and we have now a right to know the truth and the whole truth.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.——By way of introduction to the little that I shall think it necessary to say upon this subject, I cannot refrain from noticing an article in one of the ministerial papers relative to the illness, or reputed illness, of Mr. Pitt, the great cause of all our calamities. "It would have been "strange indeed if *his Majesty's weakness* "*of sight*, and Mr. Pitt's *illness*, had not "afforded *the Opposition* cause *for triumph* "*and exultation*. The intelligence from "the Continent is with them a subject of "less importance than the intelligence from "Putney. Piccadilly swarms with anxious "Opposition enquirers, anxious, not for "Mr. Pitt's recovery, but for his getting "worse. "He can't attend Parliament, and "we shall have it all our own way," is the "gratulatory greeting of the different mem"bers and partisans of the Opposition as "they meet each other. Mr. Pitt's health "is certainly not worse than when he left "Bath; but it has been declared by his phy"sicians that it is indispensibly necessary "for him not yet to expose himself to the "severe fatigues of business; to remain "quiet, and reside in a clear and healthy air. "No apprehensions, we are glad to state, "are entertained for his life; his complaint "is a debilitated stomach, produced by ex"cessive application to business, or, we "have no objection to borrow the descrip"tion given by the Opposition of his indis"position, "the mania of doing every "thing himself,"—that is, of superintend"ing himself every branch and department "of administration. The perils of our si"tuation are said also to be aggravated by "his Majesty's weakness of sight. "At "this moment also his Majesty's sight is so "imperfect, that Parliament must be open"ed by Commission."——Now, I appeal to the reader, whether he ever before heard of any thing so base as this! To accuse the Opposition, many of them well-known to be in the personal confidence of the heir apparent; many of them having been in the King's cabinet; and many others of them now of his privy council; to accuse all these, in a lump, of *triumphing* and *exulting* that the King is unable, from want of sight, to read his speech to the parliament is something so base and so insolent as to authorise us to pronounce it impossible to have proceeded from any other minds than those, wherein were invented the two atrociously false Bulletins.——As to the *illness* of Mr. Pitt, that is another thing. Every man has a right to *wish* and to *express his wishes* upon that subject; and, it would be by no means extraordinary or blameable if those wishes were contrary to the wishes of the Editor of the COURIER, and persons of that description. But, in asserting this, I am laying no ground for an apology either for myself or for any opposition writer that I have ever read; for, in no one instance have I ever alluded to his illness, and in no other opposition print have I ever seen any thing, that could possibly be tortured into *a triumph* upon the occasion. I will go much further, as to myself, and declare with the utmost sincerity, that, if he be *really ill*, so ill as to prevent him from attending parliament, I am sorry for it; and, that, not for his own sake, but for the sake of the country, I should be extremely grieved, if he were now to die; being fully persuaded, that, in that case, there would not be wanting, thousands of deceivers, and, perhaps, millions of deceived, to maintain, that, if he had lived, he would have extricated us from the difficulties, into which his selfish ambition and want of statesman-like talents have plunged us. *Triumph*, truly! Why should I, for instance, triumph in the only event that could give his fatal system a chance of being prolonged? In the only event whereby he could be enabled to preserve a remnant of its deletrious reputation? In the only event, that could tend to the prevention of the clean sweeping-away of that innumerable swarm of underlings, with whom he has crowded, even to mutual annoyance, every department of the state? In the only event that could have the effect of sealing men's lips, and of depriving the nation of the inestimable benefits to be derived from a full exposure of all the proceedings, domestic as well as foreign, by which we have been reduced to our present situation? I have not spoken upon this subject before; but, being put upon it, I cannot refrain from saying, that it will be a shameful dereliction of duty in any man to abstain from speaking of Mr. Pitt and his measures, in the manner in

which they ought to be spoken of, merely because he is ill. We, the people of England, were not made for him, nor for his family, nor for his friends. Our liberties and our country are at stake. They have been brought into jeopardy; into imminent peril, by this minister; we have a right to expect, that no considerations whatever will prevent his conduct from being fully and freely discussed; and, the man who is induced to flinch from this will thereby afford us a tolerable good reason for suspecting, that his attachment to Mr. Pitt is much too great to leave him a sufficiency for the service of the country.——As to *a change of ministry*, too, my thoughts are nearly of the same description. The change, to answer any good purpose, must be *radical*; it must include all; yea, underlings and all; there must be a clean sweeping out of all the dirt of twenty year's collecting; it must be such a change as will lead to, and very soon produce, a complete *change of system*, or I shall have no hope in it. The influence, the predominance, the over-bearing insolence, of jobbers and contractors and nabobs must be put an end to; or nothing worthy of a wish will be accomplished. If the system is to continue, Mr. Huskisson could carry on the affairs of the nation, as well, if not better, than Mr. Pitt; and, it will, I imagine, be soon seen, that, unless the *means* are cut off, the former will be as well backed as the latter ever was; it will be soon seen, that *words* are not the means by which his supporters were convinced.——As to a *botched* ministry; as to any thing that, under the name of conciliation, would embrace the Hawkesburies and the Cannings and the Old Roses and many others of that stamp, not only would it fail of any good national end, but it would soon destroy itself, and, individually, the political influence of every man who should be weak enough to be inveigled into it. One of the things which we most want, is a serious and solemn *retrospect*; a strict examination, without favour, into past conduct. In any ministry, the composition of which would prevent this, or that would check it, though but in the smallest degree, the people would now have no confidence. The nation, in the midst of this terrible contest, and breaking down under its burdens, was, only in the last year, loaded with a fresh mortgage of about 800,000 l. for grants of money and pensions. Is this to go on? Is this to pass so? If it be, George Rose is just the same to us as any one of the Opposition, or all of them put together.——Let us hope, therefore, that there will be *no compromises*; no concessions in order to obtain votes and secure majorities; let us hope, that those who are against the Pitt system of government will openly and explicitly declare their principles, and adhere steadily to them, though they should be left in a minority as to numbers however small. If they do this, as I am confident they will, they will increase like the grain of mustard-seed; but, if they were to adopt the contrary course, they would continue to dwindle in character and in influence, till the poisonous weeds would once more overrun them, usurp the soil, and render it habitable for nothing but vermin. It is the *system*, the vermin-breeding system, that I, for my part, am at war with. The people are weary of it. They want something to re-animate them; something that shall form such a striking contrast with the past as to excite attention in the most unobserving. They want to be rouzed, not with rabble-rouzing *words*; not with threats and terrors; as far as these can go they are rouzed enough; but, with *hope*, hope built upon a solid foundation; upon the evidence of truths, truths not only heard but *felt*. The questions of *peace* and *war* are now questions *entirely new*, to be discussed with reference to a set of circumstances entirely new. But, it is *at home;* it is here, where, to use an expression once before quoted by me upon a similar subject, "we must live, or bear no life; where our "current runs, or else dries up for ever;" here it is that something must be done; that some effectual change must take place, or we sink under the arms of our enemy; and, to suppose that any such change can take place under a ministry made up of compromises and concessions; to act upon such a supposition would argue a degree of infatuation such as never before possessed the mind of man. Much better would it be for the Pitts, or their underlings, to hang on; because of their career events would soon bring us to the end, when we should always have a grand reserve of talent and character to look to; but, if once they were to worm themselves in amongst those, who now compose this reserve, the country would have nothing to rest upon; no ground of hope, no reliance upon any public man whatever; indifference and disgust would ensue, and of these, in times like those that are fast approaching, who does not perceive the natural, not to say the inevitable, consequences?

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"There is a set of men, my Lords, in the City of London, who are known to live in riot "and luxury upon the plunder of the ignorant, the innocent, the helpless; upon that part "of the community, which stands most in need of, and that best deserves, the care and "protection of the legislature. To me, my Lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of "'Change Alley, or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall Street, they are all equally "detestable. I care but little whether a man walks on foot, or is drawn by eight horses, "or six horses; if his luxury be supported by the plunder of his country, I despise and "detest him. My Lords, while I had the honour of serving his Majesty, I never ventured "to look at the Treasury but at a distance: it is a business I am unfit for, and to which I "could never have submitted. The little I know of it has not served to raise my opinion "of what is vulgarly called the "Monied Interest;" I mean, that blood-sucker, that "muck-worm, that calls itself "the friend of government;" that pretends to serve this "or that administration, and may be purchased, on the same terms, by any administration; "advances money to government and takes special care of its own emoluments. Under "this description, I include the whole race of commissaries, jobbers, contractors, clothiers, "and remitters. Yet, I do not deny, that, even with those creatures, some management "may be necessary; and, I hope, my Lords, that nothing I have said will be understood "to extend to the honest industrious tradesman, who holds the middle rank, and has given "repeated proofs, that he prefers law and liberty to gold. Much less would I be thought "to reflect upon the fair merchant, whose liberal commerce is the prime source of national "wealth. I esteem his occupation, and respect his character."——Speech of the *great* EARL OF CHATHAM, in the House of Lords, on the 22d of November, 1770.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.——What I am now about to submit to the reader, upon this subject, I wish to be considered as an answer, as far as it is, at present, necessary to give an answer, to the letter of my correspondent, which letter will be found in the present volume, p. 47.——The writer of that letter, by admitting, that the national debt, even in its present magnitude, goes far towards cramping public spirit, enervating patriotism, and deadening the love of our country, and that taxes upon taxes cannot fail to extinguish virtuous independence; by making this admission, he saves me the trouble of proving (if, indeed, such proof were necessary), that the national debt, or, rather, the funding system, is an enormous evil, and, of course, that *something* ought to be done to get rid of it, or, at least, to prevent its further increase. And, by the proposal of a *new* scheme for paying off the debt, he renders it unnecessary for me to show, that the *present scheme* is inefficient for that purpose. I do not conclude, hence, that the public ought to be satisfied upon these points: I am speaking of nothing more than the admissions of an individual: I think myself bound to prove these positions, at some future time; but, in answer to this writer, I am not so bound. When I enter into that proof, I shall, I think, not find it very difficult to show, that *his* scheme for paying off, or diminishing the amount of, the debt is unjust in its principle, and would prove utterly impracticable in the execution; and that his notion respecting the nature of *capital* are those of a mere banking-house man, and are founded in no one principle of political economy——At present, as well for the sake of clearness as of brevity, I shall confine myself to a defence of my opinions and my wishes against the two charges, distinctly preferred by this writer, of INJUSTICE and of CRUELTY.——But, previously to entering upon these, it is incumbent upon me to make a remark or two upon the charge of *levity*, not very equivocally preferred at the outset of this letter; and, surely, I may ask him to point out, if he can, the passage, in which I have ever treated this subject with levity; to show wherein I have used it as a "hobby;" to make good the charge of my having sported with the well-being of thousands and hundreds of thousands of people; to reconcile with this dread of the effects of the promulgation of my opinions the idea, clearly conveyed by him, of their being rash, inconsiderate, and characteristic of shallowness. Nor can I omit, here, to refer the reader to my motto, and then to put

it to his candour, whether *I* have ever spoken of what is vulgarly called the monied interest in terms more degrading than those in which that "blood-sucker, that muck-worm," was spoken of by "the *great* Lord Chatham;" by that man, under whom England was so *truly* great; by that man under whose administration this country had to record the events of "the glorious year 1759;" by that man, whom the nation honoured while living, and commemorated by a public funeral and by statues of marble after his death. Let the hired writers, or any of the vile calumniators of office, any of the tribe of bulletin-makers, search through the pages of the Register, and put, if they can, their foul hands upon the passage, wherein I have ever expressed, against the swarm of city locusts, sentiments more hostile than those expressed by Lord Chatham. The passage, selected for the motto was pointed out to me by a correspondent; I had never in my life read it, previous to the writing of the Register of the 11th instant; and, when the reader looks back at page 42 of the present volume, he will, I am sure, think it excusable, if I feel and express no small degree of pride at the striking coincidence of those sentiments with the sentiments of Lord Chatham. The principles there laid down were just in 1770, and must always be just; but, the indignation due to the plunder and the insolence of the "blood-sucker" admits of degrees; and, how greatly, how beyond all measure, has this degree now been heightened! If, on the day when Lord Chatham made that speech, some one, gifted with a fore knowledge of what was to come, had risen up, and requested him to be cautious how he gave way to his feelings against the "blood-sucker," for that the times were approaching, when this same "blood-sucker" should be taken to the bosom of the government; when it should be cherished in preference to, and at the expense of, every other being in the community; when after having wormed itself into every department of the state, it should effect the dissolution of the parliament, and, bearing down all before it, enforce measures for the creating of a mortgage upon the nation to the amount of 27 millions of annual interest, payable to itself; when, from a "muck-worm" it should rear itself up into a pretender to the highest honours in the gift of the crown; and, when, after having thus triumphed, it should, with unpunished boldness and insolence, invade at once the privileges of parliament and the prerogative of the king, by raising, of its own mere motion, money upon the people, and by making itself a fountain of honour and of reward for the army and the navy, by bestowing badges of distinction and by the granting of sums of money and of pensions, at its pleasure. If any one had told him this; and, while his heart was still exulting at the events of "the glorious' 59," if it had been added, that these things should finally reduce the country to such a state, that it should become a question (as put by the Committee at Lloyd's) "whether *Englishmen should* "*remain free, or become the slaves of* "*Frenchmen*;" if, at that time, this had been foretold him; and, if, by way of finishing the horrid picture, he had been again cautioned to beware, for that all those things should come to pass under the rule, and should be produced by the measures, of his own son, would he not, with Macbeth, have exclaimed: "down! down! damned "prospect; thou scarest mine eye balls?"—

In entering upon the two points which I propose to discuss, it is necessary first to state, in general terms, what is the measure that I wish to see adopted, with regard to the national debt; and this is done in a very few words; for, I wish to see the interest now paid upon it, first *greatly lessened*; and, finally, I wish to see no interest at all to be paid upon it. The time and the manner of doing this would require much consideration; and, a preliminary measure, a measure of which no one could, with reason, complain, would be, to stop the operation of what is drolly enough called the sinking fund, for the support of which the people now pay six millions sterling every year. This would be, so far, removing the fictitious support to the funds; it would be leaving them to their own natural credit and solidity; and would ease the land and the labour of the burden of upholding that which, if it stand at all, ought, in justice, to stand upon its own bottom. This would neither be taking, nor deducting, any thing from any body but those, who, at an enormous expense to the people, *manage* the sinking fund. But, all these are matters of detail, and are, of course, matters of future consideration; the object being, as I explicitly avow it, to relieve the nation from the weight of that mill-stone, which is now dragging it down to the mud, and to do this by ceasing to pay any interest at all upon the national debt (except in a few cases hereafter to be mentioned); and, while I endeavour to defend this measure against the charge of INJUSTICE, I beg the patient and candid attention of the reader.—The declamation, which my correspondent has not

thought unbecoming him to give way to; his horror at the prospect of the name of Britons being handed down to posterity with a tarnished and polluted character; his reprobation of the baseness that would reduce thousands to wretchedness and despair for no other crime than that of confiding in the national honour; his pathetic appeal in behalf of the widow, the orphan and the helpless, to which he might, with full as much propriety, have added, the halt and the lame and the blind: all this has a fine and affecting sound; but, it has nothing to do with the *reason* and the *justice* of the question.—On this question, as well as on all other questions relating to national credit and national wealth, there is, amongst men little accustomed to think upon them, a radical vice in the reasoning. From the habit, which we all naturally contract, of comparing great things with small, and of bringing high things down to the level of our comprehension, we, in speaking of the affairs of nations, of their engagements and obligations, are universally prone to illustrate our meaning and to enforce our arguments from comparisons drawn from common life; and this is the more likely to take place, in a case like the present, where the *terms* are the same. It is, therefore, not at all surprising, that an honest, well-meaning man, as my correspondent appears to be, should have considered the debt and the credit and the honour and the honesty of the nation in the same light as if he had been speaking of those of an individual; it is not at all surprising that he should view the nation as a rich individual witholding (if my wish were to be accomplished) property due to a number of poor individuals; and, that he should put to me the solemn question: "Do you, Mr. Cobbett, really mean to argue, that a British parliament should enact, or that a British public should sanction, a measure which, *if acted in private life*, would expose the most hardy individual of that public to the lash of British law, as well as to merited reproach and indignation?" To this question I answer in the negative. Certainly I do not mean to argue any such thing, the cases being entirely dissimilar, and it being completely impossible, that, with regard to the claimants upon the national funds, or taxes (for that is the word) any such measure should be adopted. As to the dissimilarity, there are, to all contracts between man and man, *three* parties; first, in the case of a loan, the *borrower*; second, the *lender*; and third, the *nation*, which, by its laws, and its executive authority, compels the two former to fulfil their contract with one another, without any consideration as to the ruin which such fulfilment may bring upon either of them. But, in a case where the nation itself is a party, there are only *two* parties; there is no one to compel it to proceed on to its ruin; the very first duty of its rulers is, to take care, let who will suffer by it, that it be not ruined; and this upon the maxim, laid down by all the civilians, universally acknowledged to be just, and daily acted upon by this same British legislature, that the good and the safety of individuals must give way to the good and the safety of the community. We proceed, observe, too, upon the position, that the measure, which I wish to see adopted, is *necessary to the safety of the nation*; its ability to maintain its independence; its power to keep out the conqueror; and, if it be necessary to this, the not adopting it would, of course, produce the same effect, as to the fund-holders, as if it were adopted; but would, in that case, be attended with no benefit to the nation.——In speaking of contracts we must not refer merely to the *letter* of them. Even between man and man equity steps in, and rectifies whatever may have become amiss, and cannot be rectified by the ordinary course of law. The circumstances, under which a contract is made, the facts known to or hidden from the parties, the true intent and meaning of their arguments with one another, on all subjects of consideration, and of weight in the decision. And, here we touch very closely upon the point immediately before us; for, when any one of those who have bought part of a loan scrip, and who, in consequence thereof, now draws interest from out of the taxes of the nation, did he not well know, that there were only two parties to the contract? Did he not well know, that the borrower had it in his *power*, at any time, to refuse to pay the interest? And did he not consider, that, if such a refusal should become necessary to the safety of the nation, that it would be the first *duty* of its rulers to make it? What was he purchasing? Any thing real? Any thing that he could see, or feel, or hear? Any thing which he could claim, in the same state, and take away at his pleasure; or, in the same state, transfer it to another? Any thing of a specific and fixed value? No: he was purchasing nothing more than a right to demand a certain nominal amount of interest from the nation; and, of course, as the nation could not be, and ought not if it could be, ruined for his sake, the right to demand could, even in his

contemplation, have extended no further than the ability of the nation to pay without risking its ruin. He purchased scrip, or stock, or call it by what name you will; and he knew, that it was liable to great fluctuations in its value; he had seen that its value depended upon the state of the nation; and, long before he lent his money, or rather, purchased his right of drawing upon the people's taxes, he, and every one else, had talked of, and regarded as possible, that event which has been denominated a national bankruptcy. With all this knowledge of facts, still he bought. He had heard, that, at former periods, the legislature had *reduced the interest* upon the national debt; he had, if he purchased of late years, seen that the same power and authority, had, contrary to the express provisions under which the several loans had theretofore been made, or, more properly speaking, by a tacit repeal of those provisions, made a deduction from the interest upon the national debt, under the name of Income Tax; and, must he not, then, have known, must not his contract have been made with the full knowledge, that, by the same power and authority, a further and a further deduction, and, if so, a total extinction, could at any time take place? Had he not seen, that the promnissory notes of the Bank of England, payable to bearer, upon demand, in specie, and carrying upon the face of them the proofs of a contract as sacred as law could make it; had he not seen this contract between a company of merchants and the holders of their notes annulled by an order of the king in council, and the act sanctioned and ratified by the legislature, with, at least, a score of acts and charters hostile to the measure, and, could he, with that fact before his eyes, regard acts of parliament relative to what is called public credit as being like the laws of the Medes and Persians? He will tell me, perhaps, and, if he be a "blood-sucker," he certainly will tell me, that *that* measure was necessary to the good of the community, before which the good of individuals must give way; and, without, however, admitting of the propriety of the application, I chearfully acknowledge the justice of the principle, and the more so, because it is precisely that upon which I found my present defence against the charge of wishing for an act of injustice.——From this view of the circumstances, the well-known facts, under which the contract was made, it must, I think, be evident to every one, that this purchaser of stock, or this lender to the nation, if you will, was duly apprized of the *risk* that he ran; that his contract was, in fact, made upon a *calculation of chances*, of an order one degree, and only one degree, higher than that of gambling; and, is not this position strengthened, nay, completely established, by the fact of his expecting to receive, and of his now being in the receipt of, a much *higher interest* than he could expect to have received, or than he could now actually receive, if his money had been laid out in *real property?* This brings us, at once, to the point of *equity*; and, as my opponent has chosen to make an appeal in behalf of the *widow*, I shall, by way of simplifying my argument, suppose a case of two widows, each of them twenty years ago, left with a family of children and with a landed estate worth ten thousand pounds sterling. The one, whose views are unambitious, who is not carried away by the temptations to vanity, visiting, and luxury, and who is content to live at home, and to educate her children for those walks in life where they will be likely to get bread and even to obtain a competence for old age without bowing and cringing, lets her land, and lives upon the income, which, at *three* per centum, and that is rather above the average, yields her 300*l.* a year. The other is a dashing dame. Hardly is her pains-taking, plodding husband, laid in the grave, when her head begins to run upon London; upon sentimental plays, and haberdashers shops. Her gaping sons are all instantly destined for the Excise, the Custom-House, or for plunder in the East. She cannot accomplish this with 300*l.* a year; and, besides, she is impatient under the pestering of clownish and dirty-shoed farmers. In this embarrassment some sleek-headed, deep-sighted attorney, (who, thanks to the funding system, is, most likely, also a tax-gatherer, a second hand stock-broker, and a coiner of paper money) at once discovers her distress, and points out the remedy; and, up she comes, in a post-chaise, over laden with her and her litter. At first, upon the money advanced her by brother Scut, who is left with a power to sell her land, she takes a lodging in Portland Place, but finding a half year's income gone in a week, she removes with her laced footman to a tawdry ready-furnished lodging at Camberwell or Kentish-town, where, though the best of her company consist of stock-jobbers wives, her efforts to hide her poverty is the topic of their continual ridicule. Her daughters waste their lives in turning the cast-off finery of the mother into finery for themselves, in reading novels and the Morning Post, and in ogling the spruce apprentice stock-jobber, who

lodges over the way; while her sons are thumped black and blue at a school for French and commercial education, into which they have been inveigled by a large board with golden letters upon it; and while the silly mother expends the rest of her 500l. a year in hackney coaches, wherewith genteely to dance attendance upon the clerks of Leadenhall-street and the Treasury. But, observe, she has, all this time, been receiving, from the sale of her land laid out in stock, *at least*, 500l. a year, while the widow, the good and sober and considerate mother, who has remained in the country, and who has of necessity been expending her income upon the spot whence it was derived, instead of throwing it away upon the vermin collected together in this overgrown and corrupted metropolis, has been receiving only 300l. a year. From real property, possessed twenty years ago, of exactly the same value, the former, in consequence of speculations, her risk, her gambling, received and expended 10,000l., while the latter, whose moderation and economy prevented her from putting the independence of herself and her children to hazard, has received and expended only 6,000l. And, to this gentleman, who declaims in behalf of "the widow," I put the question, whether it would be just to take from the sober matron, who has not ventured to gamble, in order to make up the losses of her who has gambled? Observe, too, that the land of her who did not purchase stock, has been taxed all this time, and in all manner of ways, for the purpose of getting money to pay the 500l. a year to the gambler. And, when the chances begin to run against this latter, shall she, at the end of twenty years comparative luxury, come to the person who has been practising economy, and say to her, "give me part of "your land, *that, after all, I may still be* "*as well of as you?*" Is this *justice?* Is this the justice for which my correspondent contends? Is it the *contrary* of this, against which he so declaims? He may, if he choose, again and again resort to his powers of exciting passion and prejudice; he may again assert, that the weight of the measure I propose would fall upon the helpless and destitute; upon the widow, the fatherless, and the orphan, and that all these would sink into the vale of misery, calling for the vengeance of heaven, on the barbarous authors of their misfortune and ruin. He may again assert, that this measure would stain the annals of our age and country with an everlasting stigma; but neither these assertions, nor the lofty exclamatory appeals to "British honour," will, in the minds of men of sense and of justice, avail him aught, unless he can overset the argument, imperfect as it is, that I have made use of. ——I shall, I am aware, be told, that the fund-loving widow, whom I have described, is an over-charged picture. Be it so; but is there any man who will deny, that there are many instances of that sort? Will he deny, that thousands upon thousands have become fund-holders from motives similar to those given to that widow? Will he deny, that this enormous, this overgrown, this wen-headed metropolis, including its environs, owes one-half of its population to the funds? And will he deny, that this system is the cause of the villages being depopulated, and impoverished, by inducing persons to draw their incomes from the places where it is produced by labour, and from suffering hardly any part of it to fall back again to cheer the heart of the labourer? Will he deny, that, by removing the population from the country to the metropolis; by crowding the people into lanes, courts and alleys, great injury is done to the health of the people, great injury both to their bodies and their minds? Will he deny, that they are rendered, by this system, feeble, mercenary, and base, in every possible way? And, if he cannot deny this, and, I think, he cannot deny any part of it, will he contend, that, for the sake of putting an end to an evil of such magnitude, the good, the comfort (as it is called) of individuals ought not to give way?——"The widow," I shall, perhaps, be reminded, has, in great likelihood, been *compelled* to be a fund-holder; for, that the stock may have been purchased by her husband, or ordered, by his will, to be purchased. But, what is that to my argument? The wife must submit to the consequences of having had a foolish and avaricious husband; and so must orphans submit to similar consequences flowing from the disposition of their parents, as, indeed, is, and must be, the case, in all ranks and situations of life, and with reference to all sorts of contracts. In regard to stock held in consequence of compulsion, there is, indeed, one exception; and that is, where the compulsion has arisen from some positive law, or some legal decision. Here the deposit is not the voluntary act of the party; the nation, by its laws and its executive officers has *forced* the property from its right owner, and to its right owner it is, therefore, bound, in justice, to restore it.—— But, when my correspondent is declaiming about the widow, the orphan, and the helpless, he seems entirely to overlook the *great body* of fund-holders. To hear him, one

would think, that all the fund-holders were poor, helpless mortals, unable to shift for themselves; and, what is more, unable *to sell their stock*, not only at this time, but even after it shall have begun evidently to depreciate! One would think this impossible, too, in a person who has a mind capable of embracing such mighty objects and of inventing such grand schemes; one would think it quite impossible, that such a person should not, long ago, have perceived, that the fund-holders, generally speaking, are the most active, the most greedy, the most cunning part of the community; that they are persons who are constantly upon the look-out; that their minds embrace all possible chances; that they are seldom without two strings to their bow; that they are persons who have risen from the dirt, merely by their speculations in the funds and in other things therewith closely or more remotely connected; and that, as to the far greater part of them, they have received ten, or from ten to twenty, per centum for any thing of real value that they have ever advanced. With respect to the loan-contractors, too, though they do not still hold, though they would not, if they could, still hold the stock proceding from their loans; though they have sold it out in little parcels to subaltern speculators, who would have made loans themselves if they could; though the stock is not still theirs, it is gone elsewhere with all its qualities along with it; with all its bonuses and its other immense gains; and, justice will never cause a separation in its view of them; they must always remain united; it being no matter to the nation *who are the holders*; who swallows the fruits of its labour, whether it goes into the belly of the shark or the gudgeon. Take a loan, then, of twenty years ago, and you will find, that the interest and the bonuses, and other emoluments arising from it (to say nothing of the political and other indirect gains) are much more than *double* the amount of what land, equal in value to the amount of the loan, would have produced in the same time. Where then, is the injustice of now cutting off, or, at least, greatly reducing; the interest upon such loan? and, where would be the justice of coming to the land-owners and seizing a part of their property, in order to divide it with those who have already drawn therefrom the full amount of whatever they advanced? Aye,' says this writer, but, the loan-contractors are land owners too. It is not *they* who would suffer, but the poor helpless creatures who have bought their scrip. What is that to the nation? It may be, and must be lamented, that these people were so foolish, or so greedy, as to become funnels for the loan contractors to suck the fruit of the nation's labour through; but the act was their own; it was perfectly voluntary; there was no compulsion for them to purchase stock; and they made the purchase with a full knowledge of all the risks and chances attending it, and in consequence of a determination to run those risks and chances for the sake of enhancing their emoluments. They saw that, by becoming unfair "blood-suckers," they could add to their incomes; and are they not to submit to the consequences of having chosen that way of life? Are they now to be huddled together with those whose blood they have been so long sucking, and have been enabling others to suck more copiously?——My correspondent, pursuing his erroneous notion of a perfect similarity between a national debt and a debt between man and man, argues as if the national debt was an actual mortgage upon the land and goods of the nation; but, not only is it not so by law, but it never was, or could be, considered in that light by any one of the loan-makers, whether great or small. It is a mortgage upon the taxes of the nation; and it was, of course, understood, at the making of every loan, that, if those taxes were not sufficient to pay the interest, the interest must go unpaid; so that, at last, we are naturally brought back to the question whence we started: whether it be consistent with the safety of the nation; with its independence; and not only with its mere independence, or, in other words, its *existence* as a nation, but with the preservation, or the restoration, of its due degree of power and greatness; whether it be consistent with these any longer to continue to raise 27 millions a year upon the people to defray the expenses attendant upon the national debt. I am decidedly of opinion, that it is not consistent with the safety and well-being of the nation any longer to continue such levy; I am decidedly of opinion, that we cannot make either war or peace in a way that shall not accelerate our ruin, as an independent people, without a discontinuance of it; I am decidedly of opinion, that, to express myself in the words of the greatest of political philosophers, the nation must destroy the debt, or that the debt will destroy the nation. Nor is this opinion so singular as the fund-holders may imagine; but, even amongst those who entertain it, it is not rare to find persons ready to avow, that, such is their love of that *justice*, for which my correspondent is so sturdy an advocate,

they would prefer the destruction of the nation; that is to say, its subjugation to a foreign power. The *folly* of this preference may not be evident to those, who can console themselves with the base hope of being still permitted, as the Dutch are, to derive something of an income from the continuation of the funds protected by the edicts, and the arms of a conqueror; but, the *justice* of it, my correspondent will not, I presume, attempt to maintain; for, here, still more obviously than in the former comparison, his argument, founded upon the similarity between the debt of a nation and a debt between man and man, would fail him. Why? perhaps, will he say. Is the *ruin* of a bankrupt any reason for his creditors abstaining from *taking his all?* No: it is not to prevent them from taking all his goods and all his property; but, they cannot take his *life*; they can make him as poor as a day-labourer; they can, in some cases, and in virtue of commercial laws, take away his liberty, in a certain degree, and under the controul of certain regulating powers in the state; but they cannot cut off his limbs; they cannot poison or suffocate him; they cannot demand a pursuit of him to the very verge of existence; they cannot *kill* him; they must leave him life and limb, together with all his capacities, mental and physical, for the purposes of prolonging his existence and for those of regaining his weight and consequence in the world. But, the argument of the "blood-"suckers" would *destroy* the nation rather than quit their hold; they would make it *cease to exist* as an independent community; and not to exist in that state, is, with a nation, not to exist at all. And this they call *justice* and *honour* and *honesty!* In favour of this it is that we are to listen to the incessant and noisy and hypocritical declamation that we daily hear in behalf of the widow and the orphan and the helpless; to support this destroying principle we are invoked to consider the fate of our character in the world; and that we are to submit to be called, unless we yield to it, by every name descriptive of a base and abominable people, for whose signal punishment the thunders of heaven and the vapours of the earth are gathering themselves together! And, shall we thus submit? Shall we, after having been inveigled even to the brink of the fatal precipice, be bullied, because we hesitate at taking the leap; shall we, indeed, tamely submit to be thus taunted and insulted, because we wish to retain that small portion of the vital principle that the "blood-sucker" has left in our veins?——Having trespassed so far upon the patience of the reader, I will not now enter upon my defence against the charge of CRUELTY. Those who think that I have done away the charge of INJUSTICE, will not regard it necessary that much should be said upon the other point: but, I think, I am able to shew, and, for many reasons, I shall endeavour to do it in my next Number, that the calamities to individuals, from the measures that I would propose, would not be of nearly so fearful a magnitude as people in general appear to apprehend, an apprehension industriously propagated by all that large portion of talkers and of writers, who are under the influence, direct or indirect, of the "blood-sucker."——I must once more express my desire to be understood, as speaking, upon this subject, my *own* sentiments, without knowing that any one member of what is called *the Opposition* agrees with me. It would be contemptible as well as false to pretend, that, in no instance, one's opinions are not to yield to those of others, particularly for persons of whose talents and wisdom one entertains the greatest possible degree of deference; but, in most instances, I have followed my own original opinion; and, upon all subjects relating to the funding system, I have suffered the judgment of no one to bias me. If I am in error, let the error be my own, and if not, I have a right thus early to put forward my claim to the merit.

BERKSHIRE MEETING.—On the 8th instant a county meeting was convened at Reading, to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning parliament for the repeal of Mr. Pitt's *parish bill*. The meeting was attended by all the most respectable magistrates, noblemen, gentlemen, and freeholders, of the county. The sheriff took the opportunity of making to the meeting a report of the proceedings consequent upon the last meeting of the county, which was held for the purpose of agreeing upon an address to the king relative to the victory of Trafalgar. He stated, that he had delivered the address to Lord Hawkesbury, the secretary of state for the home department, and that he had received a letter from his lordship expressing the satisfaction of His Majesty at the receipt of the dutiful and loyal address of his subjects of Berkshire, and informing the sheriff, that the said address had been, according to the usual custom, inserted in the London Gazette, published under Royal Authority. This naturally brought on inquiries, and a deliberation respecting the fate of the address, which, in the same place, the same persons agreed

upon, and requested the sheriff to present to the king, upon the subject of the deeds brought to light in the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry; and, after a full explanation of the matter, and upon being perfectly satisfied that the last-mentioned address had never been acknowledged to have been received by the king, and had not been inserted in the Gazette, according to the usual custom, the following resolutions upon the two subjects before the meeting were proposed and unanimously agreed to. But it will be better to insert the account of the proceedings as published by order of the meeting.——

"At a meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, "and Freeholders, of this county, (convened by the Sheriff in consequence of "the unanimous vote of the county meeting, on the 20th of November last, "for "the purpose of considering the operation "of the act of 44th Geo. III. c. 56) held at "the Town-hall, in Reading, on Wednesday the 8th day of January, 1806. Moris "Ximenes, Esq. High Sheriff, was unanimously called to the Chair.——The Sheriff communicated to the meeting the "Secretary of State's letter, signifying that "the address on the late victory had been "presented to his Majesty, and that the "same had been most graciously received. "Alexander Cobham, Esq. then moved "that a petition be presented to parliament "praying a repeal of so much of the act for "establishing and maintaining a permanent "additional force (44 Geo. III. c. 56) as "required overseers to provide the men, "and inflicting penalties on the parish in "case of their defaults.——On such petition being produced and read, James "Croft, Esq. moved an amenement, that "the petition should extend to pray a repeal of the whole act. The chairman "then put the question, and the petition "with the amendment was unanimously "agreed to.——Resolved, that the petition "be signed by such gentlemen of the county as think proper, and that the county "members be requested to present it as "early as possible after the meeting of "parliament.——On the motion of Lord "Folkestone, the thanks of the meeting "were voted to the Sheriff for his attention "to the addresses of this county, confided "to his care, on the 6th of May and the "20th of November last.——William Hallett, Esq. then moved the following resolutions, and was seconded by Sir John "Throckmorton, and which, (after the "chairman had taken the sense of the meeting whether they should then be discussed "or at a special meeting, to be called for "that purpose) were put separately and "agreed so nem. con.——Resolved, first, "that it is the right of the people to address "the King.——Secondly, that it is usual to "insert addresses to his Majesty in the London Gazette.——Thirdly, that to omit "this mark of attention to the opinion of "the people, is shanieful, if arising from "negligence, and becomes intolerable if for "the purpose of concealment.——Fourth, "that it appears that an address voted at a "numerous meeting of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of this county, on the "6th day of May last, on the subject of the "abuses in the management of the public "monies, as detailed in the Tenth Report "of the Commistioners of Naval Inquiry, "was left by the High Sheriff at the office "of Lord Hawkesbury the Secretary of "of State for the Home Department. That "the said address has never been published "in the London Gazette, and that it can "have been with-held for no other purpose "but in order to conceal from the eye of "his Majesty and the country, the sentiments of this county, and their just indignation at the gross and scandalous "abuses there referred to.——Fifth, that "for the purpose of exposing the authors of "this scheme of concealment, the High "Sheriff be requested to cause the foregoing resolutions to be printed in the Reading, Oxford, Salisbury, and Bath papers, "and in the Courier, Sun, Globe, Oracle, "Times, Traveller, Evening Star, Morning "Chronicle, and Morning Post.——By order of the meeting, Moris Ximenes, "chairman.——On the Sheriff quitting the "chair, Mr. Cobham moved a vote of "thanks to him for having called the meeting, and his candid and impartial conduct "in the chair, which was unanimously "agreed to."——These resolutions do great honour to the county of Berks, which has set a laudable example to the rest of the kingdom, and if the rest of the kingdom do not follow it, they deserve every thing that the rule of the Cannings and the Castlereaghs and the Huskissons can bring upon them and their posterity.——The *Parish Bill* has proved to be, not worse, for worse it could not be, than its opponents said it would be. All the ludicrous dreams about the sympathetic battalions are now vanished; all the show, the fine flowery nonsense, is gone, and nothing but the odiousness of the measure remains. Still the ministers mean, it is said, to persevere! *Twenty-five of the counties* have not, it is said, in a circular letter from lord Hawkes-

bury to the lords lieutenant of counties (see p. 157, of the present number) furnished *a single man* by the parish-officers. From the same source we learn, that three fifths of the whole number of men, raised by parish-officers, have been furnished by *ten* counties, " and those, on an average not favourable to " the levy of men for military service." To what was said againgt this measure in the Register, I shall not presume to trouble the reader to refer; but, I cannot help referring him to the debates in parliament; for there he will now be able to see, who were the wise legislators; there he will be able to see, who were possessed of foresight, of a knowledge of the disposition of men, of judgment as to the principles and the practicability of great measures; there he will see who are the men fit to be entrusted with the management of a nation's concerns, with the calling forth of its resourses, with the preservation of its power, with the care of its honour. The failure of success lord Hawkesbury attributes " to the supineness " and inactivity of the parish-officers, re- " sulting, principally, as is conceived, " from their *ignorance of the provisions of* " *the act*, and the mode of executing " their duty." And then he falls to urging the lords lieutenant to cause them to be convened together, and to have them instructed and enlightened upon these matters; and thus, if the thing *were possible*, all the parish-officers in the kingdom, every one of whom has quite enough business of his own to attend to, would be called about from place to place to *talk* a little, to drink much, and to do nothing at all towards the raising of soldiers. It is, surely, the maddest invention that ever proceeded from the mind of a projector! Why did they not foresee, that their act would not be understood? They were *told* that it would not. The Cannings and the Huskissons sneered when Mr. Windham told them, that the whole country would be thrown into an useless hubbub; that the parish-officer would be running to the school-master for instruction and light, that the school-master would run to the justice, the justice to the deputy lieutenant, the deputy to the lord lieutenant, the lord lieutenant to the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State would come to the parliament, and that all would be confusion and discontent and mutual accusation and noise and nonsense. The Cannings sneered at this; and, oh, how dearly has this deluded and insulted country paid for those sneers!——The bill has proved to be exactly such as it was so well described by Mr. Sheridan. "The object of the bill" said he (Parliamentary Debates, Vol. II. p 735) " is taxation. It is a farce to call it a bill " to raise men. It is a bill to tax all the " landed property in the country. It is a " tax operating in the most unfair and igno- " minious manner. It goes to enforce con- " fiscation where there is no forfeiture, fines " where there are no offences, punishment " where no crimes are committed." The several debates upon the subject, to which it would be very useful that every man should now refer, will be found as follows: Parliamentary Debates, Vol. II. p. 483, 562, 614, 663, 672, 683, 698, 757; Vol. III. p. 634, and 723. Mr. Sheridan has given notice of a motion, in the House of Commons, for the repeal of this act; and, surely it will be carried to the great joy and relief of the country. Mr. Charles Dundas, upon presenting the Berkshire petition for the repeal said: " The petition was signed by all the " respectable Magistrates, Gentlemen, and " Freeholders of the County, held for the " purpose of considering the subject. It " had been found by experience that the act " was impracticable, and the Petitioners of " necessity felt themselves compelled to ap- " ply to the House for its repeal. They " stated in their petition, that of the whole " number which the county, under the act, " was called on to raise, only eleven had " been procured by Parish Officers, which " had not arisen from any neglect on the " part of the Overseers, but from the im- " possibility of carrying the provisions of " the act into execution. The petition also " stated, that in consequence, a sum of " 6325l. had been imposed on the County " for penalties, which operated as an op- " pressive and unjust burthen upon the " landed interest, and was particularly se- " vere upon the small farmers. The Hon. " Member after thus stating the substance " of the petition, declared, that under such " circumstances, he should have felt it his " duty to submit a motion to the house for " the repeal of the bill, if the subject had " not been taken up by the hon. member " (Mr. Sheridan), who had given a notice " respecting it, and who was far better qua- " lified for the task than he was. At the " same time, however, that he felt satisfac- " tion, at seeing the business in such able " hands, he could not let slip the present " occasion of calling the attention of the " Gentlemen opposite (and particularly of " the noble lord, Castlereagh, who had last " night spoken on the subject, and intimat- " ed an intention of his Majesty's Ministers " to make some alterations in the Bill), to " the matter of this petition. He was con-

" vinced that the measure was impracticable, and that nine-tenths of the landed " interest of the country would not be satisfied without the total repeal of it. Experience had proved it totally insufficient to " the object which it was designed to accomplish, and in its operation it had been " found a grievous, unfair, and unjust " imposition upon landed property, and " very unequal in different parishes. He had " but one observation more to make, and that " was, that whatever a man's property in " the public *stocks or funds* might be, he " was not called on to find a single man; a " circumstance that shewed how heavily " the pressure must fall upon landed pro- " perty."——Here is another instance of the injustice of the effect of paying the fundholders at the present high rate of their interest. In a thousand unseen ways are these people favoured. It is not only the higher rate of interest that they receive for their money; it is not only from what the nation *pays* them, but from that from which it *exempts* them, and *must* exempt them, that their unfair and oppressive advantages over the land and the labour arise.——That this act must be repealed is evident; but, shall the inventors of the project, shall the supporters of the ridiculous project, the childish, the wild, the hair-brained project, not only escape censure, but be supported in other projects! Let us hope not. Let us hope, that we are no longer to be the sport of their miserable inventions. Let us hope, that we shall soon see in power persons capable of devising and able to execute some great and unobnoxious measure for giving us an army commensurate to the dangers of the attack which we have to apprehend. But, it must be no *compulsory* scheme; no *balloting* scheme; no more *money* work; no more *feeing* men to fight. No scheme of this sort will, in my opinion, ever succeed. The nation has in its hands a great abundance of that which Mr. Burke so aptly and so elegantly terms " the cheap defence " of nations;" if it will give that to the army and to the navy too, it will be easily and effectually defended; it will be able to prosecute the war, or to make an honourable peace; but, if it will not; if the fund-holders are still to predominate, and to engross all those honours and distinctions and all that weight and consequence in society that make men attached to their situations; if this be the case, it will be utterly impossible to bring this contest to any close, which shall not be speedily followed by another contest that will be our *last*.——Upon the other subject of the Berkshire meeting, namely, the fate of their address relative to the conduct of Lord Melville much need not be said. The resolutions express, in an open, a dignified, and a manly manner, the feelings of every man in England, who is not, or who does not wish to be, a participator in the fruits of corruption. What! shall the people's addresses be received, or not received, as the minister of the day may choose? What a farce is it, then, to address the King! You may address him; but, if your address please not his servants, it is to be taken no notice of, and is not to be placed any where upon record. The COURIER of the 23d instant has a remark or two upon the Berkshire resolutions, which I cannot refrain from noticing. " We inserted in our paper " of Monday last, the proceedings of a county meeting in Berkshire, complaining, " amongst other things, that an address " from that county to his Majesty on the " subject of the proceedings against Lord " Melville, was not inserted in the London " Gazette, and containing the following re- " solution, viz. 2dly, That it is usual to " insert addresses to his Majesty in the London Gazette. 3dly, That to omit this " mark of attention to the opinion of the " people is shameful, if arising from negligence, and becomes intolerable, if for the " purposes of concealment. We are surprised that Lord Folkstone in particular " should have forgotten the well-known " fact, that it is not usual to insert all addresses to his Majesty in the Gazette; and " we think the noble lord might have remembered, that a considerable number of " addresses in the course of last war, praying for peace, the removal of his Majesty's ministers, &c. &c. were not inserted " in the Gazette; and we much question " whether it ever occurred to Lord Folkstone and those of the present Opposition, " with whom his lordship is particularly " known to act, that the non-insertion of " those addresses in the Gazette was " shameful and intolerable on the part of " government. Another reason for not " publishing the addresses relative to Lord " Melville in the Gazette has been, that his " lordship being about to be put upon his " trial, it was deemed contrary to every " principle of justice and law, that addresses should be published, deciding and pronouncing a verdict of guilty against him " before trial."——As to the first of these remarks, Lord Folkestone, who, so much to his honour, has stood forward upon this occasion, and has thereby given the county where he lives a proof that all the nobility are not unmindful of the rights and privi-

leges of the people, he could not, I should think, have been above seventeen or eighteen years of age, when the addresses, of which the COURIER speaks, were voted at the county meetings; and, very sure I am, that he was not then in parliament. But, what is this to the matter before us? What has this to do with the shamefulness of omitting to attend to the opinion of the people thus solemnly, constitutionally, and respectfully expressed and conveyed to the King? The people of Berkshire complain, that their address to the King upon a subject deeply interesting to them, upon a subject connected with the waste, the corrupt use, of their money, has been treated with contempt; and, by way of justification of the ministry, this hireling tells the people of Berkshire, that the addresses, which they formerly presented praying for peace and for a removal of his Majesty's Ministers, were treated with similar contempt! Yes, it *has* been a long duration of contempt of this sort; but, let us hope, that it is nearly at an end.——As to the objection to inserting the address in the Gazette, because it pronounced a verdict of guilty against Lord Melville previous to *trial*; let it be observed, that the address was presented, long before it was known that he would be tried at all; and, at a time when the ministers had not the least notion that that measure would be carried against their strenuous efforts to the contrary. Besides, the same objection would be as good against all proceedings whatever in the House of Commons, or in the House of Lords, censuring the conduct of Lord Melville. He stood accused; he stood censured, by the House of Commons, and by the King, who had dismissed him from his office of trust, and who had erased his name from the list of the privy councillors, upon the decision of the House of Commons, that he had been guilty of a "gross violation of "the law and a high breach of duty." And were not the *people* to be allowed to speak too? Were not those, whose money had been used, to be allowed, in a constitutional way, to express *their* satisfaction at what had been done? Were they to be muzzled? They, who had been the sufferers? But, not to say that this pretext is quite useless, if the above *precedent* be held good, how will the advisers of the King reconcile this pretext of justice to Lord Melville with the fact of his Majesty's having *actually received* a similar address, upon the very same subject, *from the corporation of London?* There may be, in point of etiquette, a difference in the mere *manner* of receiving addresses from different descriptions of the king's subjects; but, there can be no difference as to their *right of addressing*, and, of course, to their right of having their addresses *received* and put upon record; there can be no reason why the people of London should be *heard*, and the people of Berkshire *not heard*, by the King; and, the address of the latter not having been recorded, they are warranted in concluding, that they have not been heard.——It is, indeed, evident, that these excuses are a mere subterfuge; and, it is not less evident, that, if the addresses of the people are to be thrown aside, unless they are palatable to the minister of the day, the right of addressing is a mere mockery, and that the people are very foolish for doing any thing to keep it in countenance. What the people of Berkshire should have done at their meeting to address the king upon the victory of Trafalgar, was, to have inquired whether their last address had been duly presented, received, and recorded; and, if they had found, that it had been thrown aside, they should have separated with a resolution, that it was useless to vote any other address, until the former had had proper attention paid to it. Middlesex and Westminster acted perfectly right; with perfect consistency, and upon a principle perfectly constitutional. Their former addresses had not been recorded, as they ought to have been; they had a right to conclude that they had been thrown aside, and never presented to, or received by the King; and, therefore, they resolved not to vote another address. To this resolution I trust they will adhere; or, at least, not depart from it, except in the case somewhat similar to that which gave rise to their neglected address. When they have obtained a hearing upon a subject of that nature, they may address upon other subjects; but, until then, they never ought.

FUNERAL OF LORD NELSON.——In another part of this Number will be found all the official papers, as published in the London Gazette, relating to the grand and well conducted funeral of this valiant and public-spirited naval commander, whose life was a long and continued series of eminent services to his country and his king, who fell in their cause covered with wounds and with glory, whose noble example ought to be as immortal as his name, and to protect whose tomb from the ravages of an invader ought alone to be a motive more than sufficient to inspire with invincible courage all those who had the honour to claim him as their countryman. It is to such men that

the honours of the funeral are due. To men who have greatly served their country, whose actions speak in their effects, who die untainted with impurity, and whose public conduct is, in every respect, fit to be holden up on high as a light to the living and to the children yet unborn. To have been born in the same land, and to have lived in the same day with Lord Nelson is no small honour to us; not to have lamented his death would have argued a want of every just and generous sentiment; and, not to have honoured his remains and his memory, ingratitude unexampled in the annals of the world.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.——One might have hoped, or, at least, it might have been hoped by any one not perfectly acquainted with the motives that actuate the ministerial writers and their employers, that the death of MR. PITT (which took place on Thursday, the 23d instant) would, for a few days, at least, have suspended the effusions of their party-malevolence. But, no: true to their character and their selfish and ever predominant views, they have converted even their account of the time and manner of this gentleman's death into an occasion of challenging an enquiry into his public conduct, and what is still less to be excused, of aspersing the character of his political opponents. I could choose here amongst several news-paper articles, but I shall content myself with quoting one from the COURIER of the 23d instant. The writer, after giving a minute account of the last agonizing moments of Mr. Pitt; of his last farewell to those who were nearest and dearest to him, and of his religious preparation for a final departure from light and life; from this account, which, though coming through such a channel and given in such a manner, cannot fail to excite sentiments of solemnity and of sadness especially when to the contemplation of parting breath is added that of the extinguishment of great intellectual powers; from this solemn, this affecting and awful scene, so powerfully tending to bereave the breast of even just resentment, to still all the selfish, the angry and hostile feelings; from this scene, so well calculated to call forth an unanimous sigh, he turns, with all the bitterness and malice of a hired partizan, converting all that he has said into a mere prelude to an eulogium upon the *public* character and conduct of the deceased, and that eulogium into a prelude to an attack upon those to whom the nation must look, if it looks to any body for its preservation. One could, for a few days at least, have kept silence under the eulogium; just at this moment one might have borne to hear Mr. Pitt called the "greatest statesman that any nation ever "possessed," and the "most formidable "enemy to Buonaparté." One could, indeed, less have brooked the comparing the loss of him to the loss of the brave, the generous, the open-hearted, the clean-handed Nelson. In the way of eulogium, however false, however impudent, however insulting to the nation, whom his measures have plunged into danger and disgrace unparalleled; whose debt during his administration has been augmented three fold; whose burdens have been increased to the last faculty of bearing; whose paupers have been more than doubled in number; who, after having yielded their all at his summons, after having poured out their sweat and their blood at his command, now see the banners of France flying upon every fortress in Europe, while from every hill of their own shore a beacon of alarm reminds them of England's disgrace. With all this in our minds, we might, nevertheless, at such a moment, have borne much in the way of mere eulogium; but, when that eulogium, in addition to its notorious and insulting falsehood, is converted into the means of pointing a most malignant attack upon the political opponents of Mr. Pitt and his system; and, more especially when it is evidently intended, by catching the moment of weakness, the moment when public resentment is lulled, to obtain a tacit admission of assertions, that would tend to the sanctioning of that pernicious system, and would bespeak confidence in its remaining promoters; when such an use is made of the eulogium, it would be a base and criminal dereliction of duty to remain silent. It was my wish, and it must have been the wish of every man of any share of generosity, to abstain, at present, from all observations relative to matters, in which Mr. Pitt has been personally concerned; but, if that which I have *only this moment* heard be true, so to abstain, either in parliament, or out of it, will be impossible, without a gross abandonment of every principle of public duty; for, it is said, that MR. HENRY LASCELLES, the same person, observe, who moved for a bill of indemnity to Mr. Pitt for lending, without interest, and without communicating the transaction even to his colleagues in the cabinet, forty thousand pounds of the public money to Boyd and Benfield, two members of the House of Commons. This gentleman, it is said, means to make a motion for public honours to the memory of Mr. Pitt. I hope this is not true; I do hope, that the poor humbled nation will be spared from this; but, if it be not, I trust that there will be found virtue and spirit

enough in the House of Commons to reject the proposition by a large majority of votes; or, at any rate, that we shall have an opportunity of knowing who are those by whom it is supported, or who shrinks from giving it their strenuous and steady opposition. To adopt a proposition of this kind would be to decide before-hand upon the measures which have led to our calamities and disgrace; it would be to applaud their measures, to provide an indemnity for all those whose official situations render them responsible for them; it would be a parliamentary sanction for the continuation in power of all those persons, by whose fatal influence we have been brought to the brink of destruction; it would be to wound and insult the feeling of the people, *which is not that of sorrow*, but of quite a contrary nature; it would be to strip the tomb of Lord Nelson of its honours; it would be something so odious and disgusting, that I trust it is impossible, that it ever should be adopted, and, indeed, that it ever should be made in parliament. ——I intended to have made some remarks upon the rumours relative to *a change of ministry*; but, I have only room to repeat what I have before said, and that is, that in any change, which shall leave a remnant or rag of the *present system*, or a single man of its promoters, I shall have no confidence, and I am persuaded, that, in such a change, the people will have no hope.

COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

No. 128 of the Parliamentary Debates, being the First Number of the SIXTH Volume, and of the Present Session, will be ready for delivery in the course of a few days, and may be had of the publishers, Mr. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden; or Mr. Budd, Pall-Mall.—Some information respecting the mode of obtaining these Numbers appears to be necessary to persons who live at a distance from the Metropolis, and who, in many instances, seem to suppose, that they can be sent by the Post, in the same manner as the Political Register is. This is a mistake. Every Number is a Pamphlet, and can be procured only in the same manner, that Pamphlets, Reviews, and Magazines are; this is, generally, by application made to a Country Bookseller who has a direct and frequent communication with London; of which description, Booksellers are to be found in every country town of any importance.

SINKING FUND.

[The following letter, as will be seen by its date, was sent to me a good while ago; but, other subjects pressing forward, no suitable occasion for inserting it has offered till now. It is now, however, still more worthy of attention than it would have been at a more early period, as, indeed, every thing relating to the subject of the national debt must necessarily be.——The writer's opinion, with respect to the result of a continental war, under Mr. Pitt, is, too, worthy of particular attention at this time.]

SIR,—Far from meaning to detract from the general merit of your Register, I must, however, beg leave to offer you my sincere acknowledgments, in particular, for your most able dissertations, on the finances of the country, under the heads "Budget" on the 23d of last month, and "Sinking Fund" on the 2d of the present. With the impression, I feel, of the superior importance of this subject, you will, I am sure, pardon me, if I take the liberty of earnestly soliciting your unremitting attention to it. I verily believe, that, so critical is the state of this nation, that our danger is every hour increased by perseverance in the present system of finance. I am sensible of the natural expectation of novelty in a periodical work, and equally so of your ability to gratify it: at the same time, I have no hesitation in declaring, that the repetition of your former statements, week after week, without even the variation of a word, until the public mind should be duly awakened to a sense of their immense importance; would be superior, in point of utility, to all that variety on other subjects could produce.——If I have correctly understood your meaning, you will perhaps, find room for the insertion of the following statements, in order to bring into review the important facts you have furnished. I have borrowed them from the round numbers, which, with your usual perspicuity, you have presented to the plain understanding of the nation; after removing all the extraneous matter, that the "two greatest financiers in the world" have contrived to bewilder us with:

WAR.

Charge on account of national debt - - - -	29,000,000
Army, navy, ordnance, and other contingencies - -	40,000,000
	69,000,000
Whole annual amount of revenue, including the property and all the other war taxes -	40,000,000
Deficit	29,000,000

PEACE.

Charge on account of national debt - - -	29,000,000
Army, navy, ordnance, and other contingencies - -	25,000,000
	54,000,000
Whole annual amount of revenue, the property and all the other war taxes, being made permanent - -	40,000,000
Deficit	14,000,000

I, of course, take the latter statement on the calculation of immediate peace, and presume it is almost superfluous to remark, that upon the present system, every month of protracted war, will increase the deficit that we shall have to contend with, on the arrival of the peace establishment. But, here I can fancy that I am assailed, by the clamour of all the *true believers* in Mr. Pitt's political arithmetic, (they certainly merit the appellation, because their faith is not shaken by miracles), aided by the innumerable race of hirelings and candidates for hire, who all vociferously demand; whether I have forgotten the wonder-working power of the sinking fund? Whether I have calculated how it operates, at compound interest, when the commissioners are purchasing weekly such *immense* loads of stock. I have considered all this maturely, and naturally as I must dread to incur the charge of so heinous an offence, as undervaluing the brains and honesty of the "saints" or the finances of the country; I cannot bring my mind to believe, that any alleviation of the burthens we bear, can at any period, near or remote, be derived from the continuance of the sinking fund. I hope it is not asking too much of the modesty of either the *real* or the *nominal* premier of this *flourishing* country, to admit that the pompous declaration made by the former, of his intention to carry on the war, without any addition to the public debt, is one among the too numerous instances of a minister's promising what he cannot perform.——I will now revert to the statement I have exhibited, founded on a calculation of our being surrounded, at the present moment, with the *blessings of peace*, and no longer *magnanimously* offering our subsidies, with earnest supplications to any power to accept them, and fight for us. Will any dispassionate unprejudiced man assert, that a repetition of the treaty of Amiens, would place us in a condition, by which we could securely reduce our expenditure below 25 millions per annum, in addition to the charge on the national debt? No, Sir! you have mentioned the lowest amount at which it can be estimated. But I am reminded, that no such terms are deemed compatible with our safety, or could be listened to. We are to obtain by the *vigorous* warfare of our *vigorous* cabinet, composed, of what a great judge of human nature calls "imbecile and incapable," a safe and honourable peace. I presume, according to my small acquaintance with my vernacular language, that Mr. Pitt, in using the terms "imbecile and incapable" has characterised a set of men, altogether dabblers in politics, and utterly unworthy of being trusted as statesmen. I frankly own that such epithets appear to my superficial view, quite synonimous. "But away "with the measures, give us the *man;* give "us Mr. Pitt; and he will conduct us safe- "ly through." I say *no:* experience, and the evidence of facts, forbid the smallest reliance upon him, as a war minister. If Mr. Pitt (an *if* here means every thing) is to continue the conductor of the war for any length of time, I verily believe, as much as I do in my existence, that France will become more haughty in her demands, and England more abject in her submission. "The great powers of the continent will "be aroused and animated by *our example,* "so as finally to reduce the power of "France within proper bounds." Miserable dreamers! Prove first that those powers have a common interest with you, or can have, so long as you are suspected of being influenced solely by the ignoble and base pursuit of commercial monopoly! Convince them that you seek their co-operation for the safety and happiness of Europe! Be assured you will in vain rely upon them for the protection of your sugar Islands or the "Empire of the East!" Such then is our situation, in the least unfavourable view of it, that with even peace restored, we must begin with annual loans of 14 millions. But again steps in Mr. Pitt's *miraculous* invention of the sinking fund, to prove that to pay off (I beg pardon; I mean to *pretend* to pay off) 6 millions, and to borrow 14 millions per annum, will, in time, annihilate the national debt! Good heavens! Are Englishmen so besotted as to give their support to such a frightful system?——But, Sir! our true situation is almost beyond comparison, worse than I have, so far, attempted to describe: for, although I have been talking of peace; as an object immediately attainable, and of a deficit of *only* 14 millions, to provide for by annual loans, if the war taxes should all be made permanent: it requires to be ascertained, by what supernatural

means, those taxes, are not only to be made permanent, but *permanently productive*. No man of observation can be a stranger to the retrenchment, that our present excessive taxation, has begun to operate, not only upon every prudent family of the middle order, but of many of the higher class of society. In short, we might as well expressly revive sumptuary laws in the country, to restrain excess of diet and apparel; as persevere in defiance of every rule or proportion, upon which taxation can be securely established. If further illustration of this point be wanted, I only desire a little attention to the disgraceful accounts, we so often read, of the hordes of smugglers, or banditti, who, in formidable armed bodies, dispute, inch by inch, their share of the plunder of the present enormous taxes.——Surely, Sir! it cannot be denied that taxation has some limit, and that, according to all the criteria of judging, we have broken down the natural boundary, cutting down the tree to gather the fruit. "Quand les sauvages de la Louisiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent "l'arbre au pied, et cueillent le fruit." "The two greatest financiers in the world" ought surely to search for a better example. ——I shall only now add, that, as Mr. Pitt's scheme of the sinking fund, is become, to all intents and purposes, utterly impracticable, as to its professed object; it is to the last degree impolitic, that, in addition to our other grievous burthens, we should pay six millions per annum, in taxes, for the maintenance of it. It never can, in any way whatever, afford even temporary relief to the country, but by its annihilation, or, at least, suspension; and there never was, or, perhaps, ever will be a time, when that relief can be more wisely administered, than under the circumstances in which we are now placed. To withhold it, is to resemble a physician, who should begin to prescribe after either the death or perfect recovery of his patient.—— I. T.——*London, March* 18, 1805.

LLOYD'S FUND.

SIR,——I beg leave to address you on a subject, which has been already touched on in your Register, viz. the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's Coffee-house. In addition to the objections you have started against the propriety of such a fund, in such hands, many more very cogent reasons and arguments might be adduced against it. But, laying all these aside, and after paying that just tribute of applause and congratulation, which the promptitude, generosity, and honourable feeling the public has manifested, so eminently deserve; permit me to suggest the propriety of the whole amount of the patriotic fund being divided, and an equal division thereof given to Greenwich Hospital, and Chelsea College. This mode of distribution would not be subject to any objection whatever. It would not only be a proud monument of the patriotism of a grateful country: the gift itself, perhaps, amounting to £200,000 and upwards, worthy of a great nation; but the objects of its relief would receive it back at the hands of the Crown, the genuine fountain of honour, mercy, and remuneration. It would enable those noble asylums to extend in a very considerable degree a systematic protection and reward to its disabled defenders, their widows, and orphans, without trenching on the funds of the present establishment, and to afford those benefits in a greater degree than heretofore to out-pensioners; which is, perhaps, the truest and most perfect protection and alleviation which can be suggested or devised, for the brave unfortunate objects of a grateful nation's regard and compassion. I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c. T. F.—— Bath, Jan. 8, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Letter written by the Archduke John to the States of the Tyrol, previous to his Departure.

I cannot express to the states, how painful it is to me, to be obliged to leave the brave and faithful people of the Tyrol, for a single moment. I request them to testify these feelings, in my name, to the good Tyrolese.——The reverses which the army in Germany has experienced have had fatal consequences for Tyrol as well as Italy. The Russian armies not yet being in a state to give an effectual check to the enemy, and to drive them back beyond the Austrian frontiers, the army of Italy feels itself compelled, for the protection of the whole, to repair to the capital of the monarchy, at the moment even when he defeated the enemy at Caldiero, and repulsed him with considerable loss. In consequence of this, I have received orders from the Archduke Charles, Minister of War and Marine, to remove slowly to the other side of the Brenn, in order to form a junction with him. The states will please to return my most grateful thanks to the people, for the fidelity and attachment they have manifested to their Sovereign, and to admonish them to conduct themselves with forbearance and resignation, as circumstances may require. The period, I hope, is not far distant, when, in a manner proportionate to my exertions, crowned with fortune and success, I shall again find myself in the midst of my faithful Tyrolese.

(Signed) ARCHDUKE JOHN.

CONTINENTAL WAR.——*Concluded from p. 64.)* ——*Thirty-fourth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.*

Brunn, December 10.——The Emperor to-day received Prince Repnin, who was taken prisoner at Austerlitz, at the head of the horse guards, of which he was the colonel. His Majesty said to him, that the Emperor Alexander should not be deprived of such brave men, and that he, with all the guards, were at liberty to return to Russia. —Prince John of Lichtenstein arrived here yesterday, with full powers: the conferences between him and the Minister Talleyrand are in full course.—The first Adjutant, Junot, whom his Majesty had sent to the Emperors of Germany and Russia, has seen the Emperor of Germany at Hollitsch, who received him with the utmost favour and distinction. He had not been able to complete his mission, as the Emperor Alexander and General Kutusow had already set out for St. Petersburgh.—His Majesty received at Brunn the Prussian Minister, Haugwitz. He was extremely satisfied with all that this plenipotentiary said to him, and received him in the most distinguished manner. He has by his councils increased the esteem and welfare of Prussia. No intrigues will be able to effect any thing against the good disposition and true wisdom of Prussia. The French nation, besides, does not depend on a single man; and one hundred and fifty thousand more enemies would only serve to prolong the war. France and Russia, in the present circumstances, can never sufficiently praise the Duke of Brunswick, M. M. Mollensdorff, Knoblesdorf, Lombard, and especially the King himself. Russia never had a solid and disinterested friend but France.

Thirty-Fifth Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Brunn, Dec. 11.——The Russian army began its march on the 8th of December, to return to Russia, in three columns. The first took its way by Cracow and Therespol; the second by Caschau, Lemberg, and Brodi; and the third by Tyrnau, Baltska, and Ussiadin. The Emperor of Russia went at the head of the first column. Independent of the field artillery, the Russians lost a whole park of artillery of 100 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition waggons. The Emperor has since inspected this park, and has given orders that all these pieces should be sent to France. It is without example, that in a single battle from 150 to 160 pieces of cannon should be taken. All had been fired, and had rendered service in the action.—The Chef d'Escadron, Chapolin, Adjutant of Marshal Bernadotte, is killed. The Colonels Lacour, of the 5th regiment of dragoons, Degeon, of the 26th regiment of chasseurs; Brewer, of Marshal Bessieres' guard, Adjutant of Marshal Bernadotte; and Mares, of that of Marshal Davoust, are wounded.—— The chiefs of battalion, Perrier, of the 30th regiment of infantry of the line; Grune, of the 4th regiment of the line; Schwiter, of the 57th regiment of infantry of the line; the Chefs d'Escadron, Grumbot, of the 2d regiment of carbineers; Didelon, of the 3d regiment of dragoons; Bondischon, of the 4th regiment of hussars; the chiefs of battalion of artillery, Abriscot, Ruhoet, and Mobillard, of the 55th regiment of infantry of the line; Profil of the 43d, and the Chef d'Escadron Preville, of the 2d chasseurs; David, of the 2d regiment of hussars, the che chef d'escadron of horse chasseurs of the imperial guard, Beyermann, Bohn, and Sherry, are wounded. Capt. Herve, of the horse chasseurs of the guard is dead in consequence of his wounds; Capt. Geist, Lieutenants Bureau, Barbanegre, Guyot, Fournier, Cadets Barageux and Minot, of the horse chasseurs of the guard; and Lieutenants Messager and Rollet, of the horse grenadiers of the guard, are wounded.—Several letters from Vienna assert, that a war, with Prussia is not far distant; but it is much more to be believed that a continental peace is near.

Thirty-sixth Bulletin of the Grand French Army.

Brunn, Dec. 14.——The deeds of valour which have exalted the grand army, afford matter for a collection of great interest. A carabineer of the 10th light infantry lost his arm by a shot: 'Help me,' cried he to his comrade, 'to take off my cartridge-box, and hasten forward to avenge my loss; I want no other assistance.' The wounded man then hanging his accoutrements upon his left arm, proceeded alone to the hospital. General Thibaut was dangerously wounded: four Russians seized him, and were carrying him off; six wounded Frenchmen, having perceived them, drove the Russians off, and seized the wounded general, exclaiming, 'It is an honour belonging to us alone to carry a wounded French general.'—A part of General Valhubert's leg was carried away by a ball. Four soldiers approached to take him up: 'Mind the order of the day,' said he to them, with a voice like thunder, 'and join your ranks; return victors, and carry me off after the battle is ended; if you are beaten, my life will be only a burthen.' The loss of this general is the only one we have to lament; all the other wounded generals are in a state of convalescence.—The lake

upon which a numerous corps of Russians took refuge on the day the battle of Austerlitz was fought, has been drained; forty pieces of cannon, and a number of bodies, have been found. Yesterday the Emperor received the deputation from the Mayors of Paris, presented by Prince Murat. The mayor of the 7th circle made a speech; the Emperor answered, 'That he saw the deputation with pleasure; and that, notwithstanding he received them in the palace of Maria Theresa, still the day when he should again find himself in the midst of his good citizens of Paris, would be to him a real festival. He said, he had had an opportunity of a near view of the calamities of war, and, that from the view which presented itself, he was persuaded, that all the laws relative to the conscripts should be considered as the most wholesome and sacred, unless they wished to witness the devastation of their habitations.' He added, that he wished for peace, but such a peace as would secure the welfare of the French people. His Majesty then informed the deputies, of his intention to present the colours taken in the battle, on the anniversary of his coronation, to the Cathedral of Paris; and that he meant to entrust these trophies in their hands, in order that they might be delivered to the Cardinal Archbishop. ——

His Imperial Majesty has sent the following letter to the Cardinal Archbishop:—— My Father,—We have taken from our enemy forty-five stands of colours on the anniversary of our coronation; that day when the Holy Father, his Cardinals, and the whole of the French Clergy, offered up their prayers for the welfare of our government in the Church of Notre Dame. We have resolved to deposit these colours in this church, as the cathedral of our good city of Paris. We have ordered these colours to be presented to you, that they may be preserved in your metropolitan church. It is also our intention, that the anniversary of our coronation shall, every year, be celebrated by the performance of a solemn act of devotion in our said cathedral, in commemoration of the valour exhibited on that day, and of those who died for their country in that important action.—This is to be followed by a thanksgiving to the God of Armies, for the victory which he has been pleased to give us; and as this letter has no other object in view, we pray God to take you into his holy keeping. From our palace at Brunn.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

From the Head-quarters at Schoenbrunn, Dec. 25.——His Majesty reviewed the divisions of the carabineers and cuirassiers of the Generals Hautpoult, and Nansouty, on the 22d. His Majesty afterwards expressed his satisfaction respecting the good condition of these brave regiments, who had given him such proofs of courage in the course of the campaign, and in the battle of Austerlitz in particular.——On the following day, his Majesty reviewed the division of Van Damme, and ordered Marshal Soult to inform them, that he was satisfied in seeing them so numerous, and in such good condition, after the battle of Austerlitz, as they had there acquired so much glory, and essentially contributed to the success of the day.—When he came to the first regiment of the line, who commenced that battle, and lost its standard, the Emperor said—'Soldiers, what have you done with the Eagle I gave you? You had sworn it should serve you as a rallying point, and that you would defend it at the peril of your lives; why have you not fulfilled your promise?' The major answered, 'that the ensign being killed in a charge, when the battle was at the hottest, no person perceived the loss in the midst of the smoke; however, the division made a movement to the right; that the battalion had supported that movement, and that it was a long time before they were informed of the loss of their Eagle; and that the proof that they had stood firm and not been broken was, that, very soon after, they overthrew two Russian battalions, and took two stands of colours, with which they meant to do homage to the Emperor, hoping, by that means, to merit another Eagle.' The Emperor, after a short pause, said, 'officers and soldiers, swear that none of you were witnesses to the loss of your Eagle; and that, if you had seen it, you would have precipitated yourselves upon the enemy to retake it, or to have perished upon the spot; for a soldier who loses his colours, loses every thing.' Instantly a thousand arms were lifted up; 'We swear it; and we swear also to defend the Eagle you will give us, with the same intrepidity with which we captured the enemy's colours which we now present you.' 'In this case,' said the Emperor, smiling, 'I shall return you your Eagle.'

Thirty-Seventh Bulletin of the Grand Army.

Schoenbrunn, Dec. 26.——The following is the position of the army this day: Mar-

shal Bernadotte occupies Bohemia; Marshal Mortier, Moravia; Marshal Davoust occupies Presburgh, the capital of Hungary; Marshal Soult, Vienna; Marshal Ney, Carinthia; General Marmont, Styria; Marshal Massena, Carniola; Marshal Augereau commands the reserve in Suabia.—Marshal Massena, with the army of Italy, is become the eighth division of the grand army. Prince Eugene is Commander-in-Chief of all the troops in the Venetian territories and the kingdom of Italy.——General St. Cyr is advancing by forced marches towards Naples, to punish the treason of the Queen, and to precipitate from the throne this culpable woman, who has violated, in so shameless a manner, all that is held sacred among men. It was endeavoured to intercede for her with the Emperor; he replied, 'Were hostilities to recommence, and the nation to support a thirty-years war, so atrocious an act of perfidy cannot be pardoned.' The Queen of Naples has ceased to reign. This last crime has completed her destiny; let her go to London to increase the number of intriguers, and form a sympathetic ink committee, with Drake, Spencer Smith, Taylor, and Wickham; she may also invite, if she please, Baron D'Armfeldt, M. Fersen, D'Antraigues, and the Monk, Morus.——M. Talleyrand is at Presburgh, where the negociations are carrying on. The Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor of Austria are, Prince John of Lichtenstein, and General Giulay.—Prince Charles has requested to see the Emperor. His Majesty will have an interview to-morrow with this Prince, at the hunting seat of Stamersdorff, three leagues from Vienna.——The Emperor is to review, this day, the division of Legrand, near Luxemburgh. The Emperor takes no recreation at Vienna; he has given audience to very few. During some days, the weather has been rather cold; to day it is very fine.—The Emperor has made a great many promotions in the army, and the Legion of Honour; but the commissions which he has at his disposal are scarcely sufficient to recompence so many brave men.—The Elector of Wirtemberg has sent to the Emperor, the Ribbon of the Grand Order of Wirtemberg, with three others, which have been conferred on the Senator Hanville, First Equerry to the Empress; to Marshal Kellerman, and General Marmont. The Emperor has presented the Grand Ribbon of the Legion of Honour to the Elector, the Electoral Prince, and Prince Paul, his sons; and to his brothers, Prince Eugene Frederick Henry, and William Frederick Philip. He became acquainted with the two last Princes, as he passed through Louisburgh, and has been happy to give them a proof of the opinion which he conceived of their merit.—The Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg are to assume the title of Kings; a reward which they have deserved, by the attachment and friendship which they have shewn his Majesty upon all occasions.——The Emperor has expressed his dissatisfaction, that a proclamation, full of absurdity, has been published, in his name, at Mayence. It is dated from Olmutz, where the Emperor has never been, and, what is more extraordinary, it was inserted in the order of the day of the army of Mayence. Whoever was the author of it, shall be punished with the utmost rigour of the law. Can there be a greater crime, in a civilized state, than to make an improper use of the name of a Sovereign?—The Emperor of Austria continues at Holitsch.—A great number of the wounded are recovered. The army is in a better state than ever it was. Prince Murat reports, that the number of his cavalry has almost doubled since the battle of Austerlitz. All the horses which, in consequence of forced marches, remained on the road, are refreshed, and have joined their corps. More than two thousand pieces of cannon have been sent from Vienna to France. The Emperor has given orders, that there shall be an apartment prepared for the Napoleon Museum, to receive all the curiosities collected at Vienna. He has ordered the guns and colours, which were taken from Bavaria in 1740, to be restored. The Bavarians then made common cause with France, but France was then governed by a pusillanimous priest. —The people of Italy have displayed great energy. The Emperor has often said, 'Why do not my people of Italy appear with distinction on the theatre of the world? They are full of wit and spirit: it will consequently be no difficult task to give them the proper military qualities.' The Italian artillery belonging to the royal guard covered themselves with glory at the battle of Austerlitz, and obtained the approbation of all the experienced French artillerists. The royal guard always marched with the imperial guard, and every where shewed themselves worthy to do so. Venice is to be united to the Kingdom of Italy. Bologna and Brescia have always been the first to distinguish themselves by their energy; the Emperor, accordingly, in receiving the addresses of these towns, observed, 'I know that the towns of Bologna and Brescia, *sono mei di cuore* (are mine from the heart).'——The Emperor has highly approved of the dispositions made by Prince Louis, for the defence of Holland, the excellent position he

has taken at Nymegen, and the measures he has proposed for protecting the Northern frontier.

Paris, Jan. 5, 1806.——The brief notice of the signing of peace with Austria, transmitted the day before yesterday by the telegraph from Strasburgh, has not yet been followed by more particular advices. They may, however, be expected every instant, since a courier was dispatched from the head-quarters of the Emperor Napoleon, on the eve of the conclusion of peace. This courier was the bearer of a new bulletin of the army of his Majesty, the contents of which, on many accounts, are extremely worthy of notice.—The deputation of the tribunate, which brought to the capital the colours taken from the Austrians, are to carry, this day, to the Hotel de Ville, the portion of these trophies intended for the Commune of Paris. Every arrangement has been made, for attending with a becoming pomp this procession of the deputies of the tribunes, and for rendering the inauguration of the colours, to be presented to the magistrates of Paris, as solemn as possible. The ceremony must derive an additional brilliancy from the joy diffused throughout the city by the peace which has been announced. The inauguration, on Wednesday last, of the colours sent to the senate, in presence of the public functionaries, gave rise to several speeches by the senators, and to the following decrees of that body:——

Extract from the Register of the Conservative Senate. Wednesday, Jan. 1, 1806.

The conservative senate, assembled to the number of members prescribed by the 90th article of the constitution, after having, in a public sitting, received the colours taken from the enemy, to the number of fifty-four, brought this day to the senate by the tribunate in a body, conformable to the orders of the Emperor and King; deliberating on the proposals which have been made by several members, respecting the means of perpetuating the remembrance of the glorious events which have occurred in a two months' campaign, terminated by the battle of Austerlitz, decrees as follows:—Art. I. The conservative senate, in the name of the French people, consecrates a triumphal monument to Napoleon the Great. Art. 2. The senate, in a body, will proceed to meet his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and will offer him the homage of the admiration, the gratitude, and the love of the French people.

The senate, in the same sitting, deliberating on the proposition of one of its members, respecting the manner of testifying to his Majesty the Emperor and King the gratitude of the senate, for the precious proof, that it has received of his Majesty's kindness, by the colours of which he has made it a present, decrees as follows:—Art. I. The letter of his Majesty the Emperor and King, dated Elchingen, October 18, in which his Majesty makes a present to the senate of forty stands of colours, taken by his army, shall be engraved on marble tablets to be placed in the hall of the sitting of the senate. Art. 2. At the conclusion of the letter, there shall be also engraved the following sentence.—'The Forty Colours, and Fourteen others since added to the First, by his Majesty, were brought to the Senate by the Tribunate, in a Body, and deposited in this Hall, on the 1st January, 1806. (Signed) J. Buonaparté, President. Cornudet, Ex-Secretary.

Wirtemberg and France.—*Declaration of the Deputation of the States to his Serene Highness the Elector of Wirtemberg, Oct. 5, 1805. Concluded from p. 84.*—They likewise subjoin their humble request to your Electoral Highness, to condescend to pacify your unhappy country, alarmed in these dangerous times for its constitution, by the consolatory assurance, that it shall be maintained inviolate.——With regard to the manner of raising the troops, the deputies confidently trust, that your Electoral Highness will commit it in a constitutional way, to the management of a general deputation. They merely humbly claim the privilege of presenting to your Electoral Highness a farther explicit declaration on these subjects, after receiving a written demand. The deputies present, recommend the highly lamentable situation of the country to the paternal care and magnanimity of your Electoral Highness, and themselves to a continuance of your favour.

Dispute with America.—*(Concluded from Vol. VIII. p. 973.)*

"Resolved, That the Secretary of "State be directed to lay before this House, "at the next meeting of Congress, such laws "of Great Britain as impose any higher or "greater duties on the exportation of goods, "wares, and merchandize to the United "States, than are imposed on similar goods, "wares, and merchandize, when exported "to the nations of Europe; and also to re-"port the amount in sterling money of the "exports to the United States from Great "Britain and Ireland, for the years 1802, "1803, and 1804, on which such duties "are charged. Resolved, That the Secre-

" tary of the Treasury be directed to report " to this House, at the next meeting of " Congress, a statement, shewing the va- " lue (agreeably to the prime cost), in ster- " ling money, of Irish linens, and all other " manufactures of linen, or sail duck, nails, " hats, looking-glasses, plated and glass " wares, ribbons, silks of all kinds, printed " linen and cotton, and the quantity of Bri- " tish salt and rum, imported into the " United States from Great Britain and " her dependencies, during the years 1802, " 1803, and 1804; and also the value of " linens imported into the United States " from all other foreign nations."—During the ensuing session these reports will be made. Will they not furnish the materials for a just and honourable retaliation?—So comparatively invulnerable are the United States with foreign powers, and so numerous are the weak points of the latter, that it is difficult to say what species of redress it becomes our government to take, in case remonstrance becomes unavailing. Such, however, is the existing state of our foreign relations, that we think the subjects to which we have alluded well worthy of the public attention; and, in order to throw light on them, we shall from time to time submit several interesting documents which time has, perhaps, thrown into too deep an oblivion. They will generally speak for themselves, without the aid of commentary.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICA.——*Message of the President, to the Senate, and House of Representatives, of the United States of America. Dec. 3,* 1805.

At a moment when the nations of Europe are in commotion and arming against each other, when those with whom we have principal intercourse are engaged in the general contest, and when the countenance of some of them towards our peaceable country threatens that even that may not be unaffected by what is passing on the general theatre, a meeting of the representatives of the nation in both houses of congress, has become more than usually desirable. Coming from every section of our country, they bring with them the sentiments and the information of the whole, and will be enabled to give a direction to the public affairs, which the will and the wisdom of the whole will approve and support.—In taking a view of the state of our country; we, in the first place, notice the late affliction of two of our cities under the fatal fever, which in latter times has occasionally visited our shores. Providence in his goodness gave it an early termination on this occasion, and lessened the number of victims which have usually fallen before it. In the course of the several visitations by this disease, it has appeared that it is strictly local, incident to cities and on the tide waters only; incommunicable in the country either by persons under the disease, or by goods carried from diseased places; than its access is with the autumn, and it disappears with the early frosts. These restrictions, within narrow limits of time and space, give security even to our maritime cities, during three-fourths of the year, to the country always. Although from these facts it appears unnecessary; yet, to satisfy the fears of foreign nations, and cautions on their part not to be complained of in a danger whose limits are yet unknown to them, I have strictly enjoined on the officers at the head of the customs to certify with exact truth, for every vessel sailing for a foreign port, the state of health respecting this fever, which prevails at the place from which she sails; under every motive from character and duty to certify the truth, I have no doubt they have faithfully executed this injunction.—Much real injury has, however, been sustained from a propensity to identify with this endemic, and to call by the same name, fevers of very different kinds which have been known at all times, and in all countries, and never have been placed among those deemed contagious. As we advance in our knowledge of this disease, as facts develope the source from which individuals receive it, the state authorities charged with the care of the public health, and congress with that of the general commerce, will become able to regulate with effect their respective functions in these departments. The burthen of quarantines is felt at home as well as abroad, their efficacy merits examination. Although the health law of the states should be found to need no present revisal, by congress, yet commerce claims that their attention should ever be awake to them.——Since our last meeting, the aspect of our sovereign relations has considerably changed. Our coasts have been infested, and our harbours watched by private armed vessels, some of them without commissions, some with illegal commissions, others with those of legal form, but committing piratical acts beyond the authority of their commissions. They have captured in the very entrance of our harbours, as well as on the high seas, not only the vessels of our friends coming to trade with us, but, our own also. They have carried them off under pretence of legal adjudication, but not daring to approach a court of justice, they

have plundered and sunk them by the way in obscure places, where no evidence could arise against them, mal-treated the crews and abandoned them in boats, on the open sea, or on desart shores, without food or covering. These enormities appearing to be unreached by any control of their sovereigns, I found it necessary to equip a force, to cruize within our own seas, to arrest all vessels of these descriptions found hovering on our coasts, within the limits of the Gulph stream, and to bring them in for trial as pirates.—The same system of hovering on our coasts and harbours, under colour of seeking enemies, has been also carried on by public armed ships, to the great annoyance and oppression of our commerce. New principles too have been interpolated into the law of nations, founded neither in justice nor the usage or acknowledgments of nations; according to these a belligerent takes to itself a commerce with its own enemy, which it denies to a neutral, on the ground of its aiding that enemy in the war. But reason revolts at such an inconsistency; and the neutral having equal right with the belligerent to decide the question, the interests of our constituents, and the duty of maintaining the authority of reason, the only empire between just nations, impose on us the obligation of providing an effectual and determined opposition to a doctrine so injurious to the rights of peaceable nations. Indeed the confidence we ought to have on the justice of others still countenances the hope, that a sounder view of those rights will of itself induce from every belligerent a more correct observance of them.—With Spain our negociations for the settlement of differences have not had a satisfactory issue. Spoliations during the former war, for which she had formerly acknowledged herself responsible, have been refused to be compensated but on conditions affecting other claims in no wise connected with them; yet the same practices are renewed in the present war, and are already of great amount. On the Mobile, our commerce passing through that river continues to be obstructed, by arbitrary duties and vexatious searches. Propositions for adjusting amicably the boundaries of Louisiana have not been acceded to. While the right is unsettled, we have avoided changing the state of things, by taking new posts, or strengthening ourselves in the disputed terr tories, in the hope that the other power would not, by a contrary conduct, oblige us to meet their example, and endanger conflicts of authority, the issue of which may not be easily controled: but in this hope we have now reason to lessen our confidence. Inroads have been recently made into the territories of Orleans and the Mississippi; our citizens have been seized, and their property plundered in the very parts of the former which had been actually delivered up by Spain, and this by the regular officers and soldiers of that government. I have therefore found it necessary at length, to give orders to our troops on that frontier to be in readiness to protect our citizens, and to repel by arms any similar aggressions in future. Other details necessary for your full information of the state of things between this country and that, shall be the subject of another communication.—In reviewing these injuries from some of the belligerent powers, the moderation, the firmness, and the wisdom of the legislature will all be called into action. We ought still to hope that time and a more correct estimate of interest as well as of character, will produce the justice we are bound to expect. But should any nation deceive itself by false calculations, and disappoint that expectation, we must join in the unprofitable contest, of trying which party can do the other the most harm; some of these injuries may perhaps admit a peaceable remedy, where that is competent, it is always the most desirable; but some of them are of a nature to be met by force only, and all of them may lead to it. I cannot, therefore, but recommend such preparations as circumstances call for. The first object is to place our sea-port towns out of the danger of insult. Measures have been already taken for furnishing them with heavy cannon for the service of such land batteries as may make a part of their defence against armed vessels approaching them. In aid of these it is desirable we should have a competent number of gun-boats; and the number to be competent must be considerable. If immediately begun, they may be in readiness for service at the opening of the next season. Whether it will be necessary to augment our land forces, will be decided by occurrences probably in the course of your session. In the mean time you will consider whether it would not be expedient, for a state of peace as well as of war, so to organize or class the militia, as would enable us on any sudden emergency, to call for the services of the younger portions, unincumbered with the old or those having families. Upwards of three hundred thousand able-bodied men, between the ages of 18 and 26 years, which the last census shews we may count within our limits, will furnish a competent number for offence or defence, in any point where they may be wanted, and will give time for raising regular forces after the necessity of

them shall become certain; and the reducing to the early period of life all its active service, cannot but be desirable to our younger citizens, of the present as well as future times, in as much as it engages to them in more advanced age a quiet and undisturbed repose in the bosom of their families. I cannot then but earnestly recommend to your early consideration the expediency of so modifying our militia system as, by a separation of the more active part from that which is less so, we may draw from it, when necessary, an efficient corps, fit for real or active service, and to be called to it in regular rotation.—Considerable provision has been made under former authorities from congress, of materials for the construction of ships of war of 74 guns, these materials are on hand subject to the further will of the legislature.—An immediate prohibition of the exportation of arms and ammunition is also submitted to your determination.—Turning from these unpleasant views of violence and wrongs, I congratulate you on the liberation of our fellow citizens, who were stranded on the coast of Tripoli, and made prisoners of war. In a government bottomed on the will of all, the life and liberty of every citizen becomes interesting to all. In the treaty therefore which has concluded our warfare with that state, an article for the ransom of our citizens has been agreed to. An operation by land, by a small band of our countrymen, and others engaged for the occasion, in conjunction with the troops of the ex-bashaw of that country, gallantly conducted by our late consul Eaton, and their successful enterprize on the city of Derne, contributed doubtless to the impression which produced peace: and the conclusion of this prevented opportunities of which the officers and men of our squadron destined for Tripoli, would have availed themselves to emulate the acts of valour exhibited by their brethren in the attack of the last year. Reflecting with high satisfaction on the distinguished bravery displayed whenever occasions permitted in the late Mediterranean service, I think it would be an useful encouragement, as well as a just reward, to make an opening for some present promotion by enlarging our peace establishment of captains and lieutenants.—With Tunis, some misunderstandings have arisen, not yet sufficiently explained, but friendly discussions with their ambassador recently arrived, and a mutual disposition to do whatever is just and reasonable, cannot fail of dissipating these. So that we may consider our peace on that coast generally, to be on as sound a footing as it has been at any preceding time. Still it will not be expedient to withdraw immediately the whole of our force from that sea.—The law providing for a naval peace establishment, fixes the number of frigates which shall be kept in constant service in time of peace; and prescribes that they shall be manned by not more than two thirds of their compliment of seamen and ordinary seamen. Whether a frigate may be trusted to two-thirds only of the proper complement of men, must depend on the nature of the service on which she is ordered, that may sometimes for her safety as well as to ensure her object, require her fullest compliment. In adverting to this subject, congress will perhaps, consider whether the best limitation on the executive discretion in this case, would not be by the number of seamen which may be employed in the whole service, rather than by the number of vessels. Occasions oftener arise for the employment of small, than of large vessels: and it would lessen risk as well as expense, to be authorised to employ them of preference. The limitation suggested by the number of seamen, would admit a selection of vessels best adapted to the service.—Our Indian neighbours are advancing, many of them with spirit, and others beginning to engage in the pursuits of agriculture and household manufacture. They are becoming sensible that the earth yields subsistence with less labour than the forest, and finds it their interest from time to time to dispose of parts of their surplus and waste lands, for the means of improving those they occupy, and of subsisting their families while they are preparing their farms: since your last session the northern tribes have sold to us the lands between the Connecticut reserve and the former Indian boundary, and those on the Ohio, from the same boundary and its rapids, and for a considerable depth inland. The Chickasaws and Cherokees have sold us the country between and adjacent to the two districts of Tenpessee; and the Creeks the residue of their lands in the fork or Ocmulgee up to the Ulcofauhatche; the three former purchases are important, in as much as they consolidate parts of our settled country, and render their intercourse secure; and the second particularly so as, with the small point on the river which we expect is by this time ceded by the Piankeshaws, it completes our possession of the whole, of both banks of the Ohio, from its source to near its mouth, and the navigation of that river is thereby rendered for ever safe to our citizens settled and settling on its extensive waters; the purchase from the Creeks too has been for some time particularly interesting to the

state of Georgia.—The several treaties which have been mentioned will be submitted to both houses of congress for the exercise of their respective functions.——Deputies now on their way to the seat of government, from various nations of Indians inhabiting the Missouri and other parts beyond the Mississippi, come charged with assurances of their satisfaction with the new relations in which they are placed with us, of their dispositions to cultivate our peace and friendship, and their desire to enter into commercial intercourse with us.—A state of our commerce in exploring the principal rivers of that country, and of the information respecting them hitherto obtained, will be communicated as soon as we shall receive some further relations which we have reason shortly to expect.——The receipts at the treasury during the year ending on the 30th of Sept. last, have exceeded the sum of 13 millions of dollars, which with not quite 5 millions in the treasury at the beginning of the year, have enabled us, after meeting other demands, to pay nearly 2 millions of the debt contracted under the British treaty and convention, upwards of 4 millions of principal of the public debt, and 4 millions of interest; these payments, with those which had been made in the 3½ years preceding, have extinguished, of the funded debt, nearly 18 millions of principal.—Congress, by their act of Nov. 10, 1803, authorised us to borrow 2,750,000 dollars towards meeting the claims of our citizens, assumed by the convention with France. We have not, however, made use of this authority, because the sum of four millions and an half, which remained in the treasury on the same 30th day of September last, with the receipts which we may calculate on for the ensuing year, besides paying the annual sum of eight millions of dollars, appropriated to the funded debt, and meeting all the current demands which may be expected, will enable us to pay the whole sum of three millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, assumed by the French convention, and still leave us a surplus of nearly a million of dollars at our free disposal; should you concur in the provisions of arms and armed vessels recommended by the circumstances of the times, this surplus will furnish the means of doing so.—On this first occasion of addressing congress since, by the choice of my constituents, I have entered on a second term of administration, I embrace the opportunity to give this public assurance, that I will exert my best endeavours to administer faithfully the executive department; I will zealously co-operate with you in any measure which may tend to secure the liberty, property, and personal safety of our fellow citizens, and to consolidate the principles of our government.——In the course of your session you shall receive all the aid which I can give for the dispatch of the public business, and all the information necessary for your deliberations, of which the interests of our own country, and the confidence reposed in us by others, will admit a communication.

(Signed) TH. JEFFERSON.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Public Funeral of Lord Viscount Nelson. From the London Gazette, Jan. 18, 1806.

On Wednesday, the 8th inst. the remains of the late rt. hon. Horatio Viscount and Baron Nelson, K. B. Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, were conveyed from the Royal Hospital of Greenwich, where they had lain in state, in the Painted Hall, on the three preceding days, to the Admiralty.——Soon after ten o'clock in the morning, the several persons, appointed to attend the remains from Greenwich, assembled at the governor's house within the Royal Hospital; and, at about one o'clock, proceeded in the barges according to the following order, viz.

First Barge, covered with Black Cloth.

Drums—Two Trumpets, with their Banners in the Steerage.

The Standard, at the Head, borne by Capt. Sir F. Laforey, bart. of the Spartiate, supported by Lieuts. W. C. Barker, and G. Antram, of the Royal Navy.

The Guidon, at the door-place, borne by Capt. H. W. Bayntum, of the Leviathan, (in the absence, by indisposition, of Capt. Durham,) supported by two lieuts. of the Royal Navy, all in their full uniform coats, with black waistcoats, breeches, and stockings, and crape round their arms and hats.

Rouge Croix and Blue Mantle, Pursuivants of Arms, in close mourning, with their tabards over their cloaks, and hatbands and scarves.

Second Barge, covered with Black Cloth.

Four Trumpets in the Steerage.

Heralds of Arms, habited as those in the first barge, bearing the Surcoat, Target and Sword, Helmet and Crest, and the Gauntlet and Spurs, of the deceased.

The Banner of the deceased, as a Knight of the Bath, at the head, borne by Capt. Ed. Rotheram, of the Royal Sovereign, supported by two lieuts. of the Royal Navy.

The Great Banner, with the augmentations, at the door place, borne by Capt. R. Moorsom, of the Revenge, supported by Lieuts. D. Keys and N. Tucker, of the Nassau, all habited as those in the first barge.

Third Barge,

Covered with black velvet, the top adorned with plumes of black feathers, and in the centre, upon four shields of the arms of the deceased joining in point, a Viscount's Coronet. Three Bannerolls of the Family Lineage of the deceased, on each side, affixed to the external parts of the barge.

Six Trumpets, with their Banners as before, in the Steerage.

Six Officers of the Royal Navy, habited as those in the other barges; one to each Bannerolll, viz.

Lieut. (now Captain) John Pasco.	Lieut. (now Captain) —— Williams.
Lieut. (now Captain) John Yule.	Lieut. George Browne.
T. Atkinson, Master of the Victory.	Lieut. James Uzuld Purches.

The Body,

Covered with a large Sheet, and a Pall of Velvet adorned with Six Escocheons.

Norroy King of Arms, in the absence, by indisposition, of Clarenceux, habited as the other officers of arms, and bearing, at the head of the body, a Viscount's Coronet upon a black velvet cushion.

At the head of the barge the Union Flag of the United Kingdom.

Attendants on the body while at Greenwich, in mourning.

Fourth Barge, covered with Black Cloth.

The chief mourner, Sir P. Parker, bart. Admiral of the Fleet, with his two supporters, Admiral Samuel Visc. Hood, and Admiral W. Lord Radstock; six assistant mourners, viz. Admirals B. Caldwell, Sir R. Curtis, knt. and bart. R. R. Bligh, Sir C. M. Pole, bart. and Vice-Admirals C. E. Nugent, and C. P. Hamilton; four supporters of the pall, viz. Vice Admirals, J. H. Witshed and T. Taylor, Admiral Sir J. Orde, bart. (in the absence, by indisposition, of Vice-Admiral H. Savage, who had been nominated to this station), and Rear-Adm. E. Harvey; six supporters of the canopy, viz. Rear-Adms. T. Drury, Sir W. H. Douglas, bart. T. Wells, Sir I. Coffin, bart. J. Aylmer, and W. Domett; and the train bearer of the chief mourner, the hon. H. Blackwood, of the Euryalus, all in mourning cloaks, over their respective full uniform coats, black waistcoats, breeches, and stockings, crape round their arms, and crape hatbands.

Windsor Herald, acting for Norroy King of Arms, habited as the other officers of arms.

The Banner of Emblems, at the door-place, borne by Capt. T. M. Hardy, of the Victory, supported by lieuts. A. King and G. M. Bligh, of the Royal Navy, habited as those in the other barges.

The barges of his Majesty, and of the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral, followed, singly; and, immediately after, the rt. hon. the Lord Mayor in the City State Barge; followed by the barges of several of the Companies of the City of London, singly, according to their rank; their respective colours half-staff.—The procession was attended by a considerable number of gun-boats and row-boats of the river fencibles; and the Lord Mayor, in his character of Conservator of the River Thames, highly distinguished himself upon this occasion by his lordship's judicious and unremitting attentions to their due arrangement and order.—As the procession passed the Tower of London, minute guns were there fired During the time of the landing the body, and the several persons from the four mourning barges, at Whitehall Stairs; the King's and Admiralty Barges, and those of the Lord Mayor, and the City Companies, lay on their oars.

Order of the Procession from Whitehall Stairs to the Admiralty on Foot,

Drums and Trumpets.

Rouge Croix Pursuivant of Arms.

The Standard, borne by the Captain, and supported by the Two Lieuts. before mentioned.

Trumpet.

Blue Mantle Pursuivant of Arms.

The Guidon, borne and supported as in the Barge.

Two Trumpets.

Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms.

The Banner of the Deceased as a Knight of the Bath, borne and supported as in the Barge.

Two Trumpets.
Richmond Herald.
The Great Banner, borne and supported as in the Barge.
Gauntlet and Spurs, borne by York Herald.
Helm and Crest, ——— Somerset Herald.
Sword and Target, ——— Lancaster Herald.
Surcoat, ——— Chester Herald.
Six Trumpets.
Norroy King of Arms, in the absence of Clarenceux, bearing the Coronet on a Black Velvet Cushion.

Three Bannerolls of the family lineage of the deceased, borne as beforementioned.

2 Supporters of the Pall.

The Body, Covered with a Black Velvet Pall, adorned with Escocheons, under a Canopy supported by Six Admirals.

2 Supporters of the Pall.

Three Bannerolls of the family lineage of the deceased, borne as beforementioned.

Garter Principal King of Arms (absent, by indisposition).

Supporter, Adm. Lord Radstock.

The Chief Mourner, Sir Peter Parker, Bart. Adm. of the Fleet.

Supporter, Adm. Viscount Hood.

Train-Bearer,
Captain the Honourable Henry Blackwood.
The Six Admirals beforenamed, Assistant Mourners.
Windsor Herald, acting for Norroy King of Arms.
The Banner of Emblems, borne and supported as in the Barge.
Attendants on the Body while at Greenwich.

Upon arrival at the Admiralty, the body was there deposited, privately, till the following day, and the persons who were in the procession retired.

Early in the morning of Thursday the 9th inst. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of the Blood Royal, with several of the great officers, and the nobility and gentry, in their carriages; the relations of the deceased, with the officers and others of his household, the officers of arms, and a number of naval officers, in mourning coaches, assembled in Hyde Park; having been admitted at Cumberland and Grosvenor Gates upon producing tickets issued from the College of Arms; and, having there been marshalled within the rails, proceeded, one by one, across Piccadilly, into St. James's Park, by the gate at the top of Constitution Hill, and onwards, through the Horse Guards, to the Admiralty, in the order in which they were to move in the procession.—The chief mourner, with his supporters and train-bearer, and the several naval officers to whom duties were assigned in the solemnity, assembled at the Admiralty: the seamen and marines of the Victory, the pensioners from Greenwich Hospital, the watermen of the deceased, the six conductors, the messenger of the College of Arms, and the marshal's-men, with the trumpets and drums, were stationed in the Admiralty Yard.—Those persons in the procession, who were not to wear mourning cloaks, official gowns, or habits, appeared in mourning, without weepers, and with mourning swords; knights of the several orders wore their collars; naval and military officers were in their full uniforms, with crape around their arms, and in their hats; the naval officers, to whom particular duties were assigned, had black cloth waistcoats, and breeches, and black stockings; and the clergy were in their clerical habits.—Servants not in mourning, attending the carriages, were admitted with silk or crape hatbands and gloves.—The troops, ordered by his Majesty to attend at the funeral under the command of Gen. Sir D. Dundas, K. B. were assembled and formed by the several general officers under whose command they respectively were, on the Parade at St. James's Park, before the Horse Guards, at half-past 8 o'clock in the morning. The whole fronted towards the Horse Guards, and were formed as follows, (the infantry being three deep), viz. 4 companies of grenadiers, with their right near to the angle of the Treasury Building: 4 companies of light infantry, in a line with the grenadiers, and their right to the road leading through the Horse Guards. the second brigade of infantry, about 60 yards behind the grenadiers, and their right to the Treasury Wall: the first brigade of infantry, about 60 yards behind the second, and parallel to it. The cavalry formed in one line behind the infantry; their right to the Sluice Cover on the Parade, and extending towards the end of the Mall, being parallel to the row of trees, which were close in their rear. The artillery assembled, and formed fronting to the Treasury, with their right at the parade gun.—This disposition being made, the march began at 12 o'clock in the following order; the general officers and their staff at the head of their respective brigades.

Gen. Sir D. Dundas, K. B.
Lieut.-Gen. Harry Burrard.

A detachment of light dragoons.
Four companies of light infantry.
The 92d regiment } Commanded by the Hon. Major-Gen. C. Hope.
The 79th regiment }
The 31st regiment } Commanded by the Hon. Brig.-Gen. R. Meade.
The 21st regiment }
The 14th—2 squadrons }
The 10th—2 squadrons } Commanded by Major-Gen. W. St. Leger.
The 2d—2 squadrons }
The royal artillery, with eleven pieces of cannon.
Four companies of grenadiers.

Each corps marched off, and followed in succession from its left. The infantry marched in sections of 6 or 7 files: the cavalry 4 men in front: the artillery and its carriages two abreast: officers of infantry in front of the divisions, and not on the flanks.—As soon as the troops had passed the Admiralty, the procession moved in the following order:

Marshal's-men, on foot, to clear the way.

Messenger of the College of Arms, in a mourning cloak with a badge of the College on his shoulder, his staff tipped with silver, and furled with sarsnet.

Six conductors, in mourning cloaks, with Black staves headed with Viscount Coronets.

Forty-eight pensioners from Greenwich Hospital, two and two, in mourning cloaks, with badges of the crests of the deceased on the shoulders, and black staves in their hands.

Forty-eight seamen and marines of his Majesty's Ship Victory, two and two, in their ordinary dress, with black neck handkerchiefs and stockings, and crape in their hats.

Watermen of the deceased, in black coats, with their badges.

Drums and Fifes.

Drum-Major.

Trumpets.

Serjeant Trumpeter.

Rouge Croix, Pursuivant of Arms (alone in a mourning coach), in close mourning, with his tabard over his cloak.

The Standard, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were Capt. Sir F. Laforey, bart. and his two supporters Lieuts. W. C. Barker and G. Antram, of the Royal Navy.

Trumpeters.

Blue Mantle, Pursuivant of Arms (alone in a mourning coach,) habited as Rouge Croix.

The Guidon, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were Capt. Edward Rotheram, of the Royal Sovereign, supported by Lieuts. J. Bradshaw and T. Errington of the Royal Navy.

Servants of the deceased, in mourning, in a mourning coach.

Officers of his Majesty's Wardrobe, in mourning coaches.

Gentlemen.

Esquires.

Deputations from the Great Commercial Companies of London.

Physicians of the deceased, in a mourning coach.

Divines, in clerical habits.

Chaplains of the dec. in clerical habits, and Secretary of the dec. in a mourning coach.

Trumpets.

Rouge Dragon and Portcullis, Pursuivants of Arms (in a mourning coach), habited as before.

The Banner of the deceased, as a Knight of the Bath, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were Capt. P. C. Durham, of the Defiance, supported by Lieuts. J. U. Purches and J. Poate, of the Royal Navy.

Attendants on the body while it lay in State at Greenwich; viz. Rev. A. J. Scott (Chaplain to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales), J. Whidbey, Esq. and J. Tyson, Esq. in a mourning coach.

Knights Bachelors.

Serjeants at Law.

Deputy to the Knight Marshal on horseback.

Knights of the Bath; viz.

Sir Samuel Hood and Sir Thomas Trigge.

Baronets.

A Gentleman Usher (in a mourning coach) carrying a carpet and black velvet cushion, whereon the trophies were to be deposited in the Church.

W. Haslewood, Esq.; A. Davisson, Esq.; and W. Marsh, Esq.; as Comptroller, Treasurer,

and Steward of the Household of the deceased (in a mourning coach,) in mourning cloaks, bearing white staves.

Younger Sons of Barons, viz.

Hon. Augustus Cavendish Bradshaw.

Hon. R. Ryder, M. P. Hon. C. J. Fox, M. P.

Privy Councillors, not Peers, viz.

Right Hon. Sir Evan Nepean, Baronet, M. P. and a Lord of the Admiralty.

Right Hon. G. Tierney, M. P.

Right Hon. Sir W. Scott, Knt. M. P. Judge of the Admiralty.

Right Hon. W. Windham, M. P.

Younger Sons of Earls, viz.

Hon. T. W. Fermor.

Hon. ——— Bennet. Hon. Alexander Murray.

Eldest Sons of Viscounts, viz.

Hon. Henry Hood.

Hon. Thomas Newcomen. Hon. Thomas Knox.

Barons.

Lord Hutchinson, K. B. Lord Donalley.

Lord De Blaquiere, K. B. Lord Holland.

Lord Aston.

Lord Mulgrave, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

Lord Bishop of Exeter.

Younger Sons of Marquisses; viz.

Lord Henry Moore. Lord Henry Petty.

Eldest Sons of Earls; viz.

Viscount Castlereagh, One of his Maj. Principal Secr. of State.

Viscount Duncannon.

Lord Delvin.

Viscount Fitzharris. Lord Hervey.

Lord Ossulston.

Viscount Kirkwall. Lord Fincastle.

Viscounts.

Viscount Sidmouth.

Viscount Hawarden. Viscount Gosford.

Viscount Chetwynd. Viscount Ranelagh.

Younger Son of a Duke.

Lord Archibald Hamilton.

Eldest Son of a Marquis.

Earl of Altamont.

Earls.

Earl of Clancarty. Earl of Moira.

Earl of Fife. Earl of Bessborough.

Earl of Darnley. Earl of Westmeath.

Earl of Leicester. Earl of Buckinghamshire.

Earl of Portsmouth. Earl Cowper.

Earl of Bristol. Earl of Scarborough.

Earl of Winchelsea, K. G. Earl of Suffolk.

Earl of Dartmouth, K. G. Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household.

Eldest Sons of Dukes.

Marquis of Douglas.

Marquis of Blandford. Marquis of Hartington.

Dukes.

Duke of Montrose, K. T.

Duke of Devonshire, K. G. Duke of St. Albans.

Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal.

Earl Camden, K. G. Lord President of the Council.

Archbishop of Canterbury.

Dukes of the Blood Royal

H. R. H. the Duke of Cambridge.

H. R. H. the Duke of Sussex

H. R. H. the Duke of Cumberland.
H. R. H. the Duke of Kent.
H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.
H. R. H. the Duke of York, Commander in Chief.
H. R. H. the Prince of Wales.

Richmond Herald (alone in a mourning coach), habited as the other officers of arms.

The Great Banner, borne in front of a mourning coach, in which were Capt. R. Moorsom, and his supporters Lieuts. D. Keys and N. Tucker, of the Royal Navy.

Gauntlet and Spurs, Helm and Crest, Target and Sword, Surcoat, } In front of 4 mourning coaches, in which were York, Somerset, Lancaster, and Chester Heralds, habited as before.

A mourning coach, in which the Coronet of the deceased, on a black velvet cushion, was borne by Norroy King of Arms, in the absence of Clarenceux, habited as before, and attended by two Gentlemen Ushers.

The 6 Lieutenants of the Royal Navy, habited as before, who were to bear the Bannerolls, in 6 Mourning Coaches.

The 6 Admirals, in like Habits, who were to bear the Canopy, in 2 Mourning Coaches.

The 4 Admirals, in like Habits, who were to support the Pall in a Mourning Coach.

THE BODY,

Placed on a Funeral Car, or Open Hearse, decorated with a carved Imitation of the Head and Stern of His Majesty's Ship the Victory, surrounded with Escocheons of the Arms of the Deceased, and adorned with appropriate Mottos and Emblematical Devices; under an elevated Canopy, in the Form of the upper Part of an ancient Sarcophagus, with 6 sable Plumes, and the Coronet of a Viscount in the Centre, supported by 4 Columns, representing Palm Trees, with Wreaths of natural Laurel and Cypress entwining the Shafts; the Whole upon a 4 wheeled Carriage, drawn by 6 led Horses, the Caparisons adorned with Armorial Escocheons.

N. B. The Black Velvet Pall adorned with 6 Escocheons of the Arms of the Deceased, and the 6 Bannerolls of the Family Lineage, were removed from the Hearse, in order to afford an unobstructed View of the Coffin containing the Remains of the gallant Admiral.

Garter Principal King of Arms, in his official Habit, with his Sceptre, (in his Carriage, his Servants being in full Mourning) attended by Two Gentlemen Ushers.

The Chief Mourner

In a Mourning Coach, with his Two Supporters, and his Train-Bearer, all in Mourning Cloaks.

Six Assistant Mourners, (in 2 Mourning Coaches), in Mourning Cloaks as before.

Windsor Herald, acting for Norroy King of Arms, in a Mourning Coach, habited as the other Officers of Arms, and attended by two Gentlemen Ushers.

The Banner of Emblems in Front of a Mourning Coach, in which were Captains T. M. Hardy and H. W. Bayntun, supported by Lieutenants A. King and G. M. Bligh of the Royal Navy.

Relations of the Deceased, in Mourning Coaches.

Officers of the Navy and Army, according to their respective Ranks, the Seniors nearest the Body.

Within Temple-Bar the Procession was received by the right hon. the Lord Mayor of London, attended by the Aldermen and Sheriffs, and the Deputation from the Common Council.—The 6 Carriages of the Deputation from the Common Council fell into the Procession between the Deputation of the Great Commercial Companies of London, and the Physicians of the Deceased; a Conductor on Horseback being appointed to indicate the Station.—The Carriages of the Aldermen and Sheriffs fell into the Procession between the Knights Bachelors and the Serjeants at Law; a Conductor on Horseback being also there stationed for the Purpose, as before.

The right hon. the Lord Mayor, on Horseback, bearing the City Sword, was marshalled and placed in the Procession between H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, and the Herald of Arms, who preceded the Great Banner, in obedience to a Warrant under His Majesty's Royal Signet and Sign Manual, bearing Date the 6th Inst. directing Garter Principal King

of Arms to marshal and place the Lord Mayor of London, on the present Occasion, in the same Station wherein his Lordship would have been placed if His Majesty had been present.—When the Head of the Troops arrived at St. Paul's, the Light Companies entered within the Railing, drew up, and remained. The Rest of the Column proceeded round St. Paul's, down Cheapside, along the Old Jewry, and Coleman-Street, to Moorfield's, round which they were formed and posted.—The Grenadiers quitted the Column at St. Paul's, and entered within the Railing. The Light Infantry lined each Side of the Space from the Gate of the Church-Yard to the Door of the Church. The Grenadiers lined the great Nave of the Church on each Side, from the outer Door to the Place where the Body was deposited, and from thence to the Door of the Choir. The Two Corps (who had their Arms reversed during the Time of their remaining at St. Paul's,) formed Two deep for that Purpose; and the 2d Dragoons, in passing St. Paul's, left an Officer and 20 Men, who formed up, and remained within the outer Gate of the Iron Railing.—Upon Arrival of the Procession at St. Paul's Cathedral, the 6 Conductors, 48 Pensioners from Greenwich Hospital, and 48 Seamen and Marines of the Victory ascended the Steps, divided and ranged on each Side, without the great West Door; and the Rest of the Procession having alighted at the West Gate of the Church-Yard, entered the Church, and divided on either Side, according to their Ranks; those who had proceeded first remaining nearest the Door. The Officers of Arms and the Bearers of the Banners, with their Supporters, entered the Choir and stood within, near the Door; and all above and including the Rank of Knights Bachelors, as well as the Staff Officers, and the Naval Officers who attended the Procession, had Seats assigned to them in the Choir. The Lord Mayor, with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, City Officers, and Deputation from the Common Council occupied their seats on the North Side of the Choir. Near the entrance of the Church, the Dean and Prebendaries, attended by the Choir, fell into the procession immediately after the Great Banner, and before the Heralds who bore the Trophies; the Choir singing the sentence in the office for burial, "I am the Resurrection and the Life," &c. with the two following sentences, and continuing to sing until the body was placed in the choir.—The body, having been taken from the Funeral Car, was borne into the Church and Choir according to the following order:

Richmond Herald.

Supporter — The Great Banner, borne by Capt. Robert Moorsom. — Supporter

Lieut. Nicholas Tucker. — Lieut. David Keys.

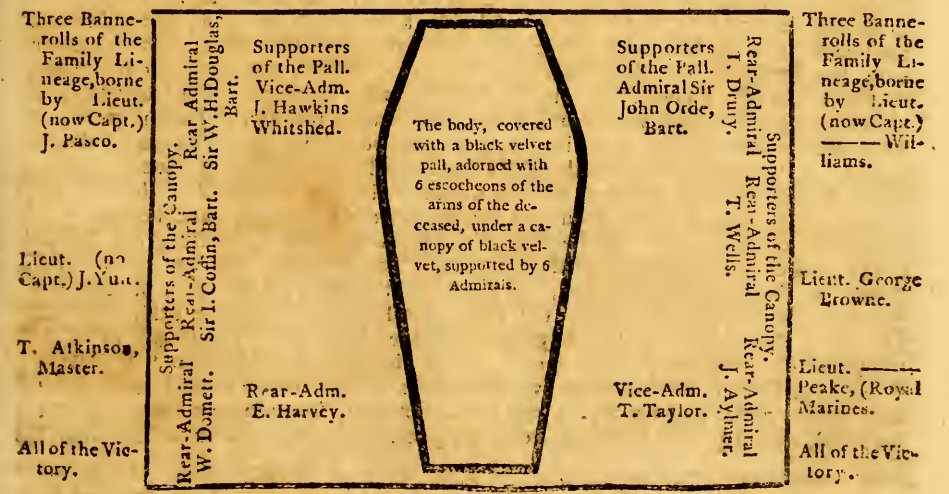
The Gauntlet and Spurs, borne by York Herald.

Helm and Crest, ——— Somerset Herald.

Target and Sword, ——— Lancaster Herald.

Surcoat, ——— Chester Herald.

A Gent. Usher. — The Coronet, on a black velvet cushion, borne by Norroy, King of Arms, in the absence of Clarenceux. — A Gent. Usher.



A Gent. Usher. Garter Principal King of Arms, (with his Sceptre.) A Gent. Usher.

Chief Mourner.

Supporter to the Chief Mourner, Adm. W. Lord Radstock. Sir P. Parker, Bart. Adm. of the Fleet. Supporter to the Chief Mourner, Adm. S. Viscount Hood.

Six Assistant Mourners, viz.

Adm. Sir R. Curtis, Knt. and Bart.
Adm. Sir C. M. Pole, Bart.
Vice Adm. C. P. Hamilton.
Adm. Caldwell.
Adm. R. R. Bligh.
Vice Adm. C. Ed. Nugent.

A Gentleman Usher. Windsor Herald, acting for Norroy King of Arms. A Gent. Usher.

The Banner of Emblems,

Supporter, Lieut. G. Miller Bligh. Borne by Capt. T. M. Hardy, and Capt. H. W. Bayntun. Supporter, Lieut. Andrew King.

Relations of the Deceased, viz.

Horation Nelson, Esq; commonly called Viscount, Merton, Nephew.
William Earl Nelson, sole Brother and Heir.

George Matcham, Esq; Nephew.
George Matcham, Esq; Brother-in-law.
Thomas Boulton, Esq; Nephew.
Thomas Bolton, Esq; ; Brother-in-law.

Rev. Robert Rolfe,
T. Trench Berney, Esq;
Hon. Horatio Walpole,
Hon. George Walpole,
} Cousins.

The remainder of the procession followed in the order as before marshalled.

The Chief Mourner, his Two Supporters and Train Bearer were seated on chairs near the Body, on the side nearest the Altar; and the Six Assistant Mourners, Four Supporters of the Pall, and Six Supporters of the Canopy, on stools on each side.—The Relations also near them in the Choir; and Garter was seated near the Chief Mourner.—The Body, when placed in the Choir, was not covered with the Pall, nor the Canopy borne over it; the rule in that respect being dispensed with, for the reason before mentioned. The Bannerolls were borne on each side the Body.—The Officers of the Navy, and the Staff Officers commanding the Troops, were seated near the Altar.—The Carpet and Cushion (on which the Trophies were afterwards to be deposited,) were laid, by the Gentleman Usher who carried them, on a table placed near the Grave, which was under the centre of the Dome, and behind the place which was to be there occupied by the Chief Mourner.—The Coronet and Cushion borne by Norroy King of Arms, in the absence of Clarenceux, was laid on the Body.—During the Service in the Choir, an Anthem suitable to the occasion was sung; and, at the conclusion, a Procession was made from thence to the Grave, with the Banners and Bannerolls as before; the Officers of Arms preceding with the Trophies; the Body borne and attended as before: the Choir singing, "Man "that is born of a Woman," &c. and the three following sentences. The Chief Mourner, with his Supporters, and, near them, Garter, had seats at the East end of the grave; the Train-bearers stood behind the Chief Mourner, and near him, the Relations of the Deceased. At the opposite end sat the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Dean of the Cathedral, attended by Three Canons Residentiaries. A Supporter of the Pall stood at each angle. The Assistant Mourners, Supporters of the Canopy, and Bearers of the Bannerolls, on either side. On the right of the Dean were the Chaplains; on the left, the Officers of the Household of the Deceased. The Great Banner was borne on the North, the Banner of the Deceased, as a Knight of the Bath, on the South of the Grave; the Standard and Guidon behind the Dean; the Banner of Emblems behind the Chief Mourner; the Trophies in the Angles.—Then the Dean read "Forasmuch as it hath "pleased Almighty God," &c.. then the Choir sung part of an Anthem "His Body is "buried in Peace; but his Name liveth evermore."—The Service at the Interment being over, Garter proclaimed the Style; and the Comptroller, Treasurer, and Steward of the Deceased, breaking their Staves, delivered the pieces to Garter, who threw them into the Grave.

Upon a signal given from St. Paul's that the Body was deposited, the troops being drawn up in Moorfields, the Artillery fired their guns, and the Infantry gave vollies, by corps, three times repeated.—The Interment ended, the Standard, Banners, Bannerolls, and Trophies, were deposited on the table behind the Chief Mourner; and all persons in the Procession retired.—During the whole of this solemn ceremony, the greatest order prevailed throughout the Metropolis; and, as the remains of the much-lamented Hero proceeded along, every possible testimony of sorrow and of respect was manifested by an immense concourse of spectators of all ranks. From the Admiralty to the Cathedral, the streets were lined with the several Volunteer Corps of London and Westminster, the Militia, and many other Military Bodies, both Cavalry and Infantry.

ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL. —— *Circular Letter from Lord Hawkesbury, to the Lords Lieutenants of Counties, dated Whitehall, Dec. 31st. transmitted to his Majesty's Lieutenant of the West Riding.*

My Lord;—Upon a careful inspection of the number of men raised in the respective counties under the Additional Force Act, it appears, that, out of the 91 counties, and places considered as counties, under the Militia Laws, of which Great Britain is composed, 3-fifths of the whole number of men raised by parish officers have been furnished by ten counties, and those on an average not peculiarly favourable to the levy of men for military service; that above 5-sixths of the whole have been supplied by twenty counties, and that of the remaining seventy-one counties, twenty-one have not found a single man by their parish officers.——It also appears from the reports lately received from the lieutenants of the several counties in which they were called on to state the causes that had hitherto obstructed the execution of the act within their respective counties, that in addition to certain impediments, which it will require the intervention of the legislature to remove, the failure was chiefly to be attributed to the supineness and inactivity of the parish officers, resulting principally, as they conceived, from their ignorance of the provisions of the act, of the mode of executing their duty, and of the advantages resulting both to themselves and to their parishes, from their carrying the law into effect.—— In order to afford to the parish officers, all the necessary information for the direction of their conduct, to relieve the deputy lieutenants from the troublesome detail of instructing men in their duty, and to facilitate to the parishes the transfer of their recruits to the receiving parties so soon as raised; his Majesty's government have thought it expedient that an intelligent officer should be directed to make a circuit through each county, for the purpose of meeting the parish officers in the manner least inconvenient to them; and of giving them information and assistance upon the spot.——It is hoped by an inspection of this nature, repeated at stated intervals, until the full quota has been supplied, assisted by intermediate reference to the officer charged with this duty, in case of any thing particular occurring, that the service may be materially assisted; and I have received the King's commands most earnestly to request your lordship to make an immediate arrangement within your county, for the assembly of the parish officers on successive days, within a convenient distance of their homes, notifying the days and places of assembly to the officer, who is directed to report himself to your lordship, and to the clerk of the general meetings of lieutenantcy, as charged with the above duty: and I am further to request your lordship will cause some civil officer, fully informed of the proceedings already taken under the act within the county, and to whom a suitable allowance will be made for his trouble and loss of time on the occasion, to accompany the officer in the circuit he is directed to make.

KING'S SPEECH.—*On Tuesday the 21st January, 1806 the two Houses of Parliament having met, the Session was opened by Commission with the following Speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor;*

My Lords and Gentlemen,—In pursuance of the authority given to us by his Majesty's Commission, under the Great Seal, amongst other things to declare the cause of his holding this Parliament, his Majesty has directed us particularly to call your attention to the most decisive success with which Providence has vouchsafed to bless his Majesty's arms at sea, since you were last assembled in Parliament.—The activity and perseverance of his Majesty's fleets have been conspicuously displayed in the pursuit and attack of the different squadrons of the enemy, and every

encounter has terminated to the honour of the British flag, and the diminution of the naval force of the powers with whom his Majesty is at war; but the victory obtained over the combined fleets of France and Spain, off Cape Trafalgar, has manifested, beyond any exploit recorded even in the Annals of the British Navy, the skill and enterprize of his Majesty's officers and seamen; and the destruction of so large a proportion of the naval strength of the enemy, has not only confirmed, in the most signal manner, the maritime superiority of this country, but has essentially contributed to the security of his Majesty's dominions.—His Majesty most deeply regrets, that the day of that memorable triumph should have been unhappily clouded with the fall of the heroic commander under whom it was achieved, and he is persuaded, that you will feel that this lamented but glorious termination of a series of transcendant exploits claims a distinguished expression of the lasting gratitude of the country; and that you will therefore cheerfully concur in enabling his Majesty to annex to those honours, which he has conferred on the family of the late Lord Viscount Nelson, such a mark of national munificence, as may preserve to the latest posterity, the memory of his name and services, and the benefit of his great example.—His Majesty has commanded us further to inform you, that whilst the superiority of his arms at sea has been thus uniformly asserted and maintained, he has not been wanting in his endeavours to apply the means which were so liberally placed at his disposal in aid of such of the powers of the Continent, as evinced a determination to resist the formidable and growing encroachments of France. He has directed the several treaties entered into for this purpose to be laid before you; and though he cannot but deeply lament that the events of the war in Germany have disappointed his hopes, and led to an unfavourable issue, yet his Majesty feels confident, that upon a review of the steps which he has taken, you will be of opinion, that he has left nothing undone on his part to sustain the efforts of his allies, and that he has acted in strict conformity to the principles declared by him and recognized by Parliament as essential to the interests and security of his own dominions, as well as to the general safety of the Continent.—It is a great consolation to his Majesty, and one in which he is persuaded you will participate, that although the Emperor of Germany has felt himself compelled to withdraw from the contest, his Majesty continues to receive from his august ally the Emperor of Russia, the strongest assurances of unshaken adherence to that generous and enlightened policy by which he has been hitherto actuated; and his Majesty has no doubt that you will be fully sensible of the important advantage to be derived from preserving, at all times, the closest and most intimate connection with that Sovereign.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His Majesty has directed the estimates for the year to be laid before you, and he has commanded us to assure you, that they are framed upon that scale of exertion which the present situation of the country renders indispensible. His Majesty fully relies upon your granting him such supplies, as, upon due deliberation, the public exigencies may appear to require.—It is his earnest wish to contribute, by every means in his power, to alleviate the additional burthens which must necessarily be imposed upon his people; and with this view, he has directed the sum of one million sterling, part of the proceeds arising from the sale of such prizes made on the powers with which he is at war, as are by law vested in the Crown, to be applied to the public service of the year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,——His Majesty is most fully persuaded, that whatever pride and confidence you may feel in common with him in the success which has distinguished the British arms in the course of the present contest, you will be sensible how much the events of the war on the Continent, by which the predominant power and influence of France have been so unhappily extended, require the continuance of all possible vigilance and exertion.——Under this impression, his Majesty trusts that your attention will be invariably directed to the improvement of those means which are to be found in the bravery and discipline of his forces, in the zeal and loyalty of every class of his subjects, and in the unexhausted resources of his dominions, for rendering the British Empire invincible at home, as well as formidable abroad; satisfied that by such efforts alone the contest can be brought to a conclusion, consistent with the safety and independence of the country, and with its rank amongst the nations of the world.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX. No. 5.] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1. 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" Prais'd, wept, and honour'd by the men he lov'd."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

HONOURS TO MR. PITT.—At the close of my remarks in the preceding Numb. p. 119, I expressed my confident hope, that the intention, which had then been expressed, of granting, by parliament, funeral honours to the memory of this gentleman, would be abandoned. I have been greatly disappointed; and, certain I am, that, at the proceeding, which I am now about to record, every honest and reflecting man in the country has felt, and still feels, mortification such as has seldom been experienced.——On Monday last, the 27th instant, MR. HENRY LASCELLES, the same person who moved for the bill of indemnity for Mr. Pitt's conduct relative to the unwarranted and unauthorized loan of the public money to Boyd and Benfield, then two members of parliament; this person, on the day above-mentioned, made a motion, in the House of Commons, that the House should come to a resolution in the following words: "That an humble address "be presented to his Majesty, that his Ma- "jesty will be graciously pleased to give di- "rections, that the remains of the Right "Honourable William Pitt be interred at "the public charge; and that a monument "be erected in the collegiate church of St. "Peter, Westminster, to the memory of "that excellent statesman, with an inscrip- "tion expressive of the public sense of so "great and irreparable a loss; and to assure "his Majesty, that this House will make "good the expences attending the same." This motion found a most suitable seconder in the Marquis of Titchfield, and as suitable an opponent in Lord Folkestone, who, at the close of a short speech, characteristic of modesty, of sound understanding, of political integrity, and of a high and paramount sense of public duty, declared, that, if any other gentleman entertained and expressed an opinion similar to his own, he should certainly divide the House upon the question. Whereupon a debate of some hours ensued. The speakers for the motion were, Lord Louvaine, Mr. Isaac Hawkins Brown, Mr. Hiley Addington, Sir Robert Buxton, General Tarleton, Lord Temple, Mr. R. Ryder, Sir Robert Williams, Mr. Wilberforce, Lord Castlereagh, and *Old George Rose!* The speakers against it were, Mr. William Smith (not a relation of Lord Carrington), Mr. Pytches, The Marquis of Douglas, Mr. Windham, Mr. G. Ponsonby, and Mr. Fox. ——The speech of the Marquis of Douglas was distinguished by every thing, which such an occasion was calculated to draw forth, worthy of an intelligent, a just, and a gallant nobleman, feeling as he ought for the distressed and disgraced situation of his country. And, indeed, it is not unpleasant to observe, that there are, besides the two young noblemen, whose exemplary conduct is here particularly mentioned, many young men either in parliament, or having obvious and legitimate pretentions to enter it, who have discovered a degree of talent, of spirit, and of application to public affairs, which, while they reflect great honour on their possessors, form a ground for national hope and confidence. For my own part, it is with a degree of satisfaction that I should in vain endeavour to express, that I view this race of young men, who stand upon their own fortunes and who act upon their own opinions, succeeding over and treading down, never again to rise, the penny-less, place-hunting, crawling, toad-eating crew of "young friends," whose greediness has so long been sucking the blood, and whose impertinence and upstart assurance have so long been insulting the understanding and the feelings of the people. This change, which has been gradually and imperceptibly taking place, and which has been produced by the striking events of the six last years and by the unveiling of the at once odious imbecile Pitt system of government, is one which ought to be, and that will certainly become, a subject of general congratulation. To the young noblemen and gentlemen whom I am alluding to no advice can be necessary: but, if any were, it would be, that they should persevere in their present course; that they should continue to inquire, to read, to devote their time to public affairs; to form their opinions upon the result of their own researches, to act upon those opinions, and not to become the blind instruments of any leader, whether in or out of office; to give their disinterested support, upon a great and general principle, to that

set of men whom they regard as the most wise, the most able to serve their country, and the most disposed to exert their powers for its good; but, in doing this, to take special care, so to act as to convince the people, that there is no resemblance between the support which they give and that which was derived from the "young friends," who were the supple slaves, the mere mouth-pieces, of a leader and a master, and whose pens and tongues were always at his command, whether for the purpose of fulsome eulogium on himself, or for that of calumny on his opponents.——In returning to the debate, the first thing we have to notice, is, that the division produced 258 for the resolution and 89 against it. Many persons kept away, who would not have voted for it; others, from family considerations, gave it their support; but, after all, it was carried by much less than one half of the House, and, with some few exceptions, by the very same persons who voted with Mr. Pitt in favour of Lord Melville on the memorable 8th of April last, when, by virtue of the casting vote of the Speaker, that Lord was declared to be guilty of a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty. This was perfectly consistent on their part; it was as it should be; it was fitting that funeral honours to William Pitt should be decreed by those who had supported him upon that occasion, and who, afterwards, enabled him to remove the intended trial from the Court of King's Bench to the House of Lords. But (lest the honourable circumstance be not engraven upon the monument) it is also fitting that it should be recorded somewhere, that, if the monument should be erected and should remain many years erect, some, at least, of our children may be acquainted with its history.——The resolution, it is to be observed, is copied from that which was passed in the case of LORD CHATHAM; that Lord Chatham, who "never dared look at the Treasury but from "a distance;" that Lord Chatham who scorned all petty and dirty intrigues; that Lord Chatham who declared his hatred, and who stemmed the pernicious influence of "the blood-sucker and muck-worm that "calls itself the friend of government, that "advances money to the government, but "that takes special care of its own emoluments;" that Lord Chatham who was the sworn, the steady foe of corruption, and the terror of all corrupt men, whether walking on foot or drawn in a coach with six horses; that Lord Chatham, who rested, for support, upon the wisdom, the justice and the efficacy of his measures, who disdained the aid of jobbers and contractors, and who, when he could no longer keep his place and his power without submission to the low intriguers of the court, resigned it without looking back, without any hankering, without any juggling project for the purpose of keeping open a way to his return; that Lord Chatham who preserved undiminished the liberties, who extended the dominions and the power of England, and upon whose tomb it was recorded, that he had reduced the power of France. This is the statesman, the parliamentary resolution for doing honour to whose memory has now been copied and passed for doing honour to the memory of Mr. Pitt!——Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox argued, and most satisfactorily, against the resolution, upon general principles, expressly denying, however, that the deceased was an "excellent statesman," and, of course, denying that his loss was "irreparable" to the nation. But, they admitted much which I am not disposed to admit, and which I am certain the people of England will deny. As to Mr. Pitt's being an excellent statesman, no man dare attempt to maintain the position by argument. The view, short as it was, the mere outline of a view, which the Marquis of Douglas took of the subject, was quite enough to convince his opponents, that they had no resource but in *assertion*. Indeed, the bare facts, well known to every man of common sense; a mere look at the situation of the country, especially when that of France meets the eye at the same time, is more than sufficient to silence any one but a mere creature of the Pitt system, any one who has not fattened upon that system, any one who does not hope still to gorge upon its continuance, or its revival.——To describe the particular measures of this minister; to show the nature and the consequences of them and also the motives whence they arose; to trace him, in the use of his power, from the time when he first scaled the walls of the cabinet to that when he saw France the absolute mistress of Europe and the hourly threatener of England; to put upon record all the deeds of this man, in his public capacity, all his conduct whether with regard to the throne, the parliament, the church, his opponents, his colleagues, or the people, is a task, not to be performed in a short space, either of time or of paper; but, it is one which I look upon it as my duty to perform, and which duty, if I have life and health, I assuredly will not neglect, nor delay, nor listlessly discharge, being sincerely persuaded, that such neglect would be a desertion of principle, that it would be treachery to those, however few they may be,

amongst the people who have contracted a respect for my opinions and a reliance upon my statements, and that, supposing my influence to be confined under my own roof, it would be there to leave falsehood and evil example to work their malignant effects, and eventually to corrupt and debase those minds, in which, as it is my first of duties, so it is my first of wishes, to implant an immoveable attachment to the good, the liberties, and the renown of their country. It is not amongst ministers only that exists the desire of being thought and spoken well of after their decease. I, too, should wish it, and, though I cannot hope to be heard of beyond the circle of my family, there, at least, it shall never be said, that this monument was erected without my protest. If I live to see it erected, I will take my children to its foot, one at a time, as they become able to comprehend and to remember, and there will I count them the history of the intrigues, the disasters, and the disgrace of the Pitt administration, not forgetting the part which therein was borne by Lord Melville. The power of these men, from its dawn to its extinguishment, will I trace; all their deeds will I describe; shun this, will I say, my sons, as you would shun the curse of your father.——But, though I am necesarily unable to enter upon a history of the Pitt measures and intrigues, at this time, I must not postpone some few observations upon a point or two, which has been touched upon in the course of the newspaper discussions (under various names and titles) upon the public character and conduct of Mr. Pitt.—And, first, our notice is attracted by an admission, said to have been made, with respect to the *great talents* of Mr. Pitt. But, of what *sort* were these talents? For, Kemble has great talents, and Cooke has great talents, in their way, and in his way, so had Katterfelto. Mr. Pitt never gave *proof* of any talents, except as a debater. He was a great debater; a person of wonderful readiness and dexterity in conducting a contest of words; a most accomplished, a truly incomparable *advocate*. But, that was *all;* and that, from the use which he made of it, was pernicious to his country. His eloquence was frothy; it was always unsubstantial; it very rarely produced conviction; but, its object was answered by the plausibility of it, which furnished the means of a justification, or rather which protected against an unbearable sense of shame, those who, from motives of self-interest, gave him their support. In all matters of state, rightly so denominated, he was conspicuous for nothing but the imbecility of his plans, and the fondness of his expectations, arising from that arrogance which had been born with him, and which had been nursed up by the flattery of the supple slaves, with whom he was, and loved to be, continually surrounded. In all his schemes, whether of war or of peace or of interior economy, you trace the shallow mind, which was no where more conspicuous than in his schemes of taxation and finance, which was so glaring in the pamphlet published under the name of Old Rose in 1799, and which has been so ably exposed in the work of Lord Lauderdale. Allusion is not made here to mere errors, errors into which a man of great talents might have fallen; but to proofs of sheer ignorance, arising, too, not from a deficiency in the knowledge of recorded facts; but from an evident want of that sort of mind which is necessary in a profound search after causes, and in the tracing of those causes to their natural effects. In point of talent, he was, in short, exactly what Mr. Grey once described him to be: "A man of showy, but of shallow, parts."——The newspapers have circulated, under the name of Old George Rose, a paragraph, which they call a speech in parliament, stating, in praise of Mr. Pitt, that he had *doubled* the commerce of the country. This statement is as false as any of those in the Treasury pamphlet of 1799, and that is saying quite enough of it. But, why did not the paragraph add, that this "excellent "statesman" had *tripled* the number of tax-gatherers; that he had tripled ten-fold the bank-notes; that he had banished specie out of the kingdom; that he had more than doubled the number of parish paupers; that he had effaced the Lillies and yielded the honour of the Flag; and that, under his administration, the power of France had broken through all bounds, and had finally extended itself over every part of Europe? Old George, or whoever else wrote this paragraph, appears to have forgotten, too, the very flourishing state of the pension and place list, which has been more than tripled by Mr. Pitt, in number of names as well as in amount of sums. Had he not quite forgotten this, he would, surely, have adverted to the vast increase of the last year; the famous grant to the Duke of Athol; and to the no less famous grants to Lord and Lady Melville. Paul Benfield: oh, Paul! you should have been here! The thing will be incomplete, it will be botched, without you! How hard; how blind is fortune! At the moment when funeral honours are decreeing for Mr. Pitt, Paul Benfield is begging his bread! That great man, who, as

Mr. Burke described him, was the very soul of the new system of "parliamentary re-"form," once sat, with no less than seven members at his back, voting for Mr. Pitt. And, shall he *now* be suffered to pine in want? Shall he not have a single vote? Shall he, merely because his speculations have failed; merely because he has not succeeded; merely because his efforts have proved abortive; shall he for this cause, be forbidden to share in the honours of the day? ——Upon the point of *purity*, too, I must be allowed to differ from Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox. I cannot shut my eyes to what has so recently passed before them. I cannot already forget the Tenth Report and its sequel. I cannot forget the want of recollection so conspicuous in the examination before the Select Committee. I cannot forget the loan made without interest to two members of parliament. I cannot forget the neglect to pay attention to the information of Mr. Raikes. I can efface from my memory none of these things; and, while they remain there, never can I bring myself to act with so much injustice as to separate Mr. Pitt's conduct from that of Lord Melville; Lord Melville whom he excused, whom he defended, whom he justified, whom, to the last moment of the struggle, he protected, and whom, to the last moment of life, he cherished; and, I must say, that I do, from the bottom of my soul, believe, that if Lord Melville were to die, his memory would have as fair and as just a claim to public honours as that of Mr. Pitt. In those, who, from the begining to the end, defended Lord Melville, it is perfectly consistent to call for funeral honours for Mr. Pitt, or, at least, to contend for his purity; but, if it was a gross violation of the law and a high breach of duty in Lord Melville to do what he did, how, in the name of truth and of reason, is the conduct of Mr. Pitt to be defended, or palliated? Lord Melville, by suffering the public money to be drawn from the bank and lodged at Mr. Coutts's, violated the law; but, was not Mr. Pitt informed of the violation? Did he not hear of it from a bank-director, and was not the report, even according to his own confession, confirmed by Lord Melville himself? And did he take any measures to put a stop to it? Nay, did he even desire, that the violation should cease? He has confessed, that he did not. At another time we find him in an act of direct participation in the illegal application of the Naval Money. Not only did he wink at the drawing of forty thousand pounds of that money away from the bank; but, he himself took it and lent it to two members of the then parliament, taking care to communicate the matter to no one but his confidential secretary, and taking good care likewise that no minute, or record of any kind, should be made of the transaction. What difference, therefore, is there in the conduct of the two men? And, yet, to the memory of the one we are granting all the honours due to the untarnished and meritorious dead, while we are pursuing the peace, the fortune and the fame of the other?——It has been stated, in some of the paragraphs, to which I have alluded, that the loss of Mr. Pitt is a subject of regret amongst the people. This is an impudent and insulting falsehood. That he may be regretted by those who were looking up to his power for emoluments, or for *shelter*; by the numerous swarm of "blood-suckers and muck-worms;" that his loss may be regretted, and deeply regretted, by these, I am far from meaning to deny; but, that he is regretted by the *people of England*, is a falsehood which, come whence it will, never shall pass uncontradicted by me. They do not regret his loss; so far from regarding his death as an "irreparable" loss, they regard it as no loss at all; they feel and they *express* satisfaction at it; their resentment has ceased; they retain little or no anger against him; it is in their nature easily to forgive; but, they look upon his death as the first dawn of their deliverance from an accumulation of danger and disgrace. They will be, as will be seen, very indifferent spectators, either of the funeral or the monument. They will be silent; and so they have been under the operation of all the other long train of measures proceeding from the same source; they will coldly submit, but a cold submission is not what, upon such an occasion, wise men would be content to secure.——One person is said to have talked against raking up the ashes of the dead, and we have been reminded, that, of the dead, we should speak *well*, or *not at all*. But, surely, this maxim applies to *voluntary* speaking of the dead, and not only voluntary, but *unnecessary* speaking of them; otherwise, away goes, at one sweep, all historical truth, and, with it, all the advantages therefrom derived, whether in politics or in morals. There is a time, however, for all things; and, just at this time, one could have wished to refrain from all mention of Mr. Pitt or of his actions. But, this forbearance has been rendered impossible, without a shameful abandonment of public duty. The movers for honours, for an act that, if passed unanimously, would have given a sanction to all his and all their mea-

sures. They, it is who have raked up the ashes of the deceased. They have challenged all men who think like me to the contest. They have compelled us to protest against this indirect censure upon our opinions and our conduct. They are the unprovoked assailants; and they ought not to complain that we have recourse to the only means of defence left us by their ungenerous mode of proceeding. Ungenerous, too, it is, in the extreme, towards the deceased as well as towards us; for, the use they make of his memory, is, to bespeak an eulogium for themselves, though thereby they expose that memory to the natural effects of our sense of the injustice of such an eulogium. Allow that Mr. Pitt was an "excellent statesman," and you therein allow, that they were excellent colleagues; next grant that his loss is "irreparable," and you proclaim that unworthiness in yourselves which you before tacitly admitted, you having been, for the far greater part of your political lives, in direct opposition to his measures. This is the extent of their proposal; and, shall they complain that it is resisted? Shall they silence us by their whining and their cant about the ashes of the deceased? Peace to those ashes, with all my heart! Profound peace to them, as far as historical truth will permit, But, let it be real peace; peace on both sides; let them not be raked up for the purposes of annoying us; let them lie quiet; let them not be thrown either in our eyes or our teeth; for, if they are, we must, and we certainly shall, as in self-defence and in duty we are bound, throw them back again. Let him be wept by the Cannings and the Jenkinsons and the Huskissons and the Roses and the Melvilles: *they* have, indeed, *lost* by his death; to them the loss is truly "irreparable." Let that race of creatures, whom the great Lord Chatham called "blood-suckers" and "muck-worms;" let them weep; their mourning is suitable, and sincere; but, in their feelings *the people of England have no participation*. Let the City of London erect a monument to his memory, if they choose; it will become both them and him. I should be sorry if they did not do it by an *unanimous* vote. I should exceedingly regret that their conduct, in this respect, was not clearly distinguished from that of the people of England, acting by their representatives in parliament. To be "praised, wept and *honoured*" by the swarm of contractors and jobbers is due to his memory. He loved them; they were the part of the community that he selected for his own; and that man must be unjust indeed who would wish to deprive his memory of the honour of their praise. But, let them not abuse us, because we do not partake in their feelings and their acts. Let not their newspapers slander the men, who, only about seven months ago, were called upon to grant him a bill of indemnity for misapplication of the public money, and who now refuse to acknowledge that he was an "excellent minister," and that his loss is "irreparable." So far from meriting censure for their *opposition* to the resolution, I am fully persuaded, that ninety-nine-hundredths of the people, could they be polled upon the question, would declare that Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham went much too far in the way of *acquiescence*: much farther than strict justice warranted; much farther, I think, than can be fully justified; or, indeed, justified at all, upon any other plea than that of magnanimity, they having, for so long a time, and to the day of his death, been his political opponents and his rivals for power. Too far they certainly went; much too far they stretched their magnanimity, in their expressed acquiescence in the proposition for the *payment of his debts* by the public; for, to say nothing, just at present (though I certainly shall, hereafter) about his *disinterestedness*, what a dangerous precedent is here! To admit, that, though a minister does not merit the honours of the tomb, the public ought to pay his debts. This principle once established, there is no bounds to the extent of its operation. A minister has only to contract debts: he has only to owe, or acknowledge, debts. And, I should like to hear the argument, by which it is to be shown, that the creditors of one subject of the King are to be secured by parliament more than those of another subject of the King. If such a resolution pass, who, henceforth, will scruple to trust a minister? What minister need ever, henceforth, want money? Mr. Pitt brought no fortune to lose in the public service: he did not, like the old Duke of Newcastle, waste a princely estate in supporting the dignity of office: and why should his debts be paid by the public, by that public who was never called upon for a penny to restore the estate of the truly noble statesman here mentioned? Every view of this subject presents an obstacle to the adoption of the proposed resolution; it will not be just; it will not indicate a due regard to the interests and the laudable feelings of the people; and it will be a precedent productive of insidious comparisons, and of other most extensively dangerous consequences.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.——This being a

sub ect, which, at this moment, engrosses the attention of every thinking man in the kingdom), it would be improper to pass it by in silence, otherwise I should have wished to reserve every thing I have to say upon it, until we shall know what the new arrangements are; until we shall know, of what persons the new ministry is to be composed, and what is to be the distribution of the powers which they are called upon to exercise.——On Monday, the 27th instant, his Majesty, having been previously advised to bestow the lucrative office of Warden of the Cinque Ports upon Lord Hawkesbury, who has been in some office or other ever since he was a boy, whose father has been in office with *all* the ministers that have succeeded each other during the last half century, and who has never, for several years past, been in the receipt of less than from six to ten thousand pounds a year of the public money! Having *previously* been advised to take this step, and the warrant for the office having been executed, his Majesty was graciously pleased to send for Lord Grenville, and to give him his royal commands to form, without delay, a new ministry. Lord Grenville, in consequence of this, immediately consulted with Mr. Fox; and, this day (it is now *Friday noon*), the result of the several meetings that have taken place, is, it is said, to be communicated to the King. With what that result may be I am not acquainted. I know, indeed, at present, nothing at all about it; but, as I suppose, that the perilous situation of the country, produced by the inefficiency of the former ministry, have led, or will shortly lead, to the formation of a ministry of talent, of wisdom, and of disinterested views, it will be proper, here, briefly to speak of the difficulties which they will have to encounter, and of the line of conduct, which, to answer the great ends of their appointment, they ought to pursue.——First of all, however, there is a circumstance, connected with the composition of the intended ministry, to which circumstance, though it must have forcibly struck every man at all conversant in party politics, I cannot refrain from particularly adverting; and, that is, the readiness, even as a thing of course, with which the King has *now* consented to *receive Mr. Fox into the cabinet*. The public cannot have forgotten, and they ought never to forget, the language and the conduct of the Pitt faction in the spring of 1804. At that memorable epoch, that critical period, that excellent opportunity for forming a strong administration, before it was too late to oppose a barrier to the out-stretching power of France; at that epoch Mr. Pitt was, after a previous interview with the Lord Chancellor Eldon, and after a communication or two had, through that channel, been had between him and the King; after this, Mr. Pitt waited upon his Majesty, received his commands to form a ministry, and, in obedience to those commands, did form that ministry, which, with some after-patching, contrived to retain its power in England, until the power of France had spread itself over every part of Europe. But, the public will remember, and with what indignation will they remember it! that, at that time, all their hopes, all their expectations, so confidently entertained and so loudly expressed, were baffled and blasted by the rejection of Mr. Fox, without whom and his friends it was, as all people of sense saw it would be, quite impossible to form a ministry commensurate with the exigencies of the times. The *cause* of this rejection was, by me, by those writers who thought with me, and, indeed, by all the incorrupt, all the unbought and unbribed part of the nation, ascribed to the intriguers and to Mr. Pitt's unconquerable ambition to rule upon any terms, whereby he was induced to submit to those intriguers. The *supporters* of Mr. Pitt did, however, choose to ascribe it to another cause; and for proof that they had the baseness to impute the blame to his Majesty, in order to shift it from the shoulders of their leader and remunerater, I shall now quote a passage from the Oracle newspaper, well-known to be, at that time, under the immediate controul of the UPSTART. There are two extracts; the first of the 9th, and the second of the 11th of May, 1804. They are worthy of great attention, and with such attention I hope they will be read.——

"There appears no reason to doubt that "Mr. Pitt, following the dictates of his "own enlarged understanding, and acting "in conformity to what we may confidently assert to be the unanimous wish of the "country, represented to his Majesty that "the circumstances and situation of public "affairs imperiously required a strong, "comprehensive, and united administration; and he is reported to have declared, "that, for this important purpose, he was "himself ready and desirous to obliterate "all recollection of former differences; "and that he was persuaded of the existence of a similar disposition on the part of "all those other persons of rank, influence, "and talent, who share with him the confidence of the public. *His representations* "on this subject are *unfortunately* supposed "*to have been ineffectual.* The permission "to communicate with Mr. Fox on this sub-

" ject, is said to have been *peremptorily and* " *finally refused;* and the natural conse- " quence of this refusal is understood to " have been, that part of the members of " what has been called the New Opposition, " have, on being invited to take a share in " the arrangements now pending, expressed " the utter impossibility of their acceding " to such an exclusive system, after having " openly pledged their opinions, both by " their language and conduct, to the neces- " sity of looking to the most comprehensive " plan for a new administration. In this " situation the business is now reported to " rest; the rumours which were floating in " the course of yesterday, pointed towards " arrangements of a description so contract- " ed, inadequate, and humiliating to the " country, that we are unwilling even to " detail them. Should they be realized, we " shall think it our duty to call the atten- " tion of the public, in the most serious " manner, to the *shame* and *danger* " which the country must sustain, from " seeing its first situations of trust still " doomed to be filled by a succession of un- " derlings, while the first talents of the " country are proscribed and excluded: but " we look with more satisfaction to the be- " lief which generally prevailed in the course " of the afternoon; that Mr. Pitt, *disdain-* " *ing* to employ in such situations any of " the members of the *Doctor's administra-* " *tion,* whose incapacity, both collectively " and individually, was not ten days ago the " object of *his bitterest sarcasm, irony, and* " *invective,* and finding it hopeless to col- " lect new recruits for so desperate an ex- " pedition, has thought it his duty to repre- " sent, in the highest quarter, this plain " truth; that however desirous he may be " to execute the wishes and obey the com- " mands he has received, he finds it impos- " sible any longer to contend against his " own conviction, backed by the *unanimous* " *sense* of a loyal, but a free and united " *people,* and must therefore recur to the " same proposition which he originally sub- " mitted, as indispensable in the present " moment."—Two days afterwards, when it was found, that Mr. Pitt had, in spite of all this, resolved to make up a ministry of, and to enter the cabinet with a far greater part of the very men, here so reprobated, whom he himself had, a few days before, so severely lashed, whom he had represented as the most weak and incapable of creatures, and with the *whole* of whom he, in less than six months afterwards, sought for and made a junction; when it was found, that this resolution had been taken, a resolution so abhorrent to the feelings of the people and so evidently calculated to produce those fatal effects which it has produced; when it was found, that this resolution was taken, the following justification was set up for Mr. Pitt, throwing, as the reader will see, the whole of the blame upon the King. ——" We do not pretend to state all that " has passed in the several written commu- " nications and personal interviews which " Mr. Pitt has had with his Majesty upon " this subject; but from the superior sources " of information which we possess, we have " no hesitation in assuring the public, that " *every possible exertion was made, both in* " *the one and in the other, to induce his* " *Majesty to confer on Mr. Fox a place of* " *the highest trust and importance in the* " *new cabinet*; and that Mr. Pitt persisted " in his endeavours for the attainment of " this desirable object *till the royal negative* " *was given in such a manner as left neither* " *room for, nor hope of, success by any far-* " *ther perseverance.* We shall not presume " to surmise the grounds on which his Ma- " jesty was induced to exercise this, the un- " doubted prerogative of his crown, how- " ever much we may *regret the use that* " *has been made of it in this instance*; it is " a subject upon which our respect for the " constitution, and our loyalty for the King, " equally preclude all discussion."—— What, then, must this abused and cajoled nation think of all this, when they are informed, when, indeed, they know, that His Majesty was acquainted by Lord Grenville, on Monday last, that the first person he should consult with, as one, not only, in part, to compose, but one to act in the selection and formation, of a new administration, was Mr. Fox, that very Mr. Fox whom all Mr. Pitt's persuasions could not prevail upon His Majesty to think of for a single moment? Not only were Mr. Pitt's strenuous exertions thus urged in his defence in the newspapers and other publications of the day; but, they were so urged, both in and out of parliament, by all the close adherents of Mr. Pitt, all those who, excluding the Addingtons, were looked upon as the repositories of his sentiments. The natural and necessary conclusion, is, that the assertions, upon which this defence was grounded, were false; and that the object of making them, was, to screen Mr. Pitt from the imputation of grovelling ambition and of a submission to low intriguers; and that, too, observe, at the expence of the reputation of their Sovereign; than which, most assuredly, nothing ever heard of in the world was, or could be, more base or more detestable,

——That nothing of this sort will now be attempted I am confident, and, if it were, it certainly would not succeed; no, not even for a single month. The nation is not again to be duped in that way. It would look with abhorrence upon the attempt at such a juggle; or, which is still worse, it would entirely give way to that feeling of indifference, which has long been creeping over it, and which, of all possible feelings, is the best calculated to insure and accelerate our destruction as an independent people. Let us, however, hope for better things; let us hope, that there is now forming, and that we shall soon enjoy the benefit of, an administration, including all the distinguished men in the country, all the weight, whether of rank or of talent, that the nation possesses. Let us hope, that, after this long, long night of ignorance, of jostling selfishness, of serpentine intrigue, of crawling sycophancy, and of miring corruption, the dawn of knowledge, of talent, of public spirit, and of integrity is approaching. If so, and, surely, we have good reason to hope that this is the case, we may safely rely upon the spirit of the people. That spirit is not dead: it is only dormant; it only wants to be rouzed; but, as was before observed, this is not to be done by rabble-rouzing words. The threats of invasion, and other, *all* other terrors, will now be of no avail. The people have "supped of terrors." foreign as well as domestic. They want nothing to terrify them. They want something to confide in; something to cheer them; something that shall present itself to them as a fair foundation for hoping that they will, at some time or other, be restored to their former state of happiness at home, and of renown in the world; something that shall make them love their country as Englishmen were wont to love it; something that shall make them think it an honour to arm and to defend it. They want to *feel* the beneficent effects of the acts of the government; they stand in need of the impression to be produced only by great and striking measures; and to adopt such measures, with a fair prospect of success, will demand an exertion of *legitimate influence* to be hoped for only from the union of all those public men, who have distinguished themselves as the enemies of corruption and of corrupt rulers. Upon this last score it is, that the people (without whose *hearts*, let men say and think what they will, the *nation* cannot be saved) feel most sensibly; and, it must have been evident to every tolerably accurate observer, that, by his tortuous measures to protect peculators, Mr. Pitt lost more of the public confidence than by all his other measures and tricks put together. If, therefore, the new ministers shall set their faces against all measures of this sort; and, if, as I trust will be the case, they should resolve to institute an inquiry into the corruptions of the last twenty years, if they should do this, they need fear neither the "blood-suckers" voices, nor the arms of the French. But, if they do not something, at least, in this way, all their other measures will be useless. They will inspire no confidence; and, truth to say, they ought not to inspire any confidence. To a change, a great change, in this respect, I have always looked forward as the natural consequence of the overthrow of the Pitt system of rule; and, if no such change take place, not only shall I be cruelly dissappointed and mortified, but, though, I trust, I never shall despair of my country, I shall be compelled to transfer my hopes from the present to a future day; for, as to going on in the corrupt path of the last twenty years, I should hate myself if I did not recoil with horror at the prospect.

DEATH OF LORD CORNWALLIS.——The official account of this nobleman's death will be found, in another page of this sheet, as recorded in the Calcutta Gazette. The sovereigns of Leadenhall Street have, it seems, decreed him the honours of the tomb; and, this they have done with a haste that seems to indicate a fear, that the Sovereign at St. James's might be called upon to anticipate them. After the resolution with regard to the memory of Mr. Pitt, there was, indeed, very good reason for this fear, especially when we recollect, that, in his capacity of soldier, it fell to the lot of Lord Cornwallis to surrender the last English flag that was hoisted in America, and that, in his capacity of negociator, he signed the treaty, whereby was surrendered the honour of the English flag in the European seas.——Amongst the tawny slaves of India, he has, it is said, been more fortunate, whence we are naturally led to wish, that India had always been the theatre of his exploits; though we may, I think, entertain some small degree of hope, that our *true* interests in that country, will not be likely to suffer much, especially if they are committed to the hands of one of those men, who have uniformly been the enemies of Indian peculation and plunder; and that such a man will be chosen there can be no doubt; for, both Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville, and, indeed, every other member of the intended administration, have sufficiently discovered their abhorrence of all proceedings, resembling those to which I allude. The Pitt system

grew out of the concerns of India. It germinated in, and was cherished by, that hotbed of corruption. Into that parliament, which succeeded the cashiered parliament, and which gave the system of Pitt and Dundas time to worm itself into the vitals of the country, Paul Benfield, having previously received a boon of half a million in the memorable transaction relative to the Nabob of Arcot's debts, bought *seven members*, besides his righteous self, to vote in support of the great *reformer* of parliament! By the same, or similar, means, the system has been supported, until it has brought us, as was foretold at the time, to the state in which we now are, but from the further effects of which system, let us hope, we are now to be rescued. Let us hope, that the new ministers will not only *support*, with all their might, every just accusation that may be preferred, in parliament or out of it, against Indian delinquents, but, that they themselves will be the first to prefer such accusations. There must, I again repeat it, be no flinching; no partiality; no endeavour to smother the demands of justice; for, if there be, this ministry will be no better than the last; the people will think, and not without reason, that all public men are alike; that they have one set of principles for place, and another set for opposition; and thus will all confidence in the whole of the present race of public men be for ever destroyed.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.——It was my intention, as before expressed, to have continued that subject in the present sheet; but, those upon which I have been making some remarks appeared to me more immediately important. *The fate of the Funds* is, however, a subject always important; and not at all the less so on account of the praise, which one of the most, if not the most, considerable person of the intended ministry has, in his speech upon the subject of honours to Mr. Pitt, bestowed upon the *sinking fund*. Mr. Fox did, indeed qualify his praise of that measure; and, I hope, his approbation never extended to the *paying off*, as it is called, with one hand, at the very moment that we are *making loans* with the other. But, be Mr. Fox's opinions upon this subject what they may, I am convinced that the funding-system is the very worst part of the Pitt system of rule; I am convinced, that the nation must destroy the debt, or that the debt will destroy the nation; and thus convinced, I can never keep silence upon this head, nor can I from any motives whatever, be induced to slacken my efforts for accomplishing the great object, which I have, and which I think all men ought to have, constantly in view. Mr. Fox will *now* have an opportunity of knowing more of the "blood-suckers" than he has hitherto known; and, I think, we may safely predict that his good opinion will not be much heightened by the acquaintance.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Speech addressed by the Batavian General Bruce to the Emperor Napoleon at Schoenbrunn, Nov. 15, on presenting the congratulatory Letter from his Excellency the Grand Pensionary of Holland: for which see p. 952. Vol. VIII.

SIRE,——In remitting to your Majesty the letter with which the grand pensionary, my brother-in-law, has done me the honour to charge me, I esteem myself happy in being the interpreter to your Majesty, of the sentiments excited in him by the astonishing success obtained by the arms of your Majesty. The grand pensionary has particularly charged me, Sire, to expose to you, that having had an opportunity of observing with his own eyes, the crooked and perfidious policy of England, he has been less surprised than perhaps any person to see that that government would not rest without having once more raised a part of the Continent against your Majesty and your allies. Before his departure from London, he knew that, in breaking the treaty of Amiens, a continental war entered deeply into the calculations of the British ministry.——Experience has proved, Sire, that the grand pensionary was not deceived in his expectations; but he was still less deceived in his conviction, that the genius of your Majesty would overcome the plots hatched by a tortuous policy. The result of your new exploits not only justify, but even surpass that conviction; and your Majesty has again given to Europe a brilliant proof that you always know how to frustrate the hopes and projects of your enemies, and to realize the hopes of your allies. The grand pensionary charges me, Sire, to beg of you to accept his felicitations on the most glorious results which have signalized the military annals of ancient or modern times. He begs of you to accept his wishes, that a prompt and solid peace, which your Majesty will give to Europe, may be the fruit of your vast conceptions, and that your Majesty, after having spread through the hearts of your enemies the terror of your arms, may make known to Europe, that you also know how to maintain her in peace. He finally charges me to express to you, Sire, how much the paternal solicitude which animates your Majesty to-

wards his country fills him with the most perfect confidence, that at the epoch of that wished-for peace, your Majesty may reserve for Batavia the destinies that the most loyal and most faithful people should expect from the most powerful and most magnanimous ally. (Signed) J. J. Bruce. Major-Gen. and Gov. of the Hague.

From the Batavian State Gazette.

Hague, Dec. 12.——Yesterday, late in the evening, government received, by an extraordinary courier from Vienna, the important and agreeable intelligence of a decisive battle, gained by the French army in Moravia. All the particulars relative to this event, as yet officially known, are contained in the following, published here upon the parade, as the

Order of the Day.

The major-general and governor has again the peculiar pleasure to inform the troops and the garrison of this residence, that the great battle which was expected between Brunn and Olmutz, has been fought.—The Emperor Napoleon had been collecting his troops for some days, and they had been under arms all night, till the 2d, when both armies met, with their respective Emperors at their head. The French army has triumphed; they have beaten the enemy on all sides; and, by a particular accident, the Russian imperial guard found itself directly opposed to that of the French Emperor. From noon till four o'clock, both these corps fought with the greatest fury. The Russian guard is totally annihilated; almost all the officers are killed, and their commander is a prisoner.—The enemy, continually flying, is warmly pursued; the cavalry is close upon his heels, and will know, as they have done by the Austrians, how to give a good account of him. (Signed) S. J. Bruce, The Major-General and Governor.

The same information has been communicated to the War Department by General Dumonceau. To-morrow an Extraordinary States Courant will be published.

From the Batavian State Gazette Extraordinary of the 18th of Dec.

The intelligence of the great victory obtained on the 2d of this month by the French army in Moravia [See the last State Gazette] was brought by a courier from the headquarters to the Minister Talleyrand at Vienna, whence it was dispatched on the 3d, by extraordinary couriers, to other places, and also to our government in particular. We had hoped that, in one way or another, we should have been enabled to insert, in this Extraordinary Gazette, some farther information respecting this glorious and decisive battle: and, in case the French post, which should arrive this afternoon, brings any accounts, we shall forthwith communicate their substance, in our 4th page, so far as the pressure of time may render such a communication practicable.

Proclamation issued by the Emperor Napoleon, on the night of the battle of Austerlitz,—dated, Head-quarters, Dec. 2, ten o'clock at night.

'Soldiers of the Grand Army! Even at this hour—before this great day shall pass away, and be lost in the ocean of eternity, your Emperor must address you, and express how much he is satisfied with the conduct of all those who have had the good fortune to combat in this memorable battle.—Soldiers! you are the first warriors in the world. The recollection of this day, and of your deeds, will be eternal! Thousands of ages hereafter —so long as the events of the Universe con-tinue to be related—will it be told that a Russian army of seventy-six thousand men, hired by the gold of England, was annihilated by you on the plains of Olmutz. The miserable remains of that army, upon which the commercial spirit of a despicable nation had placed its last hope, are in flight, and hasten to make known to the savage inhabitants of the North what the French are capable of performing; they will likewise tell them, that after having destroyed the Austrian Army at Ulm, you said to Vienna, 'that army is no more!' To Petersburgh you shall also say, 'the Emperor Alexander has no longer an army.'—Soldiers of the Grand Army! Four months have not elapsed since your Emperor spoke thus to you at Boulogne:—'We march to dissolve a coalition formed by the gold and intrigues of England:' And the result has been the overthrow of 300,000 soldiers, and of two great Monarchies.—Soldiers! you are worthy of immortality.—What will your relatives, what will every Frenchman say? They can never cease to contemplate you with emotions of affection and admiration.—And when your work is completed, when you return to your own fire-sides, your families—all France will exclaim—"These are our brethren, the heroes of "Olmutz, who, out of an army of 76,000 "men, made 10,000 prisoners, took 140 "pieces of cannon, and left 26,000 men "dead on the field." Napoleon.

Austria and France.——*Treaty of Peace between the Emperor of Germany and*

Austria and the Emperor of the French. Done and signed at Presburgh, December 26, 1805.

His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, equally animated with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have resolved to proceed without delay to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace, and have in consequence named as plenipotentaries, to wit:—His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, the Prince John of Lichtenstein, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, Grand Cross of the Military Order of Maria Teresa, Chamberlain, Lieutenant-General of the armies of his said Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, and proprietor of a regiment of hussars; and Count Ignaz de Guylai, Commander of the Military Order of Maria Teresa, Chamberlain of his said Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, Lieut. Gen. of his armies, and proprietor of a regiment of infantry; and his Majesty the Emperor of France, King of Italy, Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, Grand Chamberlain, Minister of the Foreign Relations of his said Majesty the Emperor of France and King of Italy, Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour, and Knight of the Red and the Black Eagle of Prussia; who having exchanged their full powers, have agreed as follows: Art. I. There shall be from the date of this day peace and friendship between his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, their heirs and successors, their states and subjects respectively, for ever.——II. France shall continue to possess in property and sovereignty the duchies, principalities, lordships, and territories beyond the Alps, which were before the present treaty united and incorporated with the French empire, or governed by the laws and government of France.—III. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, for himself, his heirs, and successors, recognizes the dispositions made by his Majesty the Emperor of France, King of Italy, relative to the principalities of Lucca and Piombino.—IV. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria renounces, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, that part of the states of the republic of Venice, ceded to him by the treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville, shall be united in perpetuity to the Kingdom of Italy.—V. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria acknowledges his Majesty the Emperor of the French as King of Italy; but it is agreed that, in conformity with the declaration made by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, at the moment when he took the crown of Italy, that as soon as the parties named in that declaration shall have fulfilled the conditions therein expressed, the crowns of France and Italy shall be separated for ever, and cannot in any case be united on the same head. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany binds himself to acknowledge, on the separation, the successor his Majesty the Emperor of the French shall appoint to himself as King of Italy.——VI. The present treaty of peace is declared to comprehend their most Serene Highnesses the Electors of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Baden, and the Batavian republic, allies of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, in the present war.—VII. The Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg having taken the title of King, without ceasing nevertheless to belong to the Germanic confederation, his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria acknowledges them in that character.——VIII. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, as well for himself, his heirs, and successors, as for the princes of his house, their heirs and successors respectively, renounces the principalities, lordships, domains, and territories, hereinafter specified: Cedes and abandons to his Majesty the King of Bavaria the Margraviate of Burgau and its dependencies, the Principality of Eichstadt, the part of the territory of Passau belonging to the Elector of Salzburg, and situated between Bohemia, Austria, the Danube, and the Inn; the country of Tyrol, comprehending therein the Principalities of Brixen and Botzen, the seven Lordships of the Voralberg, with their detached dependencies, the county of Hohenems, the county of Konigsegg, Rottensels, the Lordships of Tetnany and Argen, and the town and territory of Lindau.——To his Majesty the King of Wirtemberg, the five cities of the Danube, to wit. Ehingen, Munderkengen, Rudlingen, Mengen, and Sulgaw, with their dependencies, the city of Constance excepted, that part of the Brisgaw which extends in the possessions of Wirtemburg, and situated to the East of a line, drawn from Schlegelberg to Molbach, and the towns and territories of Willengen and Brentingen, to his most Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, the Brisgaw (with the exception of the branch and separate portions above described), the Ortenaw and their dependencies, the city of Constance, and the commanding of Meinau.—The principalities, lordships, domains, and territories above

mentioned, shall be possessed respectively by their Majesties, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and by his most Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, as well in paramount as in full property and sovereignty, in the same manner, by the same titles, and with the same rights and prerogatives, with which they were possessed by his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, or the princes of his house, and not otherwise. —IX. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, acknowledges the debts contracted by the House of Austria, for the benefit of private persons and public establishments of the country, making at present an integrant part of the French empire; and it is agreed that his said Majesty shall remain free from all obligation, with respect to any debts whatsoever which the House of Austria may have contracted, on the ground of the possession, and of securities on the soil of the countries which it renounces by the present treaty.—X. The county of Salzburg, and of Berchtolsgaden, belonging to his Royal and Electoral Highness Prince Ferdinand, shall be incorporated with the Empire of Austria; and his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria shall possess them in full property and sovereignty, but by the title of a Duchy only.—XI. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, engages himself to obtain, in favour of the Archduke Ferdinand, Elector of Salzburgh, the cession, by his Majesty the King of Bavaria, of the Principality of Wurtzburg, such as it has been given to his said Majesty by the recess of the deputation of the Germanic Empire, of the 25th Feb. 1803.—The Electoral title of his R. H. shall be transferred to this principality, which his R. H. shall possess in full property and sovereignty, in the same manner and on the same conditions that he possessed the Electorate of Salzburgh. And with respect to debts, it is agreed, that the new possessor shall stand charged only with those debts resulting from loans formally agreed to by the states of the country, or the expences incurred for the effective administration of the said country.—XII. The dignity of Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, its rights, domains, and revenues, which before the present war were dependencies of Mergentheim, the chief place of the order; the other rights, domains, and revenues, which shall be found to belong to the grand mastership at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; as well as the domains and revenues in possession of which the said order shall be, at the same epoch, shall become hereditary in the person and descendants in the direct male line, according to the order of primogeniture, in which ever of the Princes of the Imperial House, as shall be appointed by his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon promises his good offices to obtain, as soon as possible, for his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand a full and entire indemnity in Germany.——His Majesty the Elector of Bavaria shall occupy the city of Augsburg and its territory, and unite them to his states, in full property and sovereignty. In the same manner the King of Wirtemberg may occupy, unite to his states, and possess in full property and sovereignty the county of Borndorff: and his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria engages himself to give no opposition. ——XIV. Their Majesties the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and his most Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, shall enjoy over the territories ceded, as well as over their ancient estates, the plenitude of sovereignty, and all the rights resulting from it, which have been guaranteed to them by his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, in the same manner as his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, over their German States. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, both as chief of the empire, and as co-estates, engages himself not to oppose any obstacle to the execution of the acts which they may have made, or will make, in consequence.——XV. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, as well for himself, his heirs, and successors, as for the princes of his house, their heirs and successors, renounces all the rights, as well of sovereignty, as of paramount right to all pretensions whatsoever, actual or eventual, on all the states, without exception, of their Majesties, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and of his most Serene Highness the Elector of Baden, and generally on all the states, domains, and territories, comprized in the circles of Bavaria, Franconia, and Suabia, as well as to every title, taken from the said domains and territories: and reciprocally, all pretentions, actual or eventual, of the said states, to the charge of the House of Austria, or its princes are, and shall be, for ever extinguished: nevertheless, the renunciations, contained in the present article, do not concern the properties, which are by the 11th art. or which shall be, by virtue of the 12th article above, conceded to their Royal Highnesses the Archdukes, named in the said articles.—— XVI. The titles of the domains and archives, the plans and maps of the different

countries, towns, and fortresses, ceded by the present treaty, shall be given up in the space of three months from the date of the exchange of the ratifications, to the persons that shall have acquired the property of them.——XVII. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon guarantees the integrity of the Empire of Austria in the state in which it shall be in consequence of the present treaty of peace; as well as the integrity of the possessions of the Princes of the House of Austria, pointed out in the 11th and 12th articles.—XVIII. The high contracting parties acknowledge the independence of the Helvetic republic, as established by the act of mediation, as well as the independence of the Batavian republic.—XIX. The prisoners of war made by France and her allies, from Austria, and by Austria from France and her allies, and who have not been yet restored, shall be restored within 40 days from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.—XX. All commercial communications and relations are re-established in the two countries on the same footing as before the war.—XXI. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany and Austria, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, shall maintain between them the same ceremonial as to rank and etiquette as was observed before the present war.——XXII. Within five days from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the town of Presburg, and its environs, to the extent of six leagues, shall be evacuated. Ten days after the said exchange, the French and the troops of the allies of France, shall evacuate Moravia, Bohemia, the Viertel Unter Vienner Wald, the Viertel Unter Manhartsber, Hungary, and the whole of Styria. In the ten following days they shall evacuate the Viertel Vienner Wald, and the Viertel Ober Manhartsberg; and finally, in the space of two months from the exchange of the ratifications, the French troops, and the troops of the allies of France, shall evacuate the whole of the hereditary states of his Majesty the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, with the exception of the place of Brannau, which shall remain for one month at the disposal of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, as a place of deport for the sick and for the artillery.—No requisition, of whatever nature, shall be made of the inhabitants during that month. But it is agreed that at the expiration of the said month, no corps whatever of Austrian troops can be stationed or introduced within a circuit of six leagues around the said place of Brannau. It is in like manner agreed, that each of the places which are to be successively evacuated by the French troops, within the times above mentioned, shall not be taken posseesion of by the Austrian troops till eight and forty hours after the evacution. It is also agreed, that the magazines left by the French army, in the places which they shall successively evacuate, shall remain at its disposal; and that the high contracting parties shall make an arrangement relative to all contributions of war whatsoever imposed on the different hereditary states occupied by the French army, an arrangement in virtue of which, the raising of the said contributions shall entirely cease from the day of the exchange of the ratifications. The French army shall draw its provisions and its sustenance from its own magazines, established on the routes by which it is to proceed.—XXIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, commissaries shall be named on both sides to give up and to receive in the names of their respective sovereigns all parts of the Venetian territory, not occupied by the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy. The city of Venice, the Langues, and the possessions of Terra Firma shall be given up in the space of fifteen days; Venetian Istria, and Dalmatia, the Mouths of the Cattaro, the Venetian Isles in the Adriatic, and all the places and forts which they contain, in the space of six weeks from the exchange of the ratifications. The respective commissaries will take care that the separation of the artillery belonging to the republic of Venice from the Austrian artillery be exactly made, the former being to remain entirely to the kingdom of Italy. They will determine by a mutual agreement the kind and nature of the objects, which being the property of the Emperor of Germany and of Austria, are consequently to remain at his disposal. They will agree either on the sale to the kingdom of Italy, of the objects above mentioned, or ther exchange for an equivalent quantity of artillery, or other objects of the same, or a different nature, which shall have been left by the French armies in the Hereditary States.—Every facility and every assistance shall be given to the Austrian troops, and to the civil and military administrations, to return into the Austrian States by the most convenient and sure ways, as well as to the conveyance of the imperial artillery, the naval and military magazines, and other objects which are not comprehended in the stipulations of sale or exchange which may be made.——XXIV. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within the space of eight days,

or sooner if possible.—Done and signed at Presburgh the 25th of December, 1805.—— (Signed) Ch. Maur. Talleyrand. (L.S.) John, Prince of Lichtenstein. L. S.)—(Signed) Ignaz, Count De Guylai.

We have approved, and do approve, the above treaty, in all and each of its articles therein contained; we declare, that it is accepted, ratified, and confirmed; and we promise, that it shall be inviolably observed. In faith of which, we have given these presents, signed with our hand, counter-signed, and sealed with our Imperial Seal. At the Palace of Schoenbrunn, 27th December, 1805. By the Emperor Napoleon. The Minister Sec. of State, H B. Maret. The Minister of Foreign Relations, Ch. Maur. Talleyrand.

Continental War ——*Proclamation of the Emperor Napoleon previous to his Departure from Schoenbrunn, dated December 27, 1806.*

Soldiers,—Peace between me and the Emperor of Austria is signed. You have, in this late season of the year, made two campaigns. You have performed every thing I expected from you. I am setting out to return to my capital. I have promoted and distributed rewards to those who have distinguished themselves most. I will perform to you every thing I have promised. You have seen that your Emperor has shared with you all dangers and fatigues; you shall likewise see him surrounded with all that grandeur and splendour, which becomes the Sovereign of the first nation in the world. In the beginning of the month of May, I will give a grand festival at Paris; you shall all be there; and we shall then see, whether we are called by the happiness of our country, and the interest of our glory.—Soldiers, during the three months which are necessary for your return to France, be the example of all armies; you have now to give examples, not of courage and intrepidity, but of strict discipline. May my allies have no more to complain of your behaviour. Conduct yourselves, on your arrival in that sacred territory, like children in the bosom of their family; my people will conduct themselves towards you, as they must do towards their heroes and their defenders.—Soldiers, the thought that I shall see you all, in less than half a year, assembled round my palace, is pleasing to my heart; and I feel, before hand, the most delightful emotions. We will celebrate the memory of those who, in these two campaigns, have fallen in the field of honour. The world shall see that we are ready to follow their example; and, if necessary, to do still more than we have done against those who attack our honour, or suffer themselves to be misled by the gold of the eternal enemy of the Continent. (Signed) Napoleon.

Proclamation of the Emperor Napoleon to the Inhabitants of Vienna; dated Schoenbrunn, December 27, 1806.

Inhabitants of Vienna!—I have signed a peace with the Emperor of Austria. As I am about to return to my capital, I must express to you the esteem I entertain for you, and the satisfaction I have felt at your conduct, during the time you were under my laws. I have given you an example, which hitherto has had no parallel in the history of nations; ten thousand men of your national guards have remained armed, and have guarded your gates; your whole arsenal has continued in your power, while I have followed the uncertain fortune of war. I have trusted to your honour, your sincerity, your integrity, and you have justified my confidence.—Inhabitants of Vienna, I know that you consider that war as blameable, which a minister, devoted to a foreign power, has kindled on the Continent. Your Sovereign is informed of the conduct of that minister; he has, in consequence, acted entirely according to the great qualities which distinguish him; and I hope, that hereafter, happier days will arise for you, and for the Continent.——Inhabitants of Vienna, I have shewn myself little among you, not from contempt, or vain pride; no, but not to diminish the feelings of esteem for that Monarch, with whom I was desirous to conclude a speedy peace. As I am now about to leave you, receive from me, as a present, your arsenal, untouched, which, by the laws of war, had become my property; make use of it, for the maintenance of good order.—All the evils you have suffered, you must ascribe to the calamities, inseparable from war; and every kind of indulgence with which my armies have treated these countries, to the esteem which you have deserved.

(Signed) Napoleon.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

France.——*Speech of the Arch Chancellor of the French Empire at the Sitting of the Senate, January 14, 1806.*

Gentlemen;—If the Prince Grand Elector were still among us, you would have received from his hands the communication which his Majesty the Emperor and King orders me to make to you. The letter his Majesty addresses to the senate has for its object, to inform you of two impor-

tant transactions: one, the marriage of the Prince Eugene with the Princess Augusta, daughter of his Majesty the King of Bavaria: the other is, the treaty of peace with the Emperor of Austria, concluded at Presburgh on the 26th of Dec. 1805, and ratified the next day at the Palace of Schoenbrun, near Vienna. In communicating to you the articles of which it consists, his Majesty satisfies, at the same time, the desire he feels to commune with you on all the great interests of the state, and his desire of accelerating the publication of this act, which our constitutional laws require that you should be informed the first. You will see, gentlemen, in the establishment of the Prince Eugene, a new testimony of the tenderness of his Majesty for him, who justifies so well the fine title his Majesty conferred on him, by naming him the Child of his adoption. Happy Prince, who, called so young to the administration of a great state, has known how to render himself equal to that difficult task, and to shew himself day after day more worthy to imitate the glorious examples in which his youth has been nourished, and will preserve the goodness, the inheritance of which his august mother has transmitted to him. This marriage manifests how much the Emperor values the good faith of the ancient House of Bavaria, whose attachment to France has never belied itself in any of the epochs of our monarchy; and how much his Majesty is affected by the courage, and devotion of which the Bavarian nation and its illustrious chief, have given him proofs at the hazard of their dearest interests. As to the treaty of peace, each of the conditions it contains, offers new grounds for admiring the magnanimity of Napoleon the Great, who, forced to take arms, has sought no other fruit from his victories, but the glory of laying the foundation of the repose of Europe, by honouring the fidelity of his allies. Your well founded impatience counts with regret the moments, that intervene between you and that, which will restore to us the presence of our Monarch. Be persuaded, gentlemen, that he also feels the desire of being restored to the love of his people. But the picture of the happiness he has made, was an enjoyment too worthy of his heart, to allow him to refuse himself a last look, which increases their happiness, and insures its duration. I place, gentlemen, in the hands of the president, the letter of his Majesty the Emperor and King, and a copy, by express, of the treaty of peace ratified, and I demand a registry of this consignment.

Letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the French Senate, relative to the Marriage of Prince Eugene with the Princess Augusta of Bavaria.

Senators;—Peace has been concluded at Presburgh, and ratified at Vienna, between me and the Emperor of Austria. It was my wish at a solemn sitting to inform you myself of the conditions, but having, some time since, agreed with the King of Bavaria on the marriage of my son Prince Eugene with the Princess Augusta, his daughter, and being at Munich at the moment the celebration of the marriage is about to take place, I cannot resist the pleasure of remaining with the young couple, who are models of their sexes. I am besides desirous of giving to the Royal House of Bavaria, and to the brave Bavarian nation, who have rendered me so many services, and have shewn me so much friendship, and whose ancestors were constantly united in policy and in disposition with France, this proof of my consideration and my particular esteem.——The marriage is to take place on the 15th of January. My arrival in the midst of my people will thus be retarded for some days. These days will appear long to my heart, but after having been unceasingly occupied in the duties of a soldier, I experience a tender relaxation in occupying myself with the business and the duties of a father of a family.—Not wishing, however, to delay longer the publication of the treaty of peace, I have ordered, in pursuance of our constitutional states, that it should be communicated to you without delay, in order that it may be published as a law of the empire. Done at Munich, the 6th of Jan. 1806. By the Emperor, NAPOLEON. The Minister Secretary of State, H. B. MARET.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Proclamation for a General Fast; from the London Gazette, Jan. 21, 1806.

GEORGE R.—We, taking into our most serious consideration the just and necessary war in which we are engaged, and putting our trust in Almighty God, that he will graciously bless our arms both by sea and land, have resolved, and do, by and with the advice of our privy council, hereby command, that a public day of fasting and humiliation be observed throughout those parts of our United Kingdom called England and Ireland, on Wednesday the 26th day of February next ensuing, that so both we and our people may humble ourselves before Al-

mighty God, in order to obtain pardon of our sins, and in the most devout and solemn manner send up our prayers and supplications to the Divine Majesty, for averting those heavy judgments which our manifold provocations have most justly deserved; and for imploring his blessing and assistance on our arms for the restoration of peace, and prosperity to us and our dominions: and we do strictly charge and command, that the said public fast be reverently and devoutly observed by all our loving subjects in England and Ireland, as they tender the favour of Almighty God, and would avoid his wrath and indignation; and upon pain of such punishment as we may justly inflict on all such as contemn and neglect the performance of so religious and necessary a duty: and for the better and more orderly solemnising the same, we have given directions to the Most Reverend the Archbishops, and the Right Reverend the Bishops of England and Ireland, to compose a form of prayer suitable to this occasion, to be used in all churches, chapels, and places of public worship, and to take care that the same be timely dispersed throughout their respective dioceses —— Given at our Court at the Queen's Palace, this 20th day of January, 1806, in the 46th year of our reign. God save the King. [This Gazette also contains a proclamation for a general fast in Scotland, on the 27th February.]

Berkshire Petition. On the 23d of January, a petition of the gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Berks, assembled at the Town Hall, at Reading, on Wednesday the 15th of January 1806, was presented to the House of Commons; setting forth, "that the petitioners, finding that, in pursuance of an act passed in the 44th year of his Majesty's reign, intituled, "An Act for establishing and maintaining a permanent Additional Force for the Defence of the Realm, and to provide for augmenting his Majesty's Regular Forces, and for the gradual reduction of the Militia of England," eleven men only have been raised in the said county by the overseers, and the enormous sum of £6,620 has been imposed upon the county for penalties, beg to represent their opinion, that this failure in raising the men has not been owing to the neglect of the overseers, but to an impossibility of procuring them by men whose duties and occupations are inconsistent with such an employment; and they conceive that levying fines upon parishes, because the overseers fail in doing what is not in their power to do, is inconsistent with justice, operates as a partial and oppressive tax upon the occupiers of landed property, and increases the parish rates, which are already a burthen severely felt, particularly by small farmers and inferior tradesmen; and therefore praying, that the said act may be repealed."

Death of Marquis Cornwallis.—*Extract from the Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary, dated Fort William, October* 12, 1805.

With sentiments of the deepest sorrow and regret, the government announces the decease of the Most Hon. Charles Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Governor General of the East India Company's Possessions, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's, and the Honourable Company's land forces in the East Indies. This afflicting and greatly to be deplored event, took place on Saturday the 5th instant, at Ghazepore, in the province of Benares, where his lordship had arrived, in his progress to join and to assume the personal command of the army in the field: as well for the purpose of accomplishing other important objects intimately connected with the interests of the state.—The flag of Fort William to be immediately hoisted half staff high, and to continue so until sunset.—Minute guns, 66 in number, corresponding with the age of the deceased, to be fired from the ramparts of Fort William.—Similar marks of respect, with the solemnities suitable to the mournful occasion, to be paid to the memory of Marquis Cornwallis, at all the principal military stations and posts dependant upon this presidency; and copies of the preceding orders to be transmitted to the government of Fort St. George, Bombay, and Prince of Wales Island, and also to the government of the British possessions on the Island of Ceylon. By order of government, J. Lumsden, Chief Sec. to the Govt.

Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates.

No. 128 of the Parliamentary Debates, being the First Number of the Sixth Volume, and of the Present Session, will be ready for delivery on Wednesday the 5th inst. and may be had of the publishers, Mr. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden; or Mr. Budd, Pall-Mall.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX. No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" If a new ministry should grow out of this, the first thing they should do, is, to make an inquiry, a " solemn inquiry, into the state of the nation; and next, in a concise and striking statement to promulgate, " in a way calculated to carry it to every cottage in the kingdom, the result of such inquiry; so that no one " may be ignorant of the difficulties which they will have to encounter; for, without this precaution, they " will, in the minds of the people, have to answer for the unavoidable consequences of all the follies and " all the crimes of their predecessors."——POLITICAL REGISTER, 24 Nov. 1804.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NEW MINISTRY.——After some time spent in the removing of certain difficulties with regard to the Duke of York's power over the army, the arrangement of the new cabinet was finally settled on Sunday last, and the persons to compose it are the following:

LORD GRENVILLE, first Lord of the Treasury, and Premier, of course.

MR. FOX, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

EARL SPENCER, Secretary of State for the Home Department.

MR. WINDHAM, Secretary of State for the War Department and for the Colonies.

MR. GREY, First Lord of the Admiralty.

EARL MOIRA, Master General of the Ordnance.

EARL FITZWILLIAM, President of the Council.

LORD VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH, Privy Seal.

MR. ERSKINE, Lord Chancellor.

LORD HENRY PETTY, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH (the Lord Chief Justice) to have a vote in the cabinet.

This is the cabinet. The other appointments are, many of them, not yet actually made; and, it will, therefore, be better to defer giving a list of them, until it can be given with a certainty of correctness.—— Much has been said, in the prints employed by the Pitt ministry, against the principle of *exclusion*, upon which, they assert, the new ministry has been formed, and which has excluded, say they, all " Mr. Pitt's friends." But, when we disapproved of the principle of exclusion, the exclusion of *what* was it that we meant? The exclusion of *great talents* and *great weight of public character*. This was not only what we *meant*, but what we distinctly *expressed*; what we have uniformly expressed; and what has now been strictly adhered to; for, where are the talents, or the weight of public character, to be found amongst the tame and servile followers of Mr. Pitt, or amongst those intriguers, who were at once his masters and his slaves? His masters at St. James's and his slaves at Whitehall? Where are we to look for the proof of talent or of character amongst them? Is it in their measures that we are to seek for it? Is it in the force they have exhibited since their leader's decease? Is it in their acknowledged, their openly-acknowledged, incapacity to carry on the affairs of the state; or in the opinions of the people, which so loudly anticipated that acknowledgment? But, supposing that talent had not been wanting amongst them, Was there nothing else to operate against their participation of power? Were they to act upon the principle of exclusion themselves; to persevere in it to the last possible moment of holding their places; and, when, by no trick whatever, they could hold on another day, were they to say, " come; let us all be " friends; let harmony abound; let there " be *no longer* a principle of exclusion; let " us all be confounded with one another; " and let every man have his share?" Such a pretension was truly worthy of that presumptuous, that upstart, that insolent race, which has, to the disgrace of the country, so long been protected and cherished, while every man of real worth has been treated as an outcast. The rejection, the punishment, however, of those who had themselves hung on to a system of exclusion, is, though perfectly just, and though essentially necessary, by way of example, a consideration of much less weight than that of avoiding every thing that would tarnish the character, that would excite suspicions as to the integrity, of the new cabinet; and, I put it to the reader, what he would have thought of a cabinet, that should have been in part composed, or, that should have admitted into the offices of state out of the cabinet, any, nay any one, of those persons, who, through thick and thin, supported Mr. Pitt in his measures for the screening of Lord Melville? I put it to him, whether he would have expected any thing just or salutary from such a cabinet? Would he have had any confidence in its honour or

its integrity? And, would not the people have been plunged into despair, at seeing, hat, though a change had taken place; hough the men, on whom they had most relied, had come into power; yet, that they were so accompanied as to forbid the hope, that any reformation of the crying abuses would take place? The question of Lord Melville it was, in fact, that produced the change. It was the developement of the transactions in the Treasurer of the Navy's department, together with Mr. Pitt's participation therein, and his *compelled* endeavours to screen Lord Melville; these it was that shook his power to its very foundations, and which would, as he must have clearly foreseen, have completely overset it before the end of the present session of parliament. To say nothing, therefore, upon the want of principle that would have been so glaring in the introduction of any of his supporters into the present ministry, the want of policy would have been such as, at first glance, to excite universal contempt. In fact, there can be no reason urged in favour of the admission of the thorough-paced adherents of Mr. Pitt, that might not, with equal propriety, be urged in favour of admitting Lord Melville himself, who, had it not been for the discoveries of the Tenth Report, would, at this hour, have been the first minister of the crown.——The many important consequences of this great change in the councils of the crown will, day after day, be perceived and felt by the people, and will, there is every reason to hope, be such as will finally restore us to our former state of freedom and happiness, at home, and of security from abroad. If no other good were produced by it; if it were possible that it should come alone, the mere turning of the channels of honours and rewards is a good of no small magnitude. There has, in this respect, been an ungenerous and scandalous monopoly amongst the most base and despicable part of the community. To be known to possess talents, or independence of mind, has been to be marked out as an object of neglect, if not of persecution. Weak and base, but cunning creatures, have long usurped and possessed whatever the public had to bestow upon talents and integrity, whether in church or in state, whether in the law, or in any other of the higher walks of life. A system the first maxim of which was to keep down genius, public-spirit, and independence, must necessarily produce their contraries. The seeds once sown, the harvest could not fail to be abundant. It has been abundant indeed; for, never, in the whole world, was there before seen degeneracy, of every sort, pushed on to such an extent as that which has, until now, prevailed in England. We have submitted to, nay we have silently borne, and have patiently heard justified, oppression such as, merely to have heard it named, would have excited indignation and outrage in those of our fathers who died only twenty years ago. Hundreds of provisions, imposing burdens and restraints upon us, the very least of which would have formerly set the country in a flame, have passed as a mere matter of course; and, if, perchance, any one raised an objection, though but in point of form, he was instantly silenced with a cry of disloyalty or disaffection. Many, very many indeed, of the old land-marks of liberty and of law have, one after another, been gently, imperceptibly, but most effectually, removed; and we have, in numerous instances, been exposed a helpless prey to the greedy upstarts, who have been engendered in, and cherished and protected by, that system of rule, which they repaid by their corrupt support.——But, such, unhappily, have been the consequences of this system; such is our present situation; that, even from a ministry, selected according to the unanimous wish of all the virtuous part of the people, we have no foundation, whereon to build a hope of *speedy* recovery. Much will certainly be done; much has already been done; the bare knowledge of the fact, that an *important change* has taken place, has infused somewhat of spirit into the public mind. But, there is so much to do, in order to bring us back to the state in which we were twenty years ago; which ever way we look, there are so many and such formidable difficulties; and, without measures that would call into action all the hostility of popular cupidity (which, in *my* opinion, ought, nevertheless, to be risked), there is so imperious a necessity for not only continuing, but for adding to, the burdens and the vexations of the people; so large and so terrible is the legacy of troubles left by Mr. Pitt to his successors, that it would be to delude the people to encourage them to hope, that the day of their deliverance is at hand. In looking forward to a change, such as that which has now taken place, and which, without the intervention of the hand of death, I confidently expected to see take place during the present winter, I have always thought, that the very first act of a new ministry should be, to form committees of inquiry in both Houses of Parliament, or a joint-committee of the two Houses, wherein to make, and whence to promulgate, a true statement of the affairs of the country, foreign, colo-

nial, and domestic; and, if this precaution be not taken, to me it seems but too certain, that the neglect will, at no very distant day, become a subject of deep regret, and, perhaps, of the severest mortification. Recollection of the past, especially in times of trouble, is seldom of long duration; and, the duration is the more likely to be short, in proportion as the ideas of the facts are confused. We all now know, and most deeply feel, that our country is in the greatest danger; that, as to our relation with foreign powers, we are covered with disgrace; that our burdens and our humiliations are such as we never before heard of: but, how long will this be remembered? By the people in general how long will this be remembered, under a necessary increase of burdens, and amidst the never-ceasing assertions of the partizans of the Pitt system, that, if their leader had continued alive and in power, the burdens, the sufferings, and the humiliations, now to be apprehended, would not have come upon us? Men conversant in public affairs will not be deceived by such assertions; but, it will require much to prevent this deception from prevailing amongst the great body of the people, plyed, as they will be, with the wailings of the "blood-"suckers," and, to prevent these wailings will demand a continuance of all that mass of corrupt means, by which the present calamities have been produced, and without the extirpation of which it would be folly bordering upon insanity to hope for any real and permanent good.——To make, therefore, a true and full representation, to put such a representation upon record, to promulgate it so that it should be familiar to the mind of every man in the country is, in my opinion, absolutely necessary, not only to the reputation of the new ministry, but to the support of their power. This representation should be a fair one; it should tell, not only the truth, but the whole truth. Were I concerned, in the making of it, I would begin with the CHURCH, and I would show, that, from an injudicious, not to say a corrupt use of power, in the heaping of benefices and dignities upon persons and families devoted to the ministry, the establishment has been, and is, daily sinking in the eyes of the people, who, deserted by their pluralist pastors, and left, in but too many instances, without any resident pastor at all, and not without a fair justification upon the ground of piety, exchanged the church for the meeting-house, where they find, at least, diligent earnestness in the ministry; and hence has arisen a schism including a million and a half of the people of England and Wales, while, as to the property of the church, and, of course, the influence of the legitimate aristocracy, a diminution is, from the same cause, daily taking place, by the means of the almost forced compositions, introduced and continued by the convenience and the example of the non-resident incumbents, to whom, as their parishioners cannot see the just reason of paying tithes, is to be ascribed all those grudgings and heart-burnings, all that inward hatred and outward disrespect to the clergy, which now seem to threaten the total overthrow of the establishment, and which, as its least possible evil, cannot fail to render men more indifferent than they otherwise would be with regard to the defence and the independence of their country. ——Of the state of the NAVY we may be proud. It is, with such a correction of abuses as may easily be accomplished, and with a great extension of the means of providing for disabled and worn-out seamen, which extension would present very few difficulties; with these improvements, the navy is exactly what we must wish it to be. But, the ARMY! Who shall make it, not what one could *wish*, but what we cannot exist in safety without? If any man can do this, I should expect it from the wisdom and the zeal of Mr. Windham. But, is it *possible?* After all the tampering; after all the ballotting; all the nonsense with volunteers and parish-officers; after bounties of 50 guineas a man even for service for a limited time; after all this, is it in the mind of man to devise a scheme, by which a permanent military force can be raised and kept up in this country? I certainly think, that it is possible; I think that an army, such as we stand in need of, *can* be raised and maintained; but, I am by no means certain, that the measures necessary, absolutely necessary, thereunto, will, or can be adopted, in the present state of men's minds, full as they are with notions of trade, and obstinate as they are in their preference of every thing hostile to the bestowing of privileges and immunities upon the soldier. It is, by all men of discernment, clearly perceived, that, within these few years, Europe, and particularly France, has undergone a complete moral revolution; that the age of commerce is going by; that arms are now to predominate; that we, too, must become a military people, or become nothing as an independent nation; that our choice lies between a military nation and a nation of slaves; that this is the simple alternative, slavery and the continued predominance of commerce, or freedom and arms. All this is clearly perceived; but, as the drunkard and glutton,

goes on, from dinner to dinner, with disease in his frame and death before his eyes; so I fear, I greatly fear, that this besotted, this pelf-loving nation will go on in its present course of destruction. There does not appear to me to be energy enough left for the exertion absolutely necessary to recovery. Men *talk*, indeed, about "making a good "army;" but, when the *means* are pointed out, my fear is, that the nation will say, "it is too late; rather than encounter this, "let us die quietly." First, perhaps, it will look to *peace*. Peace will be easily obtained; but, when we contemplate the situation of the Continental powers, and particularly that of France, is there any man living that can hope for a *secure* peace, until we have got an army? Mr. Fox is come with great talents; but, he is come too late to do what such a man might have done a year or two ago. He may, and, doubtless, he will, produce a great change in our relations with certain of the powers upon the Continent; but, he can do nothing effectual, until we have a real army. We must *begin* there. There is no *talking* to the enemy without it. And, even if we could obtain a tolerable good peace, can it last a year without an army, and can that army be raised in time of peace, to say nothing about the raising of it being a pretext, on the part of the enemy, for a renewal of the war? And yet, how is the army to be raised without a total change in the present system; and will not this be objected to by some, merely because we are at war? In short, turn which way you will, difficulties of every sort present themselves to the accomplishment of this great, this primary object.——In the department of FINANCE (supposing the funding system to be persevered in) Lord Henry Petty, though assisted, and, perhaps, directed, by the great talents of Lord Grenville, will find difficulties, which no man ever before had to encounter. Every one witnessed the embarrassments of last year. Every one was ready to pronounce the source of taxation to be exhausted, and the assertion was echoed back by the unanimous voice of the ground-down, the teazed, and harrassed people. Yet, must there be found new taxes, and that too to a much greater amount than last year. They *must* be found, and must be raised too. The score upon the Continent is not yet paid off. We shall be compelled to defray the expenses of Napoleon's campaign. Another large addition to the funded debt; a further creation of bank-notes; a further and a further depreciation of the paper-money. All these must take place; and, it should never be forgotten, that they will be the unavoidable consequences of the measures of Mr. Pitt and his underlings. This should be *stated* too. It should be made known to the kingdom; for, if, according to the old practice, the Chancellor of the Exchequer should choose to represent the finances of the country in a *prosperous* state, he will take upon himself all the responsibility for the continuation of a state of prosperity. But, it is in vain to talk about *prosperity*; it is in vain to endeavour any longer to disguise the truth; there are two hundred thousand men in the country who have now seen to the bottom; every day makes an addition to the number; and, to attempt to keep up the deception, even if it were not criminal, would be the excess of folly. As connected with the department of finance, we must, too, remember the state of the *poor*. Upwards of *six millions* a year are now raised upon the parishes to be dealt out in aid of those means by which the labourer obtains his bread; and of persons receiving this aid there are upwards of a million. *All*, all, the labourers, having families, are now *paupers!* This is a new state of things; a state of things which has been produced by the funding and taxing system, pushed to an extreme. Let us not be answered, by the observations, that there must be poor, that there always has been, and that there always will be, in every state of society in every country in the world. We know there must be poor; we know that some must be very poor; we know that some must be maintained, or assisted, at least, either by the parish or by voluntary alms; but, is there any one who will deny, that this is a new and most deplorable state of things, which has rendered *all* the labourers, having families, paupers? The plain fact is, that a man with a wife, and with four children that are unable to work, cannot now, out of his labour, possibly provide them and himself with the means of living. I do not mean, that he cannot live *comfortably*, for, to comfort, such men have long ago bid farewell; but, I assert, and am ready to prove, that he cannot provide them, without parish aid, with a sufficiency of food, not to *satisfy* their cravings, but to *sustain life*. And, will any one say that this state of things is such as England ought to witness? Will even Old Rose, wallowing in the luxury of eighteen thousand a year drawn from the public purse, say that nothing ought to be attempted to alleviate these sufferings? There are hundreds of thousands of the people of England who never taste any food but bread and vegetables, and who scarcely ever know what it is to have a

full meal even of these. This is *new:* it was not so in former times: it was not so even till of *late* years: the causes are obvious, and they ought to be removed. I know, that, to remove them is not the work of a day. There must be time, and even a long time, allowed for it; but, the new ministry should lose no time in convincing the people, that they perceive, and that they wish to alleviate their sufferings; that they sincerely wish to restore the labourer to something like life; for, in his present pining famishing state, it may, almost without a figure, be said, that, "in the midst of life he is in "death." That this is not an exaggerated picture; that it does not proceed from thoughtless feeling or from a base desire of currying favour with the rabble, will, I think, be readily believed by any one who will but bestow a single minute in contemplating the situation of the agricultural labourer. His weekly wages (for I shall suppose him *never to lose a day's work*, either from recreation or *sickness)* is, upon an average 12 shillings, putting it at the very highest. The average price of the quartern loaf is eleven pence. Upon an average it is, indeed, much more; but, let us take the very lowest. Here, then are the means of purchasing 58½ pounds of bread in a week, which is a little more than 8½ pounds a day for a *working* man, his wife, and 4 children! Absolutely not enough to support life. *Nothing* for drink; nothing for clothing; nothing for bedding, for household goods, for fuel, or for house rent! The evident conclusion is, that some of them must die, unless they are supported in existence by the parish, or by voluntary alms. "Well," some overgorged upstart will say, "and what matter is it, so that they are "supported, whence the support comes?" The matter is this, that the labourers are humbled, debased, and enslaved. The tendency of the funding and taxing system is, carried to its extreme, to draw the produce of the labour into unnatural channels, into the hands of upstart cormorants, and to deal it back again in driblets, under the name of relief or of charity, just to support the life of those from whose pores it has been drained. And thus is the nation debased; thus, without any direct abolition of the liberties of the common people, have these liberties been destroyed, or, at least, suspended. I repeat, that this terrible evil cannot be, all at once, removed; but, I also repeat, that, in order to convince the people, that their situation is known to and felt by their rulers, the new ministry should make some specific declaration upon the subject; and that, with all convenient speed, they should adopt measures for relief. In the mean while (and this is the point which I have, at present, principally in view), I conjure the new Chancellor of the Exchequer not to imitate his predecessor in making an annual boast about the *prosperity*, the *flourishing* state, of the country. From him we should hope for, and, indeed, from him I do confidently expect, a *true* picture of our financial concerns; an unvarnished statement of our internal affairs; and I as confidently expect, from the wisdom of the ministry and the public-spirit of parliament, an adequate remedy. It must be slow in its operation. Criminal indeed would it be in any one to endeavour to propagate the opinion, that it can possibly be speedy; all that we want is a foundation for hope, that something will be done in due time; this is all that is now wanted to satisfy the people, to cheer them, and to encourage them to make those exertions that are so necessary to the preservation of our independence.——In the department of FOREIGN AFFAIRS, usually so denominated, all that can be hoped for is, an endeavour to regain the confidence of the few remaining states which are not subdued, or which are not ranged in battle against us. With the United States of America Mr. Pitt has left us a dispute not easily settled, without an abandonment, on our part, of much of that which we have heretofore contended for and maintained. A pretty equal mixture of arrogance and imbecility, in our ministers, has produced this dispute; but, it is by no means certain, that contrary qualities in their successors will insure a favourable termination of it.——In our COLONIES what circumstance that presents a difficulty does not exist? The West India colonists have complaints, and just complaints too, of long standing. No satisfactory explanation has yet taken place. The wound has been healed over and has broken out a fresh, time after time; and, from the new ministry will, in this respect, be expected much more than it is immediately in their power to do. The intercourse with the United States is a subject of great importance; yet, without some measure, some *general* measure, with regard to it, it is not easy to perceive how the present imposts can be continued upon West India produce. In consequence of restraints and imposts, both operating at once, and with a degree of force so far beyond the power of resistance, the islands have been reduced to a state almost of desperation. The effect has been greater than that of the funding system at home. The real property has, in a great proportion, passed from the

hands of the former possessors into those of merchants and factors and guarantees here. The fund-dealers in London hold the plantations by mortgage, and the nominal planters are, for the far greater part, little better than their bondsmen. In this unnatural, this odious state of things, with a country inhabited by men, who once were the sole possessors, but who are now little more than mere renters of the land, is there not every danger to be apprehended; and yet, where is the *remedy?* Where is, not the power to enforce, but where is the man to propose it? ——In the East Indies is the prospect more consoling? There, on the contrary, the difficulties and dangers lie so thickly sown, that it bewilders one but to look at them. The famous bill, by the means of which the Pitts and Dundasses scaled the walls of power, has, as Mr. Burke predicted it would, produced consequences which the thoughtless people will now smart under. To talk of the oppressing, the insulting, and the plundering of the Princes of India cannot be expected to have much effect amongst a people, who made not a single remonstrance upon the subject of the capture of the Spanish frigates, and the subsequent appropriation of their treasure, without a previous declaration of war; but, as this same people may possibly be alive to the demands of money *from themselves*, for the purpose of carrying on wars against the princes of Hindostan, information must be given them upon the subject of those demands; and, if this information be not given, in the most clear and full manner, by the new ministry, they will be greatly wanting both to the country and themselves. The people hear of great fortunes being made in the East; they hear of plunder enormous, and they see the plunderers come and elbow them from their homes; but, they never appear to perceive, that any part of this plunder is, either first or last, drawn from their own estates or their labour. They seem to think, that there are great quantities of goods and of gold and precious stones in India; and, the only feeling which the acquirers of these excite, seems to be that of envy, and, in some instances, of emulation. But, that this proceeds from a gross error would, in the two millions lately paid to the East India Company out of the taxes of the nation, have been clearly demonstrated, had not our system of finance been such as to keep in darkness, upon this point, men otherwise well-informed. *Now*, however, the demands upon the taxes must, for the purposes of India, be such as will, I should imagine, open men's eyes, especially if the ministry make and promulgate an authentic statement of the nation's affairs. Thirteen years ago a charter, by the influence of Mr. Pitt and his colleague Dundas, was granted to the East India Company, whereby were secured to the said company of merchants certain rights of sovereignty in, and, with some exceptions, an exclusive trade with, those countries in Asia, which we, taking them all together, call the East Indies. As the foundation of their firm, or partnership, of trade, this company were allowed by the Charter, to create a quantity of stock; that is to say, to make loans, in the same way that the ministry do, and to pay annually, or quarterly, in dividends, interest upon the amount of these loans. The company became, in fact, a sort of under government, having its loans, its scrip, its debt, or, more properly speaking, its funds, or, still more properly, its engagements to pay interest to a number of individuals. The paper, of whatever form it may be, which entitles the holder to demand this interest, or these dividends, is called *East India Stock*, the principal of which has now been augmented to the sum of 12 millions sterling; and, the holders of this stock are called *East India Proprietors*. The sources, whence the means of regularly discharging the interest upon the stock were to be derived, were, of course, the profits of the trade which the company should carry, but, aided by the revenue which they were authorised to raise from their territory, the defence and government of which were, however, placed, in some sort, under the controul of the mother government at Westminster. Thus set out in the world this company of sovereigns, furnished, at once, with dominions, subjects, taxes, and a funded debt. But, supposing the measure (which I do only by way of illustration) to have been, in other respects, just and politic, it certainly would have been neither, not to have bound these sovereigns to pay the nation something, or, more properly speaking, to contribute something towards the taxes, by way of consideration for the immense advantages to be derived from the exclusive trade of a country, while the nation might be called upon, as it has been, to defend in a naval war, and which must, at any rate, be defended on the land-board by troops drawn, in part at least, from the population of the kingdom. It was, therefore, provided, that the company, during the continuance of its charter, which was to be for twenty years (thirteen of which have now nearly expired), should pay into the Exchequer 500,000*l.* sterling a year, and that, upon all the money not so paid, an interest should arise and accumulate, at the rate of

fifteen per centum.—Such were the principal engagements, on both sides, under which this company started. The nation has fulfilled its engagements, and that, too, at an enormous expenditure both of men and of money; and, while the company has been enjoying all the advantages of an exclusive trade, and all the receipts of a territorial revenue; while hundreds and thousands of persons, concerned in that trade, have amassed fortunes so great as to overshadow and bear down, not only the clergy and the country gentlemen, but even the ancient nobility of the kingdom, not one penny, (since the *first* year) has the company ever paid into the Exchequer of the stipulated half-million a year; and, what is still more glaringly unjust, and more galling to the burdened people, two millions of our taxes have already been granted to this company, wherewith to pay the dividends upon their stock; and, such has been the management, and such is now the state, of the company's affairs, that we need not be at all surprised if another million be called for from us, during this present session of parliament! For the *causes* of this state of the company's concerns; for the reasons why they have not been held to their engagements; why the act of parliament has thus been treated as if it had been passed merely as a job; why we have been called upon to pay to, instead of to receive from, this company of trading sovereigns; let the eulogists of Mr. Pitt's memory; let Mr. Canning, Old Rose and Colonel Pattypan; let Lord Melville, with his 2,000l. a year pension from the company (who are so *poor* as to come to us for money); let the Directors, those managers of the company's affairs, and those staunch advocates of the minister that suffered the act to lie unenforced against them; let Lord Wellesley, who has so long been the governor general of India: why the act has not been enforced, why the law has been thus shamefully set at nought, let these persons tell. But, the question which we have to ask, is, how will the new ministry meet the difficulty which here presents itself in so formidable a shape? Will they *tax us*, in order to raise money to discharge the debts of this company? In addition to the 27 millions annually, which we have to pay to the fund-holders, the loan-mongers, and their inferior speculators; in addition to this, will they load us with the annual interest upon twelve millions of India stock, and that, too, without a previous full and fair inquiry into the causes, whence the demand upon us has arisen? No: they certainly will not. From them we have not to fear so unjust, so oppressive, and so odious a measure. Yet, what are they to do? Are the East India fund-holders to go unpaid? These are questions that every man should put to himself, and upon which he should, without delay, make up his mind to an answer. But, not a moment should be lost, by the new ministry, in making and promulgating a true statement relative to Indian affairs. These affairs *must* now have attention bestowed upon them. Mr. Francis, in his most able exposition of the delusions of Mr. Dundas and Lord Castlereagh (See Register, Vol. VI. p. 429) has said, that the time would come when these affairs would make men attend to them, though against their will. That time is now arrived. The call for money out of our taxes, out of our incomes, out of our land and our goods and our labour, is at hand; and, will the parliament grant that money, will it tax us to pay the debts of these traders, without a previous inquiry? No: again I say, no: but, yet, difficulty upon difficulty occurs; and, therefore, wisdom, self-preservation to the ministry, to their useful power as well as to their reputation, demand a full and a widely promulgated statement, upon this, as well as upon all the other affairs of the nation, previous to their imposing a single shilling of new tax. In the Morning Post of the 6th instant, and side by side with a lying epitaph on Mr. Pitt, there is an article, the insertion of which is evidently paid for, in defence of some supposed charge against the Marquis Wellesley, and which article is introduced by the following curious observation: "The abuse of the freedom of "the press, which, from liberty too often "degenerates into licentiousness, is one "amongst the many proofs, that a general "good may become a partial evil. The "abused and groundless *calumnies* lately "published against the administration of "the Marquis Welleslesley; &c. &c." So, so! But, does this grave gentleman recollect, that he is not in Calcutta? There, indeed, the freedom of the press is not abused much! It would, however, be to discover too sanguine a disposition to hope, that, in this *licentious* country, such perfect freedom from *abuse* of any thing will be found. *We* have no *Censorship* established as yet; and, there is some ground to suppose, that we shall be a little more secure than we lately have been, in the exercise of the liberty of the press. No, no: let no dog bark when the Marquis Wellesley passes; but, let us speak and publish *truth* about him, if such publications should become necessary, and that they will

become necessary I am fully persuaded, in spite of the *great dinner*, which, I hear, it is in contemplation to give him. That the noble Marquis has done all that is right, and nothing that is wrong, I am, at present, far from denying; but, if Mr. Paull does not most scandalously desert his duty; if he does not eat his words, uttered in parliament, we shall, all of us, soon be able to form a correct opinion upon the subject.——In returning from these remarks, which have been extorted by the indirect threat above quoted, and which threat, let us hope, every man concerned with the press will treat with disdain, I cannot refrain from once more expressing my anxious wish, that the new ministry, the selection of whom has given such great and universal satisfaction, will neglect none of the precautions which I have pointed out. Great indeed is their stock of character and of talent; but, were it ten thousand times as great as it is, can it possibly bear up against the odium of a large *unaccounted-for* addition to the present burdens of the people? I am persuaded it cannot. New taxes (supposing the interest still to be paid upon the funded debt) must be lain on, to an amount much greater than that of the taxes imposed last year; and, whatever any one may think to the contrary, the cry of the people will be, that, instead of better ministers, these are worse than the last. I have heard, and I hope it is true, that the ministers do intend to institute a solemn inquiry into the state of the nation; but, this inquiry, if the result of it be merely printed and piled up amongst the mountanous heaps of folios from the office of the king's printer, will be of very little use. The *public* will never see it. They will know nothing of it; and it will produce no more practical good than the strings of unmeaning resolutions, on the subject of finance, which, after having answered the amiable purpose of keeping some one for several weeks out of harm's way at home, generally drop in to prolong, for a few minutes, the yawnings of a House of half a score assembled to pass laws in the dog-days. This is not what it *now* wanted. We have new men; and the times imperiously demand a new spirit. Again and again, for it never can be too often repeated, I conjure the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, as he values his fame, as he loves his country, not only to refrain from all boastings about *prosperity*, but to tell the people the whole truth; to apprize them fully of what they have to expect; to attempt delusion, even were it not dishonourable, would be useless? men have begun to *think*, and, in thinking they seldom make a retrogade movement. There are, I again assert, two hundred thousand men in the kingdom who have seen to the bottom, and whose eyes are now anxiously fixed upon the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. His very first speech upon the subject of finance will teach them what they have to expect from him. No caution, no passing over in silence, will deceive them, or suspend, for one moment, their decision. If his predecessor could no longer delude them, how can he hope to do it? But, I hope, and confidently rely, that he entertains far different views, and, I trust, that whatever my expressions may contain too much of earnestness will be attributed to my anxiety for the success of himself and his colleagues, and not to any want of confidence in their talents or their integrity.

The remarks, which it was my intention to have made, upon the proceedings, in parliament and out of it, relative to the *debts* and the *monuments*, must be postponed till my next,——In a subsequent page will be found a letter upon the *Fate of the Funds*. I beg the reader to turn to it, and he will be at no loss to see how far it is an *answer* to what he has read upon the subject in the Register of the 25th of January. It would, however, be injustice to the "blood-"suckers" to suppose that they have not more able advocates than this; and therefore, I take this opportunity of inviting them to the discussion, promising that their communications shall always appear in print at as early a day as possible.

COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

No. 128 of the Parliamentary Debates, being the First Number of the SIXTH Volume, and of the Present Session, is ready for delivery, and may be had of the publishers, Mr. Bagshaw, Bow-Street, Covent-Garden; or Mr. Budd, Pall-Mall.—Some information respecting the mode of obtaining these Numbers appears to be necessary to persons who live at a distance from the Metropolis, and who, in many instances, seem to suppose, that they can be sent by the Post, in the same manner as the Political Register is. There is a mistake. Every Number is a Pamphlet, and can be procured only in the same manner, that Pamphlets, Reviews, and Magazines are; this is, generally, by application made to a Country Bookseller who has a direct and frequent communication with London: of which description, Booksellers are to be found in every country town of any importance.

PROSPECTUS

OF

Cobbett's Parliamentary History,

Which, in the compass of Sixteen Volumes, royal octavo, double page, is to contain a full and accurate report of all the recorded proceedings, and of all the speeches, in both Houses of Parliament, from the earliest times to the year 1803, when the publication of Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates commenced.

Whoever has had frequent occasion to recur to the proceedings in parliament, of former times, must have experienced those difficulties, which it is the object of the proposed work to remove. Merely to find the several works, wherein is contained an account of the parliamentary proceedings, is, at this day, no easy matter, some of them being very scarce, and others excessively voluminous. Hardly any of them, those of the last twenty years excepted, are to be purchased regularly at the booksellers'. The far greater part of them are to be come at by accident only; and, of course, sometimes not to be obtained at all.——But, supposing them all to be at hand, the price of them is no trifling object; and, in many cases, must present a difficulty not to be easily, or, at least, willingly, surmounted. Of these works, taken in their chronological order, the first is, the Parliamentary or Constitutional History, in 24 volumes; the second, the Oxford Debates, in 2 volumes; the third, Chandler's Debates, in 22 volumes; the fourth, Greys' Reports, in 10 volumes; the fifth, Almons' Debates, in 24 volumes; the sixth, Debrett's Debates (now in the hands of various booksellers), in 63 volumes. These works are not to be purchased, if to be purchased at all, under 110*l.* sterling. But still, with all these, the information wanted is very imperfect, without perpetually having recourse to the Journals of the two Houses, which Journals occupy upwards of a hundred volumes in folio: so that, the price of a complete set of the works, in this way, cannot, upon an average of purchases, be reckoned at less than 150 pounds.——These difficulties got over, another, and a still more formidable obstruction to the acquiring of information is found, not merely in the number and the bulk of the volumes, but also in the want of a good arrangement of the contents of most of them, and, further, in the immense load of useless matter, quite unauthentic, and very little connected with the real proceedings of parliament, to be found in many of them. In the two first-mentioned works, we find a narrative of battles, sieges, and of domestic occurrences. The real proceedings of parliament form but a comparatively small proportion of them, whole pamphlets of the day, and very long ones, being, in many places, inserted just as they were published and sold; and, when we come down even to the Debates by Almon and Debrett (taking in Woodfall and others occasionally), we find, that, in numerous instances, three-fourths of the volume consists of papers, laid before parliament, of mere momentary utility, repeated in subsequent and more correct statements, and now nothing but an expence, and, what is much worse, an incumbrance to the reader, and a constantly intervening obstacle to his researches; to which may be added, with respect to all the Debates from Almon's, inclusive, downwards, that there is a total want of all that aid, which is afforded by well contrived running-titles, tables, and indexes, and which is so necessary in every voluminous work, particularly if it relate to the transactions of a long series of years.——With a view of removing all these difficulties, and of putting the public in possession of an account of the Proceedings in Parliament previous to the year 1803, (when Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates commenced) as complete as that which has met with such general approbation in this last-mentioned work, the present publication is undertaken. The Sixteen Volumes, of which the proposed work will consist, and the first of which is now in the press, will be printed in the same form and size, and with the same sort of character, as those of the Political Register and Parliamentary Debates, with this difference only, that the character of this work will, in the same compass, introduce one-fifth more of matter. The volumes, respectively, are to embrace the periods here mentioned; to wit:

Vol. I. From the Conquest, 1066, to the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640.

II. From the meeting of the Long

Parliament, to the death of Charles I. in 1648.

III. From the Commencement of the Commonwealth to the death of Queen Ann, in 1714.

IV. From George I. to the end of the Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament in 1741.

V. From the New Parliament in 1741, to 1774.

VI. From the New Parliament in 1774, to its dissolution in 1780.

VII. } From the New Parliament in 1780,
VIII. } to its dissolution in 1784.

IX. } From the New Parliament in 1784,
X. } to its dissolution in 1790.

XI. } From the New Parliament in 1790,
XII. } to its dissolution in 1796.

XIII. } From the New Parliament in 1796,
XIV. } to its dissolution in 1800.

XV. From the New Parliament in 1800, to its dissolution in 1802.

XVI. From the New Parliament in 1802, to the commencement of Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, November the 22d, 1803.

Each of these volumes will contain considerably more print than is contained in the whole of Hume's History of England, which occupies eight common octavo volumes. When, therefore, it is recollected, that so large a part of the several works, above-enumerated, are taken up with matter, as before described, wholly unconnected, or having but a very remote connection, with the proceedings in parliament, and entirely destitute of authenticity; when it is recollected also, how much room is saved by the abbreviation of words descriptive of titles and of constantly-occurring phrases of courtesy, the reader will not be surprised, that the whole of the authentic and useful records of the proceedings of the parliament of England, of that of Great Britain, and of that of the United Kingdom, down to the year 1803, will be comprised in the Sixteen Volumes of this work, which will, upon the best computation that can be made, contain as much print as 140 common octavo volumes.——In relation to the earliest times, the work will be compiled chiefly from the Records, the Rolls of of Parliament, and from the most reputable ancient writers of English History. From the reign of Henry VIII. inclusive, we have the additional aid of the Journals of the House of Lords; and from that of Edward VI. that of the Journals of the House of Commons. As to the Speeches, they will, of course, be collected from the several works, wherein, upon careful examination and comparison, they are found to have been the most fully and accurately recorded. The precise words of motions, resolutions, &c. &c. will be copied from the Journals themselves, and not from unauthorized publications. As a book of Parliamentary Precedents, the work, by the aid of its tables and indexes, will be even more complete than any one hitherto published. These tables and indexes will be constructed upon the excellent plan (with some little improvements) recommended by the Committee of the House of Commons, and afterwards adopted by the persons employed to make the indexes to the Journals.——With respect to information relative to those who have, at any time, made a conspicuous figure in parliament, or, indeed, who have been, for any considerable length of time, members of that body, it is not unnecessary to observe, that, in the parts of the work which will give an account of the assembling of the several new parliaments, since the time when records of this sort were first made, there will be complete Lists of the members of the House of Commons, and, from time to time, a state of the Peerage. These, together with an Index of Names, will enable the reader, not only to know, who has, at any time, been in parliament; but also to trace the parliamentary history and conduct of every distinguished member.——Considered as a collection of Public Papers, this work will be more complete than any one extant, in this country. It will contain Copies of all the Treaties, conventions, &c. &c. to which the rulers of this kingdom have, respectively, been parties, and which are, any where, upon record. All King's Speeches, Protests, Conferences, Standing Orders, as well as all Petitions, Remonstrances, &c. &c. will be carefully inserted, in their proper places. At the close of the Parliamentary History of each reign, in the early periods, and of every session of parliament in the latter, will be given a List of the Acts passed during its continuance; also an account of the taxes imposed, of the supplies, of the subsidies to foreign powers, of the state of the revenue, of the value of money in relation to the price of provisions. &c. To prepare the materials for a work of such magnitude must necessarily require much labour and time. Nearly two years have already been, in great part, devoted to it; and, such has been the application bestowed, that a considerable part of the whole is in a state fit for the press. The first volume is actually in the press, and will, at the latest, be published on the 15th of May next. The printer has engaged to complete it by the 1st day of that month; but, in order to avoid disappointment, a fortnight later, as the time of

delivery from the publishers' has been fixed on. The second volume will be published in August next; and, so on, a volume every quarter of a year till the whole be completed. This distance between the periods of publication will have many conveniencies attending it, and particularly that of leaving the young reader time to have gone through one volume before he has another to purchase.—— The price of each volume, containing, as was observed, more print than eight common octavo volumes, and bound in Russia leather, in the same manner as the Political Register and the Parliamentary Debates, will be 1l. 11s. 6d. which will, of course, be paid to the booksellers upon the delivery of each volume successively.——The first volume will be published at the time above fixed on, whether there be subscribers or not, and no difference will be made between the price to subscribers and to others; but, as it would be very grateful to the feelings of the compiler to see his arduous undertaking approved of and encouraged by the public, and as the number of copies, of the second volume must, of course, be regulated by the degree of success that he can reasonably count upon, he will not attempt to disguise, that he is very anxious to obtain a respectable list of subscribers at as early a period as possible.— The work will be published by Mr. Bagshaw, Bow Street Covent Garden; and will be sold also by Mr. Budd, Pall Mall, Mr. Faulder, Bond Street, Messrs. Blacks and Parry, Leadenhall Street, and Mr. Archer, Dublin; to any of which persons subscribers are requested to send their names.

DEFENCE OF THE KINGDOM.

Sir;—Some apology may be expected for so hasty, incorrect, and imperfect a sketch as the following; I have only one to offer, that I think that a hint in time for the effectual defence of these islands, is at present of more value than all the studied eloquence of Cicero, or all the sounding periods of the Treasury Bench. Camillus *.

Public affairs are verging fast, if not towards that point at which it becomes the duty of every good citizen not to despair of the state, at least to that situation in which it becomes his duty to call the attention of those who have undertaken the awful charge of conducting the affairs of the nation, in such circumstances to effectual means of providing for its security. Unless the course of events respecting the internal state of France, or the interests of the other powers of the Continent takes a turn, of which there can be little hope at present, it is probable that an attack upon this country is not far distant.——On reviewing not only the last, but the former campaigns of Buonaparté, it will be found that the principal cause of his success has been his great activity, and the astonishing celerity of his motions. It is far from impossible, that knowing that a great part of our force has been sent on foreign service; and supposing, that from the great distance at which he is, and the other great objects he has to fix his attention, we may allow ourselves to be off our guard; his first enterprise now may be, to hasten troops back to the coast, and to attempt an invasion of this island: the feeble representative of the Houses of Habsburg and Lorraine, was congratulating his subjects that he would soon have two hundred thousand men on the theatre of war in Suabia, at the very moment that his Suabian army was nearly annihilated.——Of the two plans on which an invasion of this island may be undertaken, he seems to lay little stress on that by fleets of large ships, by which we were formerly threatened. The risk of convoying a sluggish fleet, with the time required for disembarkation, in the face of a superior navy is great, but it has a vast advantage, that of conveying any number of men in much greater security than the other against the elements. But this has been so long and so well known, that little need be said respecting it; it may however, be observed, that our administrations have often been negligent in opposing it, by sending a force only sufficient to combat the ships of war, whereas there ought always to have been enough not only for that purpose, but to destroy those under their protection. —The other mode by a vast collection of small vessels is new, unattempted, and is yet but imperfectly understood: it is, probably, more dangerous both to those who undertake it, and to those against whom it is directed. In such vessels, however proper their construction may be for the service, the danger of the elements is great. It was, I believe, first suggested to the French government, by a foreign projector who entered into their service, and who, while the affairs of the Continent engaged their attention, was afterwards, as well as his scheme, neglected: if credit may be given to the information that has been circulated since it has been resumed, it will be evident to every seaman

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* The former letters of this very able and well-informed writer will be found in vol. 5, p. 422, 705; vol. 6, p. 385; and vol. 8, p. 225.

who is acquainted with naval architecture, which, however, is a knowledge more rarely combined than could easily be supposed in our navy, that a great part of them are ill adapted for the purpose, both in the construction and equipment, which fortunately adds still more to that risk. The times or rather moments in which it could be attempted with any hope of success, very seldom occur; with the most prevailing winds they cannot move, and with those which would drive our fleet from their station, they would probably perish upon this coast, even if they were able to reach it; but there are conjunctures in which it might be attempted, and there are two ways in which that attempt might be made. The whole flotilla that is said to be already collected, would probably, require three or even four days to get clear of the harbour, they might sail in divisions as they came out, if the first was intercepted, the enemy might postpone the rest, and still have the means of transporting a great force by the next opportunity; if it arrived safe, they would no doubt hazard much to reinforce it, which might prove the cause of their destruction; at the same time it would require no small exertion to annihilate such a force, before they could have another opportunity of putting to sea. If they should resolve upon the other mode, that of transporting their whole army at once, it would subject both sides to new and greater dangers. It is, I believe, the prevailing opinion, that the first divisions that go out of port, might be destroyed before they could be joined by the rest; but, though they might receive some damage, it is to be feared, that among light vessels that could be so easily moved, that could haul so close in shore, and that could in some measure be protected from the land, nothing so effectual as to stop the expedition could be done in so short a time. But it would give time for a powerful fleet to come upon the station; when embarked they would be under the necessity either of putting to sea in the face of that fleet, or returning to port: it is impossible for a great number of men to continue long on board of such vessels; they might be destroyed piecemeal by our fleet, and if they remained there till a westerly gale came on, perhaps few of them might survive it. It is, therefore, probable, that unless they saw a force that they were convinced would destroy them, and still more, which is not unlikely to be the case, if they were not sensible of the danger, that they would put to sea. It is, therefore, the most important of all points, or at least, whatever may be the opinion entertained of their getting to sea, the most prudent to provide the most effectual means of opposing them upon that element. —When the enemy first seemed to have resolved upon this mode of invasion, and some of their small vessels had eluded our ships of war, on some buccaneering expeditions, our administration thought it necessary to make use of vessels of the same class; they frittered away many of our seamen from strong and useful ships, into trifling craft which have been found of little avail even in interrupting the enemy's communication; they were even determined to trust the defence of the country to them, against the whole of the enemy's embarkation; it is a most dangerous, and would probably be a fatal error. That project of invasion has been ridiculed on account of the insignificance of the vessels of which it is composed, but seamen accustomed to seek and to conquer their most powerful naval armaments, consider their force only as relative to their own element, as such they have reason to hold it in contempt, for as such it is truly insignificant; but to fight upon that element, cannot be their object nor ought to be their intention, but to escape from our fleets with as little loss as possible; it is not to beat them there that is the difficulty, but to destroy such a multitude of vessels, and to prevent them from reaching their destination. What mischief could forty or fifty light vessels, in a passage of a few hours do to fifteen hundred or two thousand, suppose them to take an hundred with very little resistance; they cannot sink them immediately, for they are not qualified for it; they must wait to exchange the prisoners, or the prizes would again pursue their course; by that time the great body of the enemy's fleet would be beyond their reach, with a loss so trifling as hardly to be perceptible in so great an expedition. Little more is to be expected from arms; examples without number prove that the best directed force especially from ships, seldom takes effect on vessels that are so low in the water; in all the skirmishes they have had with ships of force, few of them have been sunk: even the boats of our navy in their numerous and rash attacks upon armed vessels, have rarely suffered from cannon. There is but one way of destroying so immense a number of small craft, but that is an effectual one, and that is, by the heaviest ships, for no others have weight sufficient, not chiefly by their guns, but by running them down, by a strong squadron of such ships stretching off and on through them, with light vessels to pick up those which they miss, it is probable that few would escape; and, it is upon a squadron of such ships that work well, and com-

manded by the most active and vigilant officers, being stationed so as to be able to fetch Boulogne, or wherever the rendezvous may be in a few hours, with the wind from any point of the compass, which may be effected by stationing part above and part below channel, that the safety of this country will probably depend. The victory of Trafalgar was over-rated by those who judged of its consequence by the ideas of the last century; it has been under-rated by those who looked to the restoration of Europe; it is invaluable according to the present political aspect, as it sets a large part of our naval force free for our immediate protection. Great Britain possesses within itself the means of setting the power of France great as it is at defiance, if those means were well composed, animated, and directed; but, I think no man who has the most superficial knowledge of military affairs, but must be satisfied, that before we can be placed in a state of security, the greatest part of our military force must be entirely new modelled! That is not the work of a day, nor of a year, but of years of great attention and perseverance; till that is effected we must chiefly depend for our defence upon our navy; that navy is superior in every respect to any that the world has yet seen; and, if properly employed, may save us till a solid foundation is laid to preserve these islands to witness another revolution of Europe. Aspiring and successful as France now is, if time and leisure from more pressing occupations are allowed, I expect to be able to shew rational ground for thinking that her dominion is not one of those mighty empires that overshadows the world for ages, but that it originates in corruption, and carries within itself the principles of its own fall and dissolution. And that if a part of Europe can be saved from its first convulsive shocks, civilisation and regular government may yet revive. We have the means of defence; if we exert them we have yet no reason to despond; but if they who have undertaken, and whom we have permitted to assume the direction of them, will not make a proper use of them, let them not deplore the fatality of the times If whining and cant were of any avail they might be reserved for those who have long foreseen the possibility of the approaching crisis, who have without success laboured to prevail upon them to prepare for it; and who, by the supineness and infatuation of others, are in danger of being delivered, almost bound and gagged, into the hands of the enemy.

EFFECT OF THE FUNDS.

SIR,——The baneful effects produced in the country by that system of corruption, which upholds and characterizes the administration of William Pitt; which it has been the uniform object of your valuable publication to expose; and which has never by any one been so ably exposed as by yourself, are so forcibly illustrated in this neighbourhood, that I should, sometimes, be disposed to suspect you of drawing your pictures from what is daily passing before my eyes, did I not know, as well from the testimony of others, as from my own observation, that the same dire change has gradually been effected throughout the kingdom. The place, where I reside, Sir, is a small town within 30 miles of the metropolis, equally famous for the salubrity of its air, and the beauty of its scenery. It had formerly to boast, among its inhabitants and in its vicinity, several families of distinction, who spent the greater part of the year upon their estates, maintaining in unsullied purity the venerable names of their ancestors, and endearing themselves to their neighbours, to their dependants, and to posterity, by the exercise of every generous virtue, and by the diffusion of a benign influence upon all who had the happiness to live within their sphere. In those days "a hospitality, in which there "was no luxury, and a liberality, in which "there was no ostentation," (to adopt the language of an eminent writer on political economy) formed a striking feature in the character of an English gentleman. He lived not merely for himself, but for the common benefit of mankind. The honest mechanic could look to him for patronage, and the industrious peasant for protection. Nor were their just claims ever disregarded. But, alas! Mr. Cobbett, our genuine English gentry; the

——— "præsidium et dulce decus"

of the nation, are become almost extinct. In this place only one of our ancient families remains. The rest, swept away by an overwhelming torrent of taxes, have been succeeded by a race of loan-jobbers, nabobs, and placemen of various descriptions; a new-fangled species of gentry, in every respect the reverse of their illustrious predecessors. I will not occupy your time or your paper with a detail of all the numerous evils, to which this sad revolution has given birth. Its latent poison diffuses itself through every class of the community. Not the aristocracy only, whose mansions they invade, and whose rank they affect, but the middling and lower orders, likewise, feel an essential change in their condition. In the place of their former benefactors, they have now to contemplate a new race of men, attached to

them by none of those ties, which have hitherto created so lively an interest in all their concerns, and such a parental solicitude for their welfare; a race of men, who, born only for themselves, and destitute of every benevolent feeling, exact from them unqualified submission to their views of aggrandizement, to their schemes of interest, and to their range of pleasures. To these objects, indeed, every office, with which they are invested; how sacred soever the trust; how great soever the responsibility, is made subservient. Are they magistrates? Not the impartial administration of justice; not the faithful execution of salutary laws; not the friendly arbitration of groundless quarrels; not the defence of oppressed poverty, nor the vindication of injured innocence; none of these important prerogatives of their office, for which good men have been wont to undertake it, are suffered for a moment to stand in competition with the extension of their influence, the establishment of their power, and above all, the opportunity which it sometimes affords them of avenging themselves upon those, who have, at any time, dared to resist their sway. Are they commissioners of taxes? an office for which their talents peculiarly designate them? What a powerful engine of corruption does it become in their hands! How uniformly do they devote the inquisitorial authority, with which it arms them, to the gratification of insolent curiosity, private pique, or party malice! Are they trustees of charities? With what shameless effrontery do we see them prostituting the beneficence of the founders to the accomplishment of their own venal purposes, and defrauding the poor of those rewards of virtuous exertion, which the piety of former times had consecrated to their use, to bestow them upon their sycophants and dependants! But, the abuses, introduced by this new order of gentry, into every department of our provincial polity,

——— "Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,"

would fill a volume of no ordinary size. Yet, Sir, these are the men, who arrogate to themselves every virtue, and monopolize morality, as they do every thing else! These are the men, whose names make so prominent a figure in our *patriotic* contributions; these the *patriots*, who enlist with so much ardour in our volunteer corps. But, surely, Mr. Cobbett, that *patriotism* is of a very problematical nature, which is assumed only upon occasions and for purposes of ostentation! I am no *enemy* to patriotic contributions, though you have convinced me, that the patronage, created by the fund at Lloyd's, would flow more constitutionally in a different channel. Nor do I *condemn* volunteer associations, for I am not sufficiently acquainted with military affairs to judge of their utility, and I have, at the same time, reason to believe, that many have joined them from motives of the purest patriotism. All I assert is this, that because a man is a subscriber to the Lloyd's fund, or has enrolled his name in a volunteer corps, he is not, therefore, necessarily a patriot, in direct opposition to every principle, by which he is actuated in the whole tenor of his life. I cannot admit that men, who thrive upon the miseries of the nation, have any legitimate claim to the title. I am aware, however, that I risk the once obsolete, though recently revived, imputation of jacobinism, in avowing this opinion. But, let me ask, whether, if at this day there be any jacobins among us, they are not (I will not say to be found among, but) entirely composed of those men, whose system has such an obvious tendency to depreciate our national character, and extinguish our national spirit. Believe me, Sir, I am unwilling to despond, or to "create despondency;" but when, in spite of all our disasters, and the degrading alternative, to which we are reduced, I see selfishness in some form or other; nay, in the very guise of patriotism itself, still maintain its destructive empire in the land, I blush to own myself an Englishman. I tremble for the fate of my country. "Delenda est Carthago" has for some time past been the prevailing maxim in France. May we not, like the Carthagenians, continue besotted by the fancied security, which our commercial system has engendered, till, like them, we fall an easy prey to the enemy. If, in these times of alarm and peril, any apology be thought necessary for adverting to the fruitful cause of our calamities, and the real source of our danger. If the hackneyed charges, of exciting disaffection at home, and affording encouragement to the enemy to invade our shores, be yet advanced with pertinacious audacity by the minister and his adherents, against all who assail their profligate and destructive system, I reply in the words of a celebrated female writer; herself one of those adherents. "So "to expose the weakness of the land, as to "suggest the necessity of internal improve- "ment, and to point out the means of ef- "fectual defence, is not treachery, but pa- "triotism."——I am, Sir, your constant reader, and obedient servant.——C. B.——

Jan. 24, 1806.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

Surely, Mr. Cobbett, you do not mean

soberly to tell us, that the extinction of the funds without remunerating the proprietors is an act of justice; or to defend reasonably a system so pregnant with anarchy and confusion. The expediency of the measure, I have nothing to do with, I only quarrel with its injustice. To take the property of another, without his consent, has heretofore been deemed a robbery, and consequently a crime punishable by the laws of every civilized state. How then can old opinions be so far *justly* set at nought, that a legal instrument shall be executed, for at once overturning the justest law of our constitution and substituting for it, the most unjust, oppressive, and cruel act, that revolutionary terrorists ever decreed? Are you not aware that the stock-holder has implicitly depended upon the faith of the parliament, and that he has always considered this property as guaranteed upon the land? Are you not aware, that should your plan be adopted, he would be obliged to seek a habitation on any man's estate that suited his fancy? and that if he was not strong enough himself, that he would call for the assistance of others in his own situation, and that *vi et armis* they would settle themselves wherever they found a land-holder unequal to oppose them? Consider, Mr. Cobbett, what consequences this would lead to; view the troops of the stock-holders in martial array, attacking the property of the land-holder, and systematically plundering him, because themselves had been plundered; and where lies the difference of the robbery? the latter rob against the law, whilst the former have been served so by the law. Robbed by the law!!! To what a state must your principle have reduced us, when the law shall be thus guilty, and I defy any one to prove that taking a man's property from him in this way, is any thing but a down-right robberey. That it is his property (though you say he never saw or felt it) their cannot be the shadow of a doubt; has he not given a valuable consideration for it? can he not sell it? does he not receive so much a year from the nation for what it cost him? has not parliament yearly provided for this? I say it has by this alone acknowledged him as a creditor, and recognised his right, his property in it, and so far has given him sufficient grounds for relying upon its faith; the faith of the British parliament hitherto considered sacred, and which has never before been attempted to be polluted. The danger of a civil war and the very idea of parliamentary dishonesty, if viewed even at a distance, would terrify us, but if to be brought immediately before us, what must be our feelings? Sooner let the country be ruined, but let its integrity survive; if we must perish, let us do so without reproach, that when the name of Britons shall hereafter be mentioned as having once been, *that they were, with honour*, and that though they might have still existed they refused the infamous means, *of sacrificing to their necessities those of their children whom lust had prompted them to beget, and nature taught to cherish and defend, not destroy.* Your argument of the stock-holder having himself foreseen and talked of this annihilation will apply against yourself. Would a man buy a house even, which he expected would sooner or later be taken from him? certainly not, how therefore can it be expected that he would purchase stock under this idea, when so many other ways of laying out his money, could be resorted to? The advantage which you say the funds enjoy over other property could never be equal to this risk; and why do they enjoy this advantage, not surely because the public has contemplated the possibility of their downfall; if it had done so, I will venture to assert, that the consequences would have been the very reverse of what they are. The faith which the public has in the honour and integrity of parliament has caused this property, which has arisen under its sanction and for its use to be nominally more valuable than any other, a certain proof that the contract betwixt the parliament as *debtor* and the public as *creditor* has been always viewed in the light which I point out to you, and that whilst it shall continue to be actuated by those principles of justice which have hitherto governed it, the public creditor need be in no fear of its resorting to a measure so criminal as the one you desire.—The pretty story of the two widows has no point in it, for in a commercial country like this, every one is at liberty to turn their property to the best account, and few will agree with your position that because *one* has by enterprize and traffic realised a greater capital than another who started with equal chances, that the whole of that property should be sequestered for the good of the state, whilst the sluggard or prudent man (I care not which) shall be secured in the safe possession of his. Forbid it justice, forbid it policy!! trade, enterprize, and spirit, if taxed in this way, would soon fly a country whose constitution was supported by such an Atlas, whose strength was oppression, security delusion, and policy injustice.—I will not further intrude upon your time by entering more at large into the subject, but merely hope if you give this a place in your Weekly Register,

that those who implicitly rely upon your dogmas, and who consequently now droop despondingly at the picture you have drawn, may yet revive, and, placing that confidence in the British parliament which it deserves, firmly rely upon its rejection of a measure, the adoption of which would sully for ever its fair name, and remain, Sir, your obedient servant, CORNELIUS.——London, Feb. 1st, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPER.

ITALY AND FRANCE.—*Letter of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon to the French Senate, dated Munich, Jan.* 12, 1806.

Senators,—The Organic Senatus Consultum, of the 18th Floreal, or the year 12 (8th May, 1804), has provided for every thing respecting the hereditary succession of the Imperial Crown in France.—The first Constitutional Statute of our Kingdom of Italy, dated March 19, 1805, has fixed the inheritance of that Crown on our descendants, in a direct and legitimate line, whether natural, or by adoption.*—The dangers to which we have been exposed in the midst of the war, and which were exaggerated to our people of Italy—those to which we may still be exposed in combating the enemies who yet remain to France, still excite very sensible alarms. The people of Italy do not enjoy the security, offered them by the liberality and the moderation of our laws, because the future is to them uncertain.—We have considered it as one of our present duties to put a period to these alarms.—We have in consequence determined to adopt as our son, Prince Eugene, Arch-Chancellor of our Empire, and Viceroy of our kingdom of Italy. We have called him, next to ourselves and our natural and legitimate children, to the throne of Italy; and we have decreed, that in default of our direct descendants, legitimate or natural, or those of Prince Eugene, our son, the Crown of Italy shall devolve to the son, or the nearest relative to our Princes of the blood, who in such case may then reign in France.—We have thought it befitting our dignity, that Prince Eugene shall enjoy all the honours attached to our adoption, though they will give him no right but to the Crown of Italy alone; it being understood, that our adoption will in no case nor circumstance authorise either him or the descendants of Prince Eugene, to raise any claim to the Crown of France, the succession of which is irrevocably regulated by the constitutions of the Empire.—The history of all ages informs us, that the uniformity of laws is essentially prejudicial to the strength and good organization of empires, when they extend beyond the limits allowed by the moral habits and geographical considerations.—We reserve to ourselves the opportunity of publishing our ulterior dispositions, respecting the connexions which are to subsist after us, among all the Federative Estates of the French Empire. The various independent parties among them, having a common interest, must have a common tie.—Our people of Italy will receive, with transports of joy, these new testimonies of our solicitude. They will perceive in them the guarantee of the happiness they enjoy, in the permanence of the Government of this young Prince, who, in an interval of stormy agitation, and particularly in the first moments, so difficult even for men of experience, has known how to govern by the affections, and to endear to them our laws.—He has never ceased to offer us a spectacle, which has strongly interested us. We have seen him in new situations, reducing those principles to practice, which we had studied to inculcate in his mind and in his heart, all the while he was under our inspection. When it was necessary to defend our people of Italy, he shewed himself equally worthy of imitating and renewing whatever we might have atchieved in the difficult art of war.—At the same moment that we have ordained that our fourth Constitutional Statute should be communicated to the three Colleges of Italy, it has appeared to us to be indispensible not to defer for an instant, the instruction necessary for the dispositions which establish the prosperity and duration of the Empire, in the love and the interest of the nations which compose it. We have thus been persuaded, that every thing that is to us a subject of happiness and joy cannot be indifferent to you, or to our people. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

MARET.

* Art. II. The Crown of Italy is hereditary in the direct and legitimate line, whether natural or adopted, from male to male, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants, still providing that the right of adoption cannot be extended to any one who is not a Citizen of the French Empire, or the Kingdom of Italy.—Constitutional Statute of the Kingdom of Italy of the 19th March, 1805.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" I am not disposed to under-value the resources of this country; but, notwithstanding any inauspicious " aspect the present affairs of India may be supposed to bear, I am still sanguine enough to hope that the " day is much nearer, when the resources of India will administer aid to the revenues of this country, " than that, on which we are to apprehend that India will call for aid from the finances of Great Britain." Mr. Dundas's (now Lord Melville) Speech in the House of Commons, May 24, 1791.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

NEW MINISTRY. (Continued from p. 176.) The appointment of Lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet is, as it has been represented, certainly a measure the propriety of which, is, to say the least of it, very questionable. Merely as a cabinet minister, if we could forget his other high situation, I, for my part, should have no objection to Lord Ellenborough; for, though there have been differences of opinion, as to political matters, in which he took some part; yet, he has, from the beginning, shown himself a steady friend to the inquiries into abuses, and, in the memorable case of the Duke of Athol, when so many other lords, for reasons best known to themselves, chose to remain silent, the Lord Chief Justice manfully stood forward in the cause of the people and of honour. The enemy of peculators and of jobbers, be he who he may, is, politically speaking, my friend; and, therefore, I should with great pleasure see Lord Ellenborough in the cabinet, were he not a judge; but, being a judge, his appointment to a seat in the cabinet is assuredly not very consistent, and, indeed, not at all consistent, with that great principle of our constitution, that the *executive* powers of the state should be ever kept entirely distinct from those of the *judiciary*. This has, by all the celebrated writers upon our constitution, been considered not merely as a great principle, but as the main principle; and, a strict adherence to it has always been regarded as essential, nay, as absolutely necessary, to the real liberty of the subject, which, after all, being truly defined, consists in *freedom from oppression*, and, whoever will trace this freedom will find a security for it no where but in the courts of justice. As the means of obviating the possibility of all danger upon this score, it has been suggested, that, when the cabinet shall have, if, unfortunately, they should have, to discuss questions relating to prosecutions, or actions, that may, in consequence of such discussions, be brought before him, in his capacity of judge, he may *keep away from the cabinet*. But, is it possible that any one should not perceive the futility of this? Suppose a case of libel, for instance. The Lord Chief Justice would not attend for the purpose of giving his sanction to the prosecution; but, if the libel should have arisen from a general censure upon the ministry in a body, or upon any measure of the ministry, would not the Lord Chief Justice be, to all intents and purposes *a party*? And, would it not be contrary to every principle of our laws and our constitution to make a man a judge in his own case? Nor, is it only in cases of libel that the danger must appear to every one: there are those of rioting for certain purposes; of sedition; of treason; and, in short, of all kinds connected at all with a disapprobation of, or an opposition to, the measures of the administration. Our ideas of a court of justice are, that there we are to be heard before persons, not only of wisdom and of perfect integrity, but of impartiality as perfect. And, for the security of this impartiality; for the prevention of the operation of the frailties of human nature against us, we expect to find perfect independence; a perfect absence of temptation, from any selfish feeling, to do us injustice. And, I ask, is it probable, nay is it *possible*, that, in a case of libel levelled at the whole of a ministry, a member of that ministry can come to the trial with a mind like a sheet of blank paper? For these reasons, and, as to the cases that may occur, many of other descriptions might be mentioned; for these reasons, and not for any reason of a party or a political complexion, it is to be desired, and, indeed, hoped, that some means of arranging the cabinet, without including the Lord Chief Justice, may be found out and adopted. Such an arrangement must, too, be desired by the Lord Chief Justice himself even more, one would think, than by any other person; for, God knows, the multiplicity of penal statutes has rendered his office of judge so laborious as to leave him very little time for attendance at cabinet councils, and no time at all for that inquiry and reflexion, which are necessary to bring to such a council a mind so matured as

to be able to decide upon the wisdom of political measures. On the score of *responsibility*, too (and, let us hope, that responsibility will *now* be again considered as something real), is there not an insuperable difficulty? The judge holds his office during good behaviour; but, it is during good behaviour as a judge; and, it does not appear how he can be at all punished as a cabinet minister unless he be also punished as a judge, which, nevertheless cannot be, unless he behave ill as a judge. In short, there is, as I think it must appear to all the world, so evident an incompatibility in the two stations, that I cannot help once more expressing a hope, that some means will be discovered, and applied, for removing this cloud from between us and the cheering prospect that is opening to our view.——There is, in the formation of the cabinet, another instance of incompatibility, which is, indeed, of less importance, at least in a constitutional point of view, but to which I advert with, if possible, still greater reluctance; and that is, the union, in the person of that most respectable and truly honourable nobleman, Lord Grenville, the offices of Auditor of the Exchequer and First Lord of the Treasury; an incompatibility, which, to have seen sanctioned by an act of parliament, must have given all the friends of the new ministry the greater pain from the circumstance, that there was so very easy, so very natural, and so very laudable, a way of preventing it from ever being a subject of one moment's difficulty, or hesitation. It is with extreme reluctance, and not till after a long and mortifying struggle in my mind, that I make this a subject of remark. But, the measure has occasioned general comment; I have spoken of it with none but friends of the noble lord; I have found them unanimous in their regret; and I cannot refrain from avowing, that, in that regret, I amply participate. Men observe, and it is impossible that they should not observe, that Lord Grenville has a large pension secured to himself, with a very competent reversion to Lady Grenville, besides this Auditorship; that he has a private fortune, which renders these a superfluity; and, when they are told, that, in regard to demands upon the public, the private *wealth* of the party ought not to be taken into consideration, they justly reply, that, neither, then, ought the private *poverty* of the party; but, they well know, and, indeed the knowledge of it is universal, that such poverty is, every day that we live, made the ground, and, in many instances, the sole ground, of demands upon the public. The principle, to be good for any thing, must apply to both cases; for, men will hardly be brought to allow, that the private poverty of a statesman ought to operate against the public, unless it be allowed, that his private wealth ought to operate in its favour. The Auditorship is a sinecure, or it is not; if it be not, then there is a clear incompatibility, which no law can remove; and, if it be a sinecure, what an excellent opportunity was here offered for suppressing it, or, at least, for reserving it for the purpose of preventing the necessity of some new grant of the public money! When the Auditorship was first mentioned as an obstacle to Lord Grenville's being First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, every one exclaimed: an *obstacle!* Good God, what is there to do but resign it! Every one exclaimed: are these times for public men to adopt the maxim of 'getting all you can and keeping all you get!' These are, indeed, not the times. And, when every speech, whether from the throne or from the ministers, do, and must, call upon the people for *sacrifices*; when the sacrifices demanded of the people are such as are to be justified upon no ground but that of hard and imperious necessity, shall the first, the very first act of the new ministry, say to the people, in language not to be misunderstood, that the person ostensibly at the head of them is willing to make no sacrifice at all? It is, indeed, said by some, that, *as a sacrifice*, Lord Grenville would cheerfully have given up the Auditorship, but that, it would have had the appearance of courting popular applause at the expense of his predecessors and others. I do not say, that this might not have been the motive of his lordship; but, I am decidedly of opinion, that it is a refinement upon magnanimity and disinterestedness, which will with great difficulty be comprehended by vulgar minds, especially when those minds hardly ever experience a moment's relief from the dunning of the tax-gatherer. The people remember the circumstances attendant upon the case of *Astlett*; they remember, and will long remember, those circumstances, which gave rise to so novel and so dangerous and so . . . . (but I will not further characterise it) a precedent in British jurisprudence; and, they see the mighty and all-subduing arm of parliament resorted to; they see it resorted to a second time, in so short a space, for the purpose, with respect to this office, of "sol- "dering close impossibilities, and making "them kiss;" they all see this with disapprobation, and, this disapprobation is, in the friends of Lord Grenville, not entirely unmingled with shame; shame not at all diminished by the eulogium upon his lordship,

which the occasion drew forth from George Rose.——As to *omissions* in the new arrangements, the nation feels some degree of disappointment at Mr. Whitbread's not being placed in a high place of trust and confidence. For his services he, in all likelihood, wants not money; but, there are no honours, there are no marks by which merit can be distinguished, that would be too much for him. He has given proofs of public spirit and public virtue seldom surpassed, and of talents, industry, and perseverance that yield to nothing of the kind ever witnessed in this country. Were he to die, a monument and a public funeral it would, indeed, become the parliament to vote and the King to sanction; and, if he live, we may, I trust, live in hopes of seeing him honoured and confided in by those under whose sway we are to live. This is not said upon a supposition that he is *not* to be honoured and confided in. The *time* may, by some, be regarded as improper, though I must avow, that I can imagine no time so suitable; for I am persuaded, that, were a distinguished mark of royal and ministerial approbation conferred on him, nothing would more strongly tend to conciliate the affections of the people, and to inspire them with that confidence in the integrity of the new ministry, which is so necessary to the success of those great measures which the honour and the safety of the country demand.——Mr. Francis, too, will, by all those who have been able to obtain a knowledge of the affairs of India, be regretted in his absence from the Governorship of India, or, at least, from the Board of Controul. Lord Minto is an able, an industrious, a zealous and an honourable man; but, when one considers how Lord Minto has been occupied, it is no disparagement to him to say, that it is impossible, that he should be, at the present time in particular, so proper a person as Mr. Francis for presiding at the Board of Controul. Mr. Francis has been twenty years engaged in an attention to the affairs of India. His several speeches upon India Affairs form a complete digest of the voluminous and multifarious publications relative thereunto. To him, and to him alone, it is that we owe what knowledge we possess upon the subject. Since the first passing of the bill, by means of which the Pitts scaled the ramparts of power, and by the corruptions emanating from which they so long kept possession of the fortress, hurling destruction upon all around it; from that day, heedless alike of the clamours of a misguided people, stirred up by the arts of mercenary and ambitious hypocrites, and of the insolent sarcasms of triumphant fraud and of conscious impunity; unwearied by the disgusting listlessness of those from whom he was anxious to obtain attention to his statements; from that fatal day, has he persevered in detecting the frauds and the falsehoods, in exposing the imbecillity and the impudence, and in warning the country of the consequences to be apprehended from the measures, of those men who have had the principal share in the management of India Affairs. And now; now, when those affairs have been brought into a state, in which they can no longer go on; now, when his opponents are proved to be all that he has ever said of them; now, when all his predictions are completely verified; now, when it is seen and confessed, that, if his wise councils had been listened to, the load of dishonour and of *taxes* that are coming upon us, on account of our East-India colonies, would have been avoided; now, even now, are we to see those councils tacitly condemned by his exclusion from the departments connected with India? At this moment, there are before parliament, the grounds of a grave discussion relative to the conduct of a late Governor General, who had been recalled and replaced by another. That other is dead, leaving India in a state, by all acknowledged to be most critical. Who, under the present circumstances; who, but Mr. Francis, did the nation look to as a successor? But, if his age were an obstacle, though it was none in the case of Lord Cornwallis, it could be no obstacle to his being placed at the head of the Board of Controul, where he would have been able, and much more able than any other man in England, to unravel that complication of deceits, that mystery of iniquity, which, for the purposes of future security as well as for those of justice for the past, now ought to be unravelled. In parliament, however, he will still be; there we may hope long to see him; and there, though not so greatly useful as he elsewhere might have been, we may rest assured that he will be eminently useful in prosecuting that inquiry, which has been called for, not by the motion of a single member, but by the unanimous voice of all the honest and honourable part of the nation.——"Why," says some place-hunting, time-serving slave, "here's this Cobbett at-"tacking the new ministry already! An "angel from heaven would not please "him." As to angels from heaven, I never expect to see any; and, as to *attacking* the new ministry, I have neither done it, nor do I intend to do it. I have only pointed out that which I think is wrong, and this, upon similar occasions, I shall continue to do, let who

will be concerned in it. When there are in power a ministry, whom, taken all together, you regard as capable and sincerely disposed to serve the country for its good, it is your duty to give them a general support; and, as a general support cannot be given without overlooking some, and even many, things that you do not quite approve of, to act consistently, you must overlook many things, and some of them, of considerable importance, because you must, in all human affairs, take the good with the bad, and make an estimate upon a fair view of the whole. On the contrary, when you see the offices of state in the hands of a set of men, of whose want of capacity or of disposition well to serve the country you are convinced, your main object ought to be to cause them to be removed. Duty may, in certain cases, call upon you to commend their conduct; but, if, in the pursuit of your principal object, you pass over in silence things which, in themselves, might be entitled to commendation, you are not to be blamed. But, as your duty may, in special cases, compel you to applaud the conduct of those whom you ought to wish to see removed; so it may, in special cases, compel you to censure the conduct of those whom it is, and ought to be, your wish to see remain in power. Such are the principles, by which I have always been actuated, and it is upon these principles that I have thought it right to submit the above remarks. I have anxiously wished to see Lord Grenville in power; for, though I have never pretended to represent him as a man of the very first rate abilities; though I have certainly never thought him a man of great profundity, particularly in matters relating to political economy; I have always regarded him as a steady, a wise, and an upright statesman, having neither tinsel nor trick whereby to lure, cajole, and deceive the people; and, as to matters of party, it is impossible to pass a higher eulogium upon him than to say, that, in the arrangement of the present ministry, he has shown himself to be the exact contrary of Mr. Pitt. Thus thinking of him, it was not without much consideration and much hesitation, that I made the retention of the Auditorship a subject of remark. But, all the circumstances taken into view, it was impossible for me consistently to pass it over in silence. I was not unaware, that, just at this time, when every eye was fixed upon him, remarks, such as I have made, could scarcely fail of producing some small degree of effect not favourable to his lordship; but, I was aware, too, that some few eyes might be fixed upon *me;* and, as it behoves us all to take care of our own reputation, I think, that, upon this ground alone, the reader will be indulgent enough to discover an apology for what I have said. Nor, indeed, would the observing of a silence upon this subject have been to act fairly and justly towards the ministry in general; because, the effect of such silence must have been to excite, with regard to my rectitude as a writer, such suspicions as could not have failed to weaken the efforts, however feeble they may be, which, thinking as I do, it is my duty to make for the support of their power and for the success of their measures. Besides, the acts and omissions, of which I have thought it necessary to speak, are not *irretrievable.* There is yet time to correct what is amiss, if it be amiss; and, if it be not amiss, it is more than probable I shall be thought by the public to be in error, in which case I shall have hurt nothing but the patience of those who have read what I have written.——By way of close to this article, I cannot refrain from once more expressing my hope, that the new Chancellor of the Exchequer will cautiously forbear from all attempts to imitate his predecessor, in his financial statements to the House of Commons. A very good opportunity will be offered him for making us acquainted with the true state of our affairs. It should be such as we can believe because we understand it, and not because we have no understanding. *Faith* in the funds, is a phrase of singular propriety; but, this is precisely that sort of faith which will now be of no use, even in supporting the power of a ministry. All attempts at imitation, such as I have been here speaking of will fail. Let nothing, therefore, tempt Lord Henry Petty to believe, that he shall succeed in the way that his predecessor succeeded. The taste of the people has changed. They will never bear a second heaven-born minister, any more than they will a second Young Roscius; and, if Lord Henry Petty were to set up for one, his fate would certainly resemble that of Miss Mudie, by the means of whom Kemble so judiciously, and so politely contrived to convince the town of its puerile folly. No: no imitations. No boasts about the *flourishing* state of a country with 1,200,000 paupers, out of a population of less than 9,000,000 of souls. A plain, unadorned representation of the situation of the nation's affairs will do much towards rendering men patient under their burdens; but, without such a statement, they never will be patient, or, at least, they never will be chearful; never will entertain that hope of better times, with which it is now so necessary to inspire them. I have no *doubt*

upon the subject of the new Chancellor's intentions; but so earnest is my wish with regard to it, that I cannot help repeating an expression of it.

THE ARMY.——That some *great measure* relative to our military means of defence ought to be taken, and that it *must* be taken, in order to enable us either to make war, or peace, every man appears to be fully convinced. A like conviction must, of course, prevail as to the necessity of a great *change of plan*; for, if the present plans were good, there would be no need to talk of any new measure. Yet are some of the newspapers, the only object of whose editors is that sort of popularity which leads to the wide circulation of their papers, or, in other words, to private emolument, endeavouring to excite a prejudice against the measures to be adopted, without having even heard what is to be the nature of those measures. A striking instance of this appears in a paragraph of the Morning Post newspaper of the 13th instant, upon which, after having submitted it to the reader, I shall offer a remark or two. "Ministers, we understand, continue to bestow the most serious attention upon the proposed plan of reform in our military system, the task of revising which, is said to be committed to the War Secretary of State, Mr. Windham. The hostility of this gentleman to the Volunteer System is well known, and should its abolition, as report states, be a part of his plan, it will be curious to observe how his coadjutors in office, who were so instrumental in its establishment, and so loud in its praise, will conduct themselves on the occasion. Upon this subject, perhaps, as much as upon any other whatever, is a difference of opinion likely to arise among the members of the new cabinet; but until we hear something more upon the subject, until the proposed plan becomes in some degree developed and explained, any particular observations upon the subject would be not only premature, but highly improper. Enough however, is known of Mr. Windham's sentiments with respect to the Volunteer System, to leave no doubt, that, if his whimsical fancy, be permitted to take unbounded flight, that unjustly aspersed and vilified establishment will be abolished for one certainly not more advantageous to the country, and infinitely less splendid and respectable in the eyes of the world. The trifling inconveniences attendant upon the volunteer-system, have frequently been dwelt upon by Mr. Windham with more pleasantry than justice, and happily his observations upon this subject have never made any serious impression upon his hearers. But, supposing all his notions upon this question to be true, to what purpose are they produced? He has doubtless stood nearly alone in his enjoyment of this part of his own parliamentary exhibitions. Would the inconveniences he enumerates, even admitting them to exist to the full extent of his imagination, be a set-off to one hundredth part of the advantages they accompany. Are we to abandon for them the immense benefit of restoring the military, without losing the commercial character of the country; of refuting the traitors who made it believed in France, that the Sovereign dare not trust his subjects with arms, and of rendering the enemy an ignominious spectacle to Europe, for threats unattempted to be enforced, at a time when all their means had been so ostentatiously completed. In the present stage of the business, it would be improper to pursue the subject any farther; but we shall in due time resume the subject; and offer such observations as a candid and impartial review of the proposed system shall appear to us to demand".——That the eagerness to attack must be very great, when it will not allow the assailant time to find out his object, the reader will certainly agree; but, this eagerness is, happily, attended with such evident marks of malignant design, that it is very likely to counteract itself. Yes, the task of revising the military system is assuredly to be committed to Mr. Windham; for, if it were not, I can hardly think that the power of bestowing Governorships of colonies and the like would have been sufficient to tempt him to make such a sacrifice as he must now make of his ease and his health. His "hostility to the volunteer system", if hostility it must be called, is also well known; and, his taking a part in the new ministry is, with me at least, a sure foundation for hoping, that something is to be done for so changing that system as to render it useful as far as it will remain, and to take away its baneful effects with regard to the regular army. If this be not done, nothing good can be done. Nor can I perceive, here, any ground whatever for differences of opinion in the cabinet. How many measures are adopted by every ministry, and given up again upon trial? And, has not this system been sufficiently tried? And, are not the circumstances materially altered, since the system was first adopted? We want an *efficient* and a *cheap* defence; and, is not every man now convinced, that an efficient

defence is not to be found in men not under military law, not compellable to march from their homes, and not able to march if they were willing? Is there a man who believes that regular soldiers can be raised at the present high bounty? Can any one think it possible for the nation to go on in this way? I sincerely believe, that there is not one sensible man in the whole kingdom who does not regard it as impossible. Why, then, should there be, in the cabinet, any difference of opinion upon the subject?—— What does the writer mean by "a less "*splendid* system," proceeding from the "whimsical fancy" of Mr. Windham? The system, of which Mr. Windham has always been an advocate is a system of *real* splendour. It contemplates an efficient force; a force with which we might defy the utmost power of France; a force permanent, safe to ourselves, and formidable to our enemy; a force somewhat like the force of France, and not like that which the French had to meet in the Tyrolese and Austrian territory, and over which they marched without appearing to know that it was in existence; a force at once efficient, cheap, and honourable.—— What! are we still to be insulted with assertions, that the volunteer system has a tendency to "*restore* the military, without "losing the commercial character of the "nation?" Are we to be told this, now, when every one is convinced, that the great tendency of the system is to *degrade*, nay, totally to *extinguish*, the military character of the nation; and when we have before our eyes the facts, that the inspectors, the reviewers, the adjutants, the aid-majors, and others appointed by the king to act with the volunteer corps in and about London, have become, with few exceptions, the mere flatterers and toad-eaters of these mercantile red-coats? To destroy the commercial character of the nation never, from any one expression of Mr. Windham, could be considered as his wish. He is much too wise a man not to perceive, that, without commerce, and particularly maritime commerce, these islands would be nothing; but, if he does not entertain the wish to see the *predominance* of trade and commerce, its insolent and insupportable predominance, brought down in such a way as to give the liberal, and particularly the military and naval, professions a fair chance for obtaining public estimation, he is not the man that I take him for, and, I am fully convinced, that he is not a man for these times. Nor is it enough to entertain the *wish*. He must *act* upon some such view of the subject, or he would do well at once to give way; for he may be assured, that no half-measure will do, that no man or men will succeed by such a measure, that the nation is to be taught only by woeful experience, and that the task of forming and acting upon an efficient plan is reserved for a future day.—— As to the insinuation, that Mr Windham's plan would render the country an ignominious spectacle to Europe, by causing it to be believed, that "the Sovereign dare not trust "his subjects with arms," I can only say, that such a plan would be a most unwise one, and that, for that reason alone, I am convinced it never was contemplated by Mr. Windham, who, besides, if I understand his public declarations, is of opinion, that, if the people cannot safely be trusted with arms for the defence of the country, it is useless to attempt to take any measures whatever for its defence. But, his main object is to provide a permanent and efficient military force to meet an enemy of equal or even of superior numbers; not a force made up of fools entrapped, of men held in bondage, of half-starved paupers, of vagabonds, and of thieves whose punishment has been commuted for the honour of serving the King. With this force at command, always ready and always willing, the people, voluntarily armed, and wearing nothing like regimentals, and never going from their homes, would, in the maritime counties, be ready to act, and would, so prepared, be able to render essential service; but, to suppose, that any other than regular soldiers are fit to be opposed in battle to the armies of France, is a mark of as perfect insanity as ever was a passport to Bedlam.——To talk of the "whimsical fancies" of Mr. Windham was the custom of the Pitts, and a notable instance of their envious aspersions, in this way, was exhibited in the smooth sneaking pamphlet of Mr. Long; but, compare what has been said by Mr. Windham, upon the subject of the army, with what has been said and done by his opponents, particularly by that great and destructive projector, Mr. Pitt; make this comparison, and then say, to whom the origin of "whimsical fancies" is justly to be ascribed. We have paid dearly enough for the fancies of Mr. Windham's opponents; dearly enough have we paid for the rejection of his advice; for the sneers with which the band of gentlemen pensioners treated his remonstrances and his warnings; corruption and inherent baseness prevailed over the exertions of his honourable and enlightened mind, and, greatly do I fear, that it is too late to recover from the fatal consequences. He has done his duty thus far; if his country fall it is no fault of his;

and, if he cannot now succeed in the adoption of the measures which he has in contemplation, he may, with a conscience perfectly clear, leave the nation to be schooled by calamity.——Those who think that these sentiments of mine proceed from any thing of a personal or a party feeling are greatly deceived. That I entertain the highest possible degree of respect for Mr. Windham personally every one that knows me must be convinced; but, I beg my readers to remember, that I was *second* to no man in urging the necessity of exalting the military profession; and, I beg them now to attend to my words, when I say, that my applause of Mr. Windham will depend upon his *measures*. They will never see me the blind partizan of any body. My opinions are my own; and, for the promulgation of them to have its fair chance, they must be known to be my own. But, in asserting my claim to my due share of the merit of having prepared the public mind for the great change which will now, in all likelihood, be adopted, I beg to be understood as not putting my judgment upon an equality with that of the gentleman, of whom I have been here speaking; for, most sincerely do I declare, that I am convinced, that no man in the kingdom is to be compared to him in point of knowledge and of wisdom, as far as is connected with subjects of this sort. How to make an army, a real and safe military force, for his country; how to put that country in a state safely to bid defiance to its enemies; these have been the objects of his constant study; and, when we consider the greatness of the mind that has been thus directed, is it wonderful that it should have a claim to pre-eminence? It is not to be supposed, that his opinions and views are not to meet with any modification in the cabinet. His plans may be *improved* there I have no doubt; for there is not now a cabinet of noses; but, what I insist upon, is, that, as the person at the head of all plans of this sort, he is entitled to the perfect confidence of the nation.

Affairs of India.——From the report of the proceedings in parliament, it will be perceived, that, upon the motion of Lord Folkestone, a statement is to be laid before parliament relative to the number of troops sent to India, subsequent to the renewal of the Company's charter, in the year 1793. When this statement comes, let the public attend to it; for, in it will they see to what an extent this hood-winked nation has been drained for the purposes of *commercial* ambition. We generally look upon merchants as a sort of peaceable philanthropic creatures; but, we have not found our East India Directors to possess much of these qualities. To support them and theirs, our country has been drained to the dregs. At their call we have sent away the means, of every sort, which we now stand in need of; and instead of giving us a compensation for those drains, they are now, and I beseech the people to mark what I say, *coming to us for money*; yea, to us, who are called upon to make sacrifices in order to save our native land from subjugation! The speech of Mr. Dundas, now Lord Melville, from which my motto is taken, is not a singular instance. He went on year after year, making, with a modesty so peculiar to him, assertions of the same sort, in contradiction to the opinions of Mr. Francis. *Now*, the truth is come out. It can no longer be disguised, either by him, or by those directors, who, so generously gave him a pension of 2,000l. a year for life, and which pension, observe, we, the cajoled people of England, must pay! In these India affairs, the Pitts and Dundases have left the new ministry a precious legacy. The long score of 13 years of fraud and of profligate expenditure is now to be settled; and, shall we settle it, shall we be taxed to pay it, including even the pensions granted by the Company, without a full investigation into the causes of the deficit? Already have we been taxed to the amount of two millions to pay to this Company that owe us seven millions at least; and shall we be again taxed, for the purpose of paying more to them? I would fain see the minister that would have the assurance to propose such a measure. No: if the East-India Company come to us for relief, let us, as parish officers do, inquire into their means; let us see what property they have; let us take their affairs into our hands, and see if we cannot, by the aid of men different from the Pitts and Dundasses, manage them better. The deceived people, who were induced to set up such a howl about "chartered "rights," and against Mr. Fox's India Bill, in 1784, will now be convinced of their folly; they will now be convinced, that that bill would have prevented their being loaded with millions upon millions of taxes. This may make them think, and put them upon their guard against future attempts at imposture.

Mr. Cochrane Johnstone.——This gentleman's very serious grievance was briefly stated in the Political Register, Vol. VIII. p. 18 and 55, where a determination was expressed to renew and more fully to enter into it, upon the opening of the present session of parliament. Hitherto things have been in a state to prevent me from act-

ing upon this determination; but, I certainly adhere to it, and my readers may be assured, that no consideration connected with the change of ministry (other than that of justice being done to the party), shall divert me from it. This is one amongst many cases that require to be seriously considered by the cabinet, in order to render effectual that *great change*, which they comtemplate in the army.

*** The Prospectus of the PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY is again inserted, because, through an error of the printer, the word *Register* was, in a great part of the impression of last week, put instead of the word *History*.——A trifling alteration is, also, at the suggestion of several gentlemen, made as to the mode of *binding* the volumes; and, a consequent little deduction in the proposed price.

PROSPECTUS

OF

Cobbett's Parliamentary History,

Which, in the compass of Sixteen Volumes, royal octavo, double page, is to contain a full and accurate report of all the recorded proceedings, and of all the speeches, in both Houses of Parliament, from the earliest times to the year 1803, when the publication of Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates commenced.

" Whoever has had frequent occasion to recur to the proceedings in parliament, of former times, must have experienced those difficulties, which it is the object of the proposed work to remove. Merely to find the several works, wherein is contained an account of the parliamentary proceedings, is, at this day, no easy matter, some of them being very scarce, and others excessively voluminous. Hardly any of them, those of the last twenty years excepted, are to be purchased regularly at the booksellers'. The far greater part of them are to be come at by accident only; and, of course, sometimes not to be obtained at all.——But, supposing them all to be at hand, the price of them is no trifling object; and, in many cases, must present a difficulty not to be easily, or, at least, willingly, surmounted. Of these works, taken in their chronological order, the first is, the Parliamentary or Constitutional History, in 24 volumes; the second, the Oxford Debates, in 2 volumes; the third, Chandler's Debates, in 22 volumes; the fourth, Greys' Debates, in 10 volumes; the fifth, Almons' Debates, in 24 volumes; the sixth, Debrett's Debates (now in the hands of various booksellers), in 63 volumes. These works are not to be purchased, if to be purchased at all, under 110*l.* sterling. But still, with all these, the information wanted is very imperfect, without perpetually having recourse to the Journals of the two Houses, which Journals occupy upwards of a hundred volumes in folio: so that, the price of a complete set of the works, in this way, cannot, upon an average of purchases, be reckoned at less than 150 pounds.——These difficulties got over, another, and a still more formidable obstruction to the acquiring of information is found, not merely in the number and the bulk of the volumes, but also in the want of a good arrangement of the contents of most of them, and, further, in the immense load of useless matter, quite unauthentic, and very little connected with the real proceedings of parliament, to be found in many of them. In the two first-mentioned works, we find a narrative of battles, sieges, and of domestic occurrences. The real proceedings of parliament form but a comparatively small proportion of them, whole pamphlets of the day, and very long ones, being, in many places, inserted just as they were published and sold; and, when we come down even to the Debates by Almon and Debrett (taking in Woodfall and others occasionally), we find, that, in numerous instances, three-fourths of the volume consists of papers, laid before parliament, of mere momentary utility, repeated in subsequent and more correct statements, and now nothing but an expence, and, what is much worse, an incumbrance to the reader, and a constantly intervening obstacle to his researches; to which may be added, with respect to all the Debates from Almon's, inclusive, downwards, that there is a total want of all that aid, which is afforded by well contrived running-titles, tables, and indexes, and which is so necessary in every voluminous work, particularly if it relate to the transac-

tions of a long series of years.——With a view of removing all these difficulties, and of putting the public in possession of an account of the Proceedings in Parliament previous to the year 1803, (when Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates commenced) as complete as that which has met with such general approbation in this last-mentioned work, the present publication is undertaken. The Sixteen Volumes, of which the proposed work will consist, and the first of which is now in the press, will be printed in the same form and size, and with the same sort of character, as those of the Political Register and Parliamentary Debates, with this difference only, that the character of this work will, in the same compass, introduce one-fifth more of matter. The volumes, respectively, are to embrace the periods here mentioned; to wit:

Vol. I. From the Conquest, 1066, to the meeting of the Long Parliament in 1640.
II. From the meeting of the Long Parliament, to the death of Charles I. in 1648.
III. From the Commencement of the Commonwealth to the death of Queen Anne, in 1714.
IV. From George I. to the end of the Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament in 1741.
V. From the New Parliament in 1741, to 1774.
VI. From the New Parliament in 1774, to its dissolution in 1780.
VII. } From the New Parliament in 1780,
VIII. } to its dissolution in 1784.
IX. } From the New Parliament in 1784,
X. } to its dissolution in 1790.
XI. } From the New Parliament in 1790,
XII. } to its dissolution in 1796.
XIII. } From the New Parliament in 1796,
XIV. } to its dissolution in 1800.
XV. From the New Parliament in 1800, to its dissolution in 1802.
XVI. From the New Parliament in 1802, to the commencement of Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, November the 22d, 1803.

Each of these volumes will contain considerably more print than is contained in the whole of Hume's History of England, which occupies eight common octavo volumes. When, therefore, it is recollected, that so large a part of the several works, above-enumerated, are taken up with matter, as before described, wholly unconnected, or having but a very remote connexion, with the proceedings in parliament, and entirely destitute of authenticity; when it is recollected also, how much room is saved by the abbreviation of words descriptive of titles and of constantly-occurring phrases of courtesy, the reader will not be surprised, that the whole of the authentic and useful records of the proceedings of the parliament of England, of that of Great Britain, and of that of the United Kingdom, down to the year 1803, will be comprised in the Sixteen Volumes of this work, which will, upon the best computation that can be made, contain as much print as 140 common octavo volumes.——In relation to the earliest times, the work will be compiled chiefly from the Records, the Rolls of of Parliament, and from the most reputable ancient writers of English History. From the reign of Henry VIII. inclusive, we have the additional aid of the Journals of the House of Lords; and from that of Edward VI. that of the Journals of the House of Commons. As to the Speeches, they will, of course, be collected from the several works, wherein, upon careful examination and comparison, they are found to have been the most fully and accurately recorded. The precise words of motions, resolutions, &c. &c. will be copied from the Journals themselves, and not from unauthorized publications. As a book of Parliamentary Precedents, the work, by the aid of its tables and indexes, will be even more complete than any one hitherto published. These tables and indexes will be constructed upon the excellent plan (with some little improvements) recommended by the Committee of the House of Commons, and afterwards adopted by the persons employed to make the indexes to the Journals.——With respect to information relative to those who have, at any time, made a conspicuous figure in parliament, or, indeed, who have been, for any considerable length of time, members of that body, it is not unnecessary to observe, that, in the parts of the work which will give an account of the assembling of the several new parliaments, since the time when records of this sort were first made, there will be complete Lists of the members of the House of Commons, and, from time to time, a state of the Peerage. These, together with an Index of Names, will enable the reader, not only to know, who has, at any time, been in parliament; but also to trace the parliamentary history and conduct of every distinguished member.——Considered as a collection of Public Papers, this work will be more complete than any one extant, in this country. It will contain Copies of all the Treaties, conventions, &c. &c. to which the rulers of this kingdom have, respectively, been parties, and which are, any where, upon record. All King's Speeches, Protests, Conferences,

Standing-Orders, as well as all Petitions, Remonstrances, &c. &c. will be carefully inserted, in their proper places. At the close of the Parliamentary History of each reign, in the early periods, and of every session of parliament in the latter, will be given a List of the Acts passed during its continuance; also an account of the taxes imposed, of the supplies, of the subsidies to foreign powers, of the state of the revenue, of the value of money in relation to the price of provisions. &c. To prepare the materials for a work of such magnitude must necessarily require much labour and time. Nearly two years have already been, in great part, devoted to it; and, such has been the application bestowed, that a considerable part of the whole is in a state fit for the press. The first volume is actually in the press, and will, at the latest, be published on the 15th of May next. The printer has engaged to complete it by the 1st day of that month; but, in order to avoid disappointment, a fortnight later, as the time of delivery from the publishers' has been fixed on. The second volume will be published in August next; and, so on, a volume every quarter of a year till the whole be completed. This distance between the periods of publication will have many conveniencies attending it, and particularly that of leaving the young reader time to have gone through one volume before he has another to purchase.—— The price of each volume, containing, as was observed, more print than eight common octavo volumes, will be 1l. 10s. 0d., done up in extra boards, uncut; or 1l. 11s. 6d. bound in Russia leather, in the same manner as the Political Register and the Parliamentary Debates: to be paid to the the booksellers upon the delivery of each volume successively.——The first volume will be published at the time above fixed on, whether there be subscribers or not, and no difference will be made between the price to subscribers and to others; but, as it would be very grateful to the feelings of the compiler to see his arduous undertaking approved of and encouraged by the public, and as the number of copies, of the second volume must, of course, be regulated by the degree of success that he can reasonably count upon, he will not attempt to disguise, that he is very anxious to obtain a respectable list of subscribers at as early a period as possible.— The work will be published by Mr. Bagshaw, Bow Street Covent Garden; and will be sold also by Mr. Budd, Pall Mall, Mr. Faulder, Bond Street, Messrs. Blacks and Parry, Leadenhall Street, and Mr. Archer, Dublin; to any of which persons subscribers are requested to send their names.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

Sir,——I have attentively read your observations on the national debt, and knowing by experience the impartiality of the Weekly Register, I venture to send you my opinions on the same subject. If your proposition was simply that the public welfare of the nation must not be sacrificed for the claims of individuals, I should most heartily concur with you, and when it shall be proved, that the interest of the debt can no longer be paid, without ruin to the country, it must be lowered, and possibly in the end, be altogether done away.——But, Mr. Cobbett, when you quit the strong ground of necessity, and the only justifiable ground that can be urged for so glaring a breach of national faith, as the extinction of the debt would involve us in; when you talk of loan-jobbers, blood-suckers, and contractors, as not having an equitable claim to their property, and when through them, you endeavour to weaken the claims of the stock-holders in general on the national faith, you strike at the root of every species of property. I have just as fair a claim to my dividends, as I have to the rents of my landed estate, and my houses. But, circumstances may arise, which may compel the legislature to withhold, or materially to tax my dividends, beyond the proportion of taxes which they may place on my land and houses.—If the legislature were to take such a step arbitrarily, or wantonly, most assuredly it would be an act of the grossest injustice, but the act which necessity compels Parliament to adopt, ceases to be unjust; and, here I agree with you, that such a necessity is likely to arise, if for some time longer the debt shall be increased, at the rate of ten or twelve millions a year. That it has not arisen *already*, is indeed most wonderful.—I am old enough to remember as a boy, the debt of this nation at 70 millions, and to have been told by a county member of that day, that when he heard Sir Robert Walpole affirm that the nation could well bear a debt of 100 millions without a national bankruptcy, he was almost mobbed by the landed interest, both in, and out of the house. In the space of half a century; that is, from 1755, to 1805; this debt has increased from 70 to 600 millions. The annual interest of it in the same proportion, and our expenses, if we had peace to-morrow, must at least be four times greater than they were in 1755.—In considering this subject, however, you must also consider the very great change which in fifty years has taken place, in the relative value of money, and in property of every description. There is scarcely a landed estate in this kingdom

which produced 500l. a year in 1755, that does not now pay 1,500l. a year to the proprietor, and many a much higher rent. Houses, generally speaking, pay now treble the rent that they did then, and in the same proportion every necessary of life, servants wages, &c. have been increased.—The only description of persons who suffer by this great change in the relative value of money, are those men, whose property was all in the funds fifty years ago, who then lived up to the interest of their fortunes, and still do so. Suppose a man to have been many years ago possessed of sixty thousand pounds, three per cents, and to have lived at 1500l. a year, he now finds his income of no more value than 500l. a year was when he came into life. But a landed man whose rental was 1500l. a year in 1755, has now a rental of 4,500l. a year, and can sell, if compelled to do so, for 28 or 30 years purchase, while the stock-holder if obliged to sell, gets 60l. for what in 1755 was worth 100l.—I can assure you that I never was directly, nor indirectly concerned in a loan in my life. But justice is due to every man, and I cannot see why loan-jobbers should be held up to public execration. We have jobbers of every description in this commercial country. How many are there who have made, and lost large fortunes by purchasing land and houses, in the last fifty years. To my knowledge, estates which in 1770 cost 30,000l. have been sold last year for 80 and 100,000l. And houses for treble what they cost in 1770.—If a speculator in 1783, had laid out 10,000l. at Brighton, in the purchase of land, not worth ten shillings a year to a farmer, he would have gained half a million sterling by the speculation. Without the prescience that would have enabled one man to gain so large a sum, barbers, pastry cooks, taylors, haberdashers, and attornies, have gained immensely by the purchase of land by the foot at Brighton, and at Margate also. Would you deprive these men of their property because they have been speculative jobbers?—We well know, that this nation is not able to raise within the year, the sums necessary for the public expenditure in war. Hence arose the funded system, commenced with the revolution, and continued to this day.—Has the nation at any period paid an enormous interest on the money borrowed? I believe in very few instances indeed more than 5 per cent, the legal interest of the country, and in most instances much less than 5 per cent. The profit upon loans, therefore, has not arisen from ministerial favour, nor from parliamentary carelessness, but from the fluctuations in the market after the loan of each year has been made; and, though it is believed that Sir Francis Baring, Mr. Goldsmid, Mr. Angerstein, and others, have gained considerably by loans from 1793 to this day, yet Benfield lost half a million sterling by the loans that he had contracted for. The houses of Payne and Smith, Sir James Esdaile and many others, it is also believed, lost very considerably by their loans. But this is a question that applies merely to individuals. The only question for the nation is, whether at any period, by a combination amongst monied men, the minister was compelled to borrow at an usurious interest. I believe, upon inquiry it will be found that the nation through the whole of the war, has borrowed upon better terms than any man of landed property could borrow, even though he gave the best security for the interest, with an engagement to repay the principal at a given period. On this subject, it is my misfortune to speak from experience.—But, supposing it could be satisfactorily proved that by an artful and wicked combination amongst monied men, the minister and parliament had been compelled to borrow money at an usurious interest, is the stock-holder to forfeit his property for the villainy of loan-jobbers? No! The obvious and the fair mode of proceeding would be, by a bill of pains and penalties attaching only to the guilty. But, in my opinion, the guilt does not exist. Without being Mr. Pitt's panegyrist, I believe that he, as well as Lord Sidmouth, made the best possible bargains for the public that could be procured. The gambling in stocks, the rise and fall of omnium, is a business amongst individuals, much to be lamented undoubtedly, but the public has no concern in it. The minister who borrows money dear, when he could get it cheap merits impeachment; and, if parliament neglects its duty, by giving its sanction to an improvident bargain, I know not with what justice, redress can be obtained. I remember the censures cast upon Lord North for one loan in particular during the American war, when the omnium rose to 12 per cent. immediately after the bargain was concluded. But in that instance, the sudden rise was occasioned by an idea of a general peace under the mediation of the Emperor of Germany, and when the negociation failed, the omnium fell, as suddenly as it rose. From a fluctuation in politics one of Mr. Pitt's loans bore a premium of 16 per cent, and one of Lord Sidmouth's, a discount just as large. Yet it would be unfair to argue, that Mr. Pitt made an improvident loan for the public, or that the men who dealt with Lord

Sidmouth were fools or idiots.—My opinion is, that every species of property in this kingdom is equally secure. But the stock-holder must know, that if the debt is swelled to a magnitude which incapacitates the nation from paying the interest of it, a partial bankruptcy must be the consequence. There is no legal remedy against a national act. But the stock-holder knows that his interest will be paid as long as the nation can pay it, without ruin to the people. He knows that he has no claim upon the nation for the principal, unless it chooses to pay him off at par. But still he possesses a property convertible into money at the price of the day, and he takes the chance of loss or gain. For the interest he has the strongest possible claim: the faith of the nation solemnly pledged to him, and continued for more than a century, never once violated in all that period; nor does the case which you quote in Mr. Pelham's administration alter the faith, because they who did not choose to subscribe to his plan, had the option of being paid for their stock at par.—Mr. Fox's sentiments I have reason to believe are similar to mine on this subject. It is not setting up a monied in opposition to a landed interest. The question is, to whom must a minister go when he wants to borrow money? Undoubtedly to those who have money to lend. You are not to inquire after you have taken his money whether it was gained fairly or unfairly. But if a minister can prove that the public has been defrauded by an individual, whether he be a contractor, a loan-jobber, a clerk in office, or a cabinet minister, it is his duty to prosecute him to conviction, and to compel him to repay the sum of which the public has been defrauded.—— The largest fortune made in the seven years war, was made by an army contractor; was he ever accused of having defrauded the public? Would you now seize his children's money in the funds, or sell their landed estates for the public benefit, because their father was a successful contractor? Would you break the public faith with the loan contractors, because though they lent money to the nation at 5 per cent, they might have made 7, 8, or even 10 per cent by their bargain?——Nothing can be more dangerous, or more unjust than to make a distinction as to the superior right which an individual possesses to one part of his property over another. How much of the landed property of this kingdom and of Ireland, was violently and unjustly taken from the church and granted to the personal favourites of Henry the Eighth; almost the entire fortune of some persons, consists of church and abbey lands, granted to their ancestors. How many in Ireland were dispossessed of their estates by Oliver Cromwell, and how many more subsequently by King William! If your arguments were just, why should not the stock-holder propose that the nation should resume all former grants of land, in order to perform their recent engagements? I have some land which has passed to me by descent from 1180, and why should not the stock-holder question my right, to what at that early period might have proceeded from an arbitrary grant of a despotic sovereign, with as much justice as I should deny his right to call upon the nation to comply with its solemn engagements to him?—As early as the reign of Queen Anne, when the funding system was in its infancy, Dean Swift predicted that a new order of men would spring up, and that in time the monied would bear down the landed interest of the country. This growing evil he imputed very truly to the revolution, which introduced continental connections, continental wars, and the Dutch system of funding, in order to attach monied men to the new government. But, though Swift lamented this change in the constitution, and the feeling of the country, he did not dispute the *right* which these new men had to their property. He even laments the increase of commerce as a public misfortune, because it lessened the consequence of the clergy, and of country gentlemen. But he does not recommend the breaking open the merchants warehouses, nor the destruction of their goods.——An idea has long prevailed with many, that the nation will not be able to pay the interest of its public debt. Mr. Thomas Pitt (Lord Camelford) entertained this opinion, and avowed it in the House of Commons at the peace of 1783. But his argument did not at all go to dispute the *right* of the public creditor to be paid, if the country had the power to pay him. Now we have a debt, and interest upon it, more than double what it was in 1783, yet still the interest is regularly paid. The funds it is true have been directly taxed both by Mr. Pitt, and Lord Sidmouth, but every other description of property has been taxed also at the same time.——The public confidence in the justice of the nation keeps up the funds, notwithstanding the enormous amount of debt, and the additions which must annually be made to it, if this war should continue. Yet no stock-holder can be so stupid as not to consider, that, making every allowance for the change which an increase of debt makes in the relative value of money, there must be a point, beyond which the funding sys-

tem cannot be carried. Though Sir Robert Walpole in 1789, was mistaken when he said that this nation though it could bear a debt of 100 millions, would be bankrupt if the debt exceeded that amount; though Mr. Thomas Pitt was equally mistaken when he conceived that in 1783, it could not pay the interest of a debt of 240 millions, yet, if the present debt should increase to one thousand millions, which it well may in a long war, there are few who will conceive that the nation can pay the interest on a debt of that amount. What, then, will be the question? Surely not as to the *right* of the stock-holder to receive his interest, but as to the inability of the nation to pay it.

A. Z.

FUND-DEALING CLERGYMEN.

SIR,——In your numbers for the 28th of Dec. and 18th of Jan. last, you animadverted, with your wonted energy of style, upon the conduct of two clergymen, who, in their zeal to promote the *patriotic* subscription at Lloyds' Coffee House, have stepped somewhat beyond the bounds which decency, and a due regard to the sanctity of their office, would have prescribed. I am no less an enemy than yourself to appeals, either to the vanity or the fears of people, in applications of this nature, particularly when those appeals are made by clergymen in their official capacity. At the same time, Sir, I think you have not acted with your usual candour in passing an indiscriminate censure upon the whole order, because some individuals of that order have (to use your own words) "shewn themselves to be of a party with "the fund dealers," or "become the echo "of the placard at Lloyd's." Having the honour of belonging to that respectable body (for so I believe the clergy are generally esteemed, and have often been admitted even by yourself) which you have attacked, it is natural that I should feel jealous of its credit, and anxious to assert and vindicate its general purity. I mean not, however, to offer any apology for the gentlemen, whose names you have mentioned; and, for the rest of the clergy, who have made collections in their churches, you have yourself suggested an apology, in a subsequent part of the paper above quoted, when you express a hope, that they have "in most instances acted with "more alacrity than thought." But you appear to me, Mr. Cobbett, to have greatly over-rated the number of those clergymen, who have raised contributions in their parishes for the Lloyd's fund. A cursory inspection of the newspaper reports may convince any one, that they bear but a small proportion to the collective body of the clergy, whose number in England and Wales is usually estimated at eleven thousand. It is evident, therefore, from this comparison, that a very considerable majority of them have had no share in the crime, which has provoked your displeasure. For myself, I entertained scruples upon the subject from the first, for the reasons so properly stated by the churchwarden of Ickleton, and determined, in consequence, to have no subscription in my own parish. My determination was confirmed by your Register of Dec. 28th, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligation to you for those more correct views of the dangerous principle, upon which the fund is established, and the unconstitutional effects, which it is calculated to produce, which you have unfolded with so much perspicuity and force in that, and the Register of Jan. 18th. That the clergy are exempt from their share in the general corruption, which has diffused itself through every rank and class of the community, I will not affirm. That they partake of it in a larger measure, than the rest of the community, I will strenuously deny. All I desire is, that the same impartiality may be extended to them, which has so uniformly characterised your useful publication, and that the sins of individuals may not be imputed to the whole order. I am, Sir, &c.

CLERICUS. *Feb.* 7, 1806.

WEST-INDIA PLANTERS.

SIR,—In your register for Feb. 8, in your Summary of Politics, page 170, you say, "The West-India colonists have complaints, "and just complaints too, of a long standing. In consequence of restraints and "imposts both operating at once and with "a degree of force far beyond the power of "resistance, the islands have been reduced "almost to a state of desperation." To convince the minister for colonial affairs and the public of the truth of the above assertion, I will, in as few words as possible, represent my own situation, and, I imagine, that of the greater part of the colonists to be as bad or worse.—My estate is in the island of Jamaica, and my crop shipped from thence this year, was 350 hogsheads of 13 cwt. of sugar each. There was also made on my estate 150 puncheons of rum. The rum made on my estate has always hitherto been sold in the island, to pay the contingent expenses of the estate, and which expenses consist in island taxes, purchase of lumber, commission to agent, &c. &c.; but, this year, owing to the restraint on our intercourse with America, it remains

unsold in my warehouse. Had it been shipped to Great Britain at the price at which rum has sold this year, it might have produced me clear 10l. sterling per puncheon. The invoice of goods shipped by me from this country for the use of my estates this year, amounted to 2,100l sterling. The contingent expenses of my estate in Jamaica amounted this year, to 4,400l. currency. Exchange at 140 per cent., is 3,150l. sterling. These have been considerably increased this year by martial law twice proclaimed.—My sugar has sold at various prices, but the quality being moderate, it has averaged about 70s. per cwt. The duty on sugar is 27s. per cwt. Freight from Jamaica 10s. per cwt. Insurance and other charges 7 per cwt. Total 44s. per cwt. which, deducted from 70s. leaves me 26s. per cwt. nett.—Let us see how my account will stand. A hogshead of sugar 13 cwt. at 26s. per cwt., is 16l. 10s.

Therefore 350 hhds. at 16l. 10s. each, is	5,775
Deduct bills drawn on me for contingent expenses in Jamaica.	3,150
Stores shipped from England,	2,100
	5,250
Remains . . .	525

Here is 525l. to pay the interest of 50,000l. sterling which my estate has cost me, setting exactly 1 per cent. on my capital. If my rum had been shipped to this country and sold at the low price of 10l. per puncheon, my returns would have been 2,000l. sterling, which is 4 per cent. on my capital, and this is the boasted profit of West Indians.—But, Mr. Cobbett, from this sum of 525l. must be taken a sum for casualties, purchase of negroes, and though last not least, the interest of the debt due from me to my West India merchant, so that with my sugar selling at 70l. per cwt., and my rum unsold in Jamaica, owing to the absurd restraints put on our trade with America, my debt to my merchant is unavoidably increased, and my family without support for the ensuing year. That the above is a fair statement of my own case, and that of many of my unfortunate countrymen, may be easily ascertained by applying at the counting houses of Messrs. Longs, Messrs. Hibberts, Messrs. Taylor, or any other West India houses.—To obviate the calamities of the West India planters, it will be necessary immediately to send out orders to re-establish the trade between America and the British West India islands on the old footing, to lessen the duties on sugar and rum, to encourage the use of the latter spirit in the British navy in preference to foreign spirit, and to check the further importation of East India sugar, by loading it with an additional duty.—The duty on East India sugar at present is 37l. per cent. *ad valorem*, now 27 s. per cwt. on sugar selling at 70s. per cwt. amounts pretty nearly to that sum. The proper time to take the above premises into consideration is at the commencement of an administration, of whom I only hope to have it in my power to say, that their conduct in every respect forms a perfect contrast to that of their predecessors. —I am, Sir, &c. A West Indian.—*Winchester, Feb.* 10, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Naples and France.—*Proclamation issued by the Emperor Napoleon, dated Schoenbrunn, Dec.* 27, 1805.

Soldiers, For ten years I have done all I could to save the King of Naples: he has done every thing in his power to destroy himself.—After the battles of Dego, of Mondovi, and of Lodi, he could give me no effectual opposition. I placed confidence in the word of this Prince, and I behaved with generosity towards him.—When the second coalition was dissolved at Marengo, the King of Naples, who was the first to commence that unjust war, abandoned at Luneville by his allies, remained alone, and without protection. He solicited my pardon, and I forgave him a second time.—A few weeks ago you were at the gates of Naples. I had sufficient reason to suspect the treachery which was intended, and to avenge the insults which I had received. Still I was generous. I acknowledged the neutrality of Naples; I ordered you to evacuate that kingdom, and, for the third time, the house of Naples was confirmed and saved.—Shall we grant pardon for a fourth time? Shall we, for a fourth time, place any confidence in a court, without truth, honour, or common sense; No! No! The Neapolitan Dynasty has ceased to reign; its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe, and the honour of our crown.—Soldiers! march, drive into the sea, if they will wait your attack, these feeble battalions of the tyrants of the sea. Shew to the world the manner in which we punish the perjured. Lose no time in informing me, that the whole of Italy is subject to my laws, or those of my allies; that the finest country of the world is emancipated from the yoke of the most perfidious of men; that

the sacredness of treaties is avenged, and that the manes of my brave soldiers, massacred in the ports of Sicily, on their return from Egypt, after having escaped from the dangers of the sea, the deserts, and a hundred battles, are at length appeased.—Soldiers! my brother will lead you on; he is acquainted with all my plans; he is the depository of my authority; he is in full possession of my confidence; let him have yours. (Signed) NAPOLEON.

SWEDEN. — *Declaration given in by M Bildt, the Envoy for Swedish Pomerania, at the Diet of Ratisbon, Jan.* 13, 1806.

His Swedish Majesty has directed the undersigned, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, to declare to the Diet of the German Empire, that the offences daily committed by many Members of the Empire, against the Constitution they have sworn to maintain, are contrary to the principles of honour and virtue. His Majesty has long since foretold the unhappy consequences of the disputes which have prevailed among the members of the Empire, as well as the consequences of the want of respect which they have manifested towards the German Constitution. The sentiments and principles of His Majesty are too well known, and have been too often expressed to the Diet, for it to be necessary that he should repeat them; especially at a time when we must not speak the language of honour, and still less observe its laws, if we wish to be heard. His Majesty, therefore, considers it as beneath his dignity, from this day forwards, to take any part in the deliberations of the Diet, so long as its decisions shall be under the influence of usurpation and egotism. (Signed) VON BILDT.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

VIENNA.—*Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Vienna, issued by the Emperor of Austria, dated Feldsberg, Jan.* 15, 1806.

Francis II. by God's Grace, &c. &c.—When I removed from among you, I had no small inducements for believing that our separation would be but of very short duration, as it was then my fixed resolution, immediately after the conclusion of the Hungarian Diet, to return to Vienna, and to remain with you as long as my residence would be consistent with my duty; and which would have permitted me to extend the care of Government to the whole nation. This resolution was impeded by the course of subsequent events. I thought my duty to you, and the whole mass of my subjects, called upon me to remain near the Combined Armies. I chose a representative, who enjoyed your confidence and who was every way worthy of it. I, however, interested myself for you, and made every exertion in your behalf which the untowardness of affairs would permit. You may be assured, that nothing can be attributed to a want of precaution, which has prevented the preservation of a permanent security; and that no efforts of mine were wanting in the way of negotiation, to obtain that lasting rest and security necessary for my oppressed country. This desirable event was not obtained soon enough for my wishes, but yet, as soon as the nature of a business of such importance for the present and future would allow. At present, the unhappy period of separation is past, I return to you impressed with sentiments of your inviolable attachment and fidelity, your vigilance in the preservation of order and tranquillity, your readiness to alleviate, by your benevolence the sufferings of human misery. You have left no duty without fulfilling it, no virtue unexercised: you have merited the esteem of your fellow citizens, and have obtained, by your conduct towards foreigners, the strongest claims upon my gratitude: and though at a distance from you during these several trials, I derived from these sentiments, consolation and tranquillity. But while I gave myself up to these sensations of joy, which must await my return among my loyal people of Vienna, at a period of such importance; and while, in the interim of the happy meeting between the Prince and the People, should the past be forgotten for a moment, still do not indulge the idea that I have not an intimate knowledge of your situation, or that it has escaped my mature consideration. Yes, good people! you have, indeed, sustained vexations which have shaken the foundation of your well being. I am not under misapprehensions in any respect, relative to what has passed, but I have taken pains to prosecute such an inquiry into the state of affairs, such knowledge being absolutely indispensable, as it must lead to an union of means, commensurate with our necessities.—What I have already effected, under the pressure of so many obstacles, to prevent any want of the necessaries of life, while the consumption was so much increased, is well known. I shall in future let nothing be wanting that prudence or foresight can suggest, for securing the means that may still lead to an object so dear to my wishes. Re-

main still as faithful to your Prince as you have been during the most distressing periods; support, with a public spirit, my unceasing endeavours for the good of the community: redouble your activity, give yourselves up to the noble motives of benevolence, lend no ear to unjust censure; depend upon God, and unite with me in calling upon him; so shall your wounds, though deep, soon be healed.

(Signed) FRANCIS.

Proclamation addressed by the Archduke Charles to the Austrian Army, in consequence of the conclusion of Peace at Presburgh.

His Majesty has, out of love to his people, concluded a peace. He could have relied on the valour of an army which remains unconquered by the enemy, and which has defended the rights of the Sovereign with equal firmness in Germany and in Italy; but the paternal feelings of His Majesty would not permit him to prolong the sufferings which his faithful subjects endured in a period of hostility, and he has therefore hastened to free them from the dangers which are attached to the uncertain fortune of war. The troops must now return to the peace establishment, until the protection of the throne and the country summon them to new dangers and new glory. I hope that the officers and privates will render this period of repose subservient to the improvement of the army; that they will preserve their discipline and military spirit; and that they will employ their collected experience to the advantage of the service, and the future honour of His Majesty's arms. For those who have evinced so much attachment to my person, my sincerest gratitude accompanies them. I shall seek every opportunity to prove that the good of the army is the most anxious wish of my heart.

(Signed) CHARLES, Field Marshal.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

TRINIDAD.—*Proclamation, by his Excellency Thomas Hislop, Esq. Lieutenant-Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Island of Trinidad, and its Dependencies, &c. dated Dec.* 14, 1805.

Whereas there are strong reasons to apprehend that this colony is threatened with internal dangers, from the nefarious machinations of ill-disposed negroes and slaves in this community. And his Majesty's council of the said island having recommended me to adopt the measure of martial law, I have therefore thought fit, by and with the advice of his Majesty's said council, to issue this my proclamation and do hereby declare, that from and after the publication hereof, martial law shall be, and is hereby, in force, until further orders, of which all his Majesty's liege subjects are required to take due notice, and govern themselves accordingly. And all his Majesty's good and loyal subjects of all descriptions, and of all colours, are hereby called upon to make every possible exertion to defeat the diabolical plans supposed to be in agitation. And as the purpose of this my proclamation is for the more speedy and effectually suppressing such dangers only, I do hereby, by and with the advice of his Majesty's said council, authorise all civil courts of justice, to remain and continue in force, notwithstanding martial law. —And whereas, under the present circumstances of the colony, which involve its very existence, it is proper and expedient that all persons must suffer temporary and individual inconvenience for the general welfare of the community, and that the most exemplary and summary punishments should be inflicted on all offenders, notice is hereby given, that the several patroles will be ordered to take up all negro and other slaves, who shall be in any of the streets of Port of Spain, after eight o'clock at night, and to lodge them in security during the night, that such negro or other slave or slaves, who may be found to have offended against any of the ordinances now in existence, will be immediately punished with death or otherwise, according to the regulations of the said ordinances. And in order to give the most public notice of the hour of 8 in the evening, not only the gun at the sea battery will be fired as usual, but the bells at the Spanish catholic church will be rung for the space of five minutes; and all such negro or other slave or slaves attempting to escape from the patroles, will be immediately shot. All persons concerned, are, therefore, requested to make the same known to their several slaves. —Given under my hand and seal at arms, in council, at Government-house, this 14th day of December, 1805, and in the 46th year of his Majesty's reign.—THOMAS HISLOP.—By his Excellency's command, W. HOLMES, Secretary.—God save the king.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX. No. 8.] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" The Tempter saw his time; the work he ply'd;
" Stocks and Subscriptions pour on ev'ry side,
" Till all the Dæmon makes his full descent
" In one abundant show'r of cent per cent,
" Sinks deep within him, and possesses whole,
" Then dubs DIRECTOR, and secures his soul."——POPE: Epi. III.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.—In page 212 the reader will have seen, upon this subject, a letter from a correspondent, who takes the signature of A. Z. That letter was written by way of comment upon my defence of a proposition (see page 97) for the reducing of the interest upon the national debt, and for adopting such measures as would, in a a very short time, have annihilated all demands upon the public on the part of that description of persons who are called public creditors. This correspondent is an opponent, of whom one need not be ashamed. His arguments have considerable merit in them, and are well and fairly urged. Still, however, I think, it will be found, upon examination, that they leave my principles unshaken, and that no great deal will need to be said in order to convince the reader, that, after trial, those principles are sound and just.——But, unwilling as I am to be, for a moment, drawn off from this examination, there is an opponent of quite another description, of whom I must first of all take some notice. Allusion is here made to an article, which appeared in the Courier newspaper of the 14th instant. The main object of the writer appears to be, to cause it to be believed, that the sentiments published by me, relative to the fate of the funds, proceed from the instigation of Mr. Windham, and, that as these sentiments are greatly dangerous in their tendency, it is greatly dangerous that Mr. Windham should be a cabinet-minister. This conclusion would be just enough, were not the premises false. But, in the first place, the dangerous tendency of my sentiments is a position which should have been proved by a refutation of my arguments, and not assumed without any attempt to effect such refutation; and, secondly, with regard to my publications upon this subject proceeding from the instigation of Mr. Windham, the fact is entirely false, and the falsehood is uttered with a perfect knowledge of its being a falsehood, as the reader must remember, that I have, all along expressly declared, that the opinions upon the subject of the funds are my own. In spite, however, of these repeated declarations, this candid gentleman infers the exact contrary, and the facts, whence his inference is drawn, are, first, that, when in 1803, Mr. Windham was, in a like spirit of candour, charged, in the House of Commons, with being the instigator of my publications, he " refused to disavow the fact." But, surely, this might have been fairly attributed to his disdain at the falsehood of the imputation, and not to his consciousness of its truth. The other fact, is, the Political Register is entirely devoted to Mr. Windham; that, " it addresses itself to the promotion of " his views, to the flattery of all his " passions, animosities, and even eccen- " tricities," which is instanced, particularly, in its having, " though strictly a poli- " tical paper, lately descended to defend the " practice of boxing, because Mr. Wind- " ham is an admirer of it." Now, as to the real merits of the case, what matters it whence arguments proceed, so that they be good and irrefutable? And, that the arguments made use of by me in favour of boxing are such, is tolerably well proved by the fact, that no one has ever attempted to answer them with any thing but canting or abusive declamation. To those who confine the epithet *political* to the manœuvring of parties and the intrigues of a court, or who extend it, at the utmost, not beyond the circles of Whitehall and the Diplomatic Body; to such persons, those customs, which have an influence upon the minds and manners of the people, must, to be sure, seem of a nature not at all political. But, to those, and, I trust the number of them is very great, who take a wider range of thought, and whose minds penetrate more deeply into the sources of national character and national power, discussions relative to a practice, so intimately connected with that character and that power, will, surely, not be thought uncongenial to the nature of

a Political Register. And, moreover, the fact, which this writer assumes, and on which he proceeds, is here, again, totally false; for, though it would be perfectly natural in me to imbibe opinions from the expression of those of Mr. Windham, and, having so imbibed them, it would be perfectly proper in me to defend them; yet, the truth is, that my opinions, either upon the subject of boxing or of bull-baiting, were not so imbibed; and, I can, at any time, produce proof, that, being at a dinner, the second or third day after my return to England, when Mr. Windham's speech, the day before made in parliament upon the subject of bull-baiting was criticised, I declared myself to be of his opinion, and avowed, that, at Philadelphia I had always assisted at, and encouraged, bull-baits. This was before I had spoken to, or had the most distant notion of ever having the honour of speaking to, Mr. Windham. Say, then, if you will, that this congeniality of sentiment was cause instead of effect; say that, out of it, first arose that respectful attachment which I have constantly discovered towards that truly enlightened statesman, and, assuredly, I need not seek to trace it to a more honourable source; but do not produce it as a mark of servility; be not so unjust as to ascribe it to a base devotion to his will, when every man who has been a constant reader of my writings, and who knows any thing of the state of parties and of the feelings of the great actors upon the scene, must be convinced, that, in very many instances, my opinions and my views have not accorded with those of Mr. Windham; to which I will, however, frankly add, that, where they have not so accorded, I have, in the end, generally found the error to be with myself. No: I have never been the servile tool of Mr. Windham; his nature abhors servility; and, I repeat my former declaration, that he has never attempted to remonstrate very earnestly with me, except in behalf of those whom I regarded as his foulest enemies.——In returning to the subject of the funds, I shall, previous to making any remark upon the article in the Courier, insert, according to my usual custom, the article itself. Not the whole of it, indeed; for this gentleman plys me, in the course of his six days, with not less than thirty of his columns; columns, the *whole* of which, in the sinking state of this vehicle of Ward's and Huskisson's Bulletins, are not read, I should suppose, by above thirty readers; a supposition which will need little to coroborate it, when the following specimens have been produced.——"A pretty story about two widows is "given, equally false, ignorant and malicious. It is said, supposing twenty years "ago two widows had each 10,000l. One "of them a frugal, prudent lady, lays out "her money in land for which she obtains "but 3 per cent.; the other, a dashing "dame, lays it out in the funds, for which "she obtains 5 per cent.; (five is not always to be had.) At the end of the twenty "years, the landed lady has spent but "6000l. while the funded lady has spent "10,000l. The conclusion drawn is, that "the funded lady has no such claims to "protection on the State as the landed lady. "Now what is the fact? The funded lady's "property has not at all improved, while "the landed lady's has probably doubled in "value. The one, by selling her land and "buying into the funds, can have 1,000l. "per annum, while the other must remain "with her 500l. only, all the necessaries of "life being enormously increased in price. "In such a case the fundholder is to be "pitied, the landholder envied. The proprietors of lands and houses fatten on the "distresses of the times, while the fundholders suffer. Almost all landholders, "who are not immediately prevented by "leases, advance their rents to pay the "property tax, for instance, and annually increase them as taxes and commodities rise. But what relief has the "stockholder? None. He goes on, year "after year, his income reduced, and reduced by the advance of commodities. One "thousand per ann. is not now worth more "than 600l. twenty years ago. The fundholder is in fact the only sufferer by the public distresses. Landlords, tradesmen, and "mechanics have all increased their incomes "in proportion to the increased expense of "living. The interest paid on the national "debt is not, perhaps, more at this moment "than it was twenty years ago, with relation to the price of commodities, though "nominally it is double; and this may explain how it is that the large amount is so "easily paid. But for all this it is the fundholder and the fixed annuitant, such as a "mortgagee, that suffers. Every new loan "raised for the state, ultimately and absolutely comes out of their pockets. And "shall we be told that these persons, whose "property is daily eaten up by the wants of "the nation, should be robbed of the remainder? The suggestion is most cruel "and atrocious. Let not the landed proprietors be flattered with the notion that "their lands would be secure if the funds "were swept away, or that their rents "would be larger. The same feeling in

" the landed proprietors of France produced " the revolution. The nobles would not " pay taxes to defray the interest of the na- " tional debt. The funds went, and the " lands followed. The French Monarchy " fell with the funds; the French nobles " fell also. Why are such libels on the " faith of Parliament, such attacks on the " property of the subject, suffered to pass? " Persons have been punished for saying the " king should be destroyed, the parliament " should be destroyed, the land should be " divided, &c. and why are doctrines so " truly, so systematically revolutionary, suf- " fered to pass with impunity? The fund- " ing system is still sound and salutary, " though somewhat feeble from having been " so rapidly drawn upon. It should be eased " a little by raising the whole, or nearly " the whole, of the supplies within the " year. The sinking fund is making rapid " advances towards the extinction of the " debt. Never was there a time when the " country would bear burthens more pa- " tiently than the present, because it is sa- " tisfied of the justice and unavoidable ne- " cessity of the war. Ministers have no " clamorous opposition to dread to inflame " the people and paralize the efforts of go- " vernment."——Taking these assertions (for they are very little better) in the order in which they present themselves, the first thing to observe, is, that this writer presumes, that the lands of the country are *not let on lease*, and, of course, that the owner has, at the end of every year, or on any day, the power to raise his rent to meet the effects of the depreciation of money. But, is this true; and, if it were generally true, how alarming would be the consequences! The several surveyors, employed by the Board of Agriculture, and paid out of the taxes of the nation, have represented, indeed, that it is fast becoming the custom of the land-owners to refuse to grant leases, and to hold the cultivators as tenants at will; a custom, say they, which, in the proportion that it obtains, deadens industry, diminishes the produce of the soil, lessens, in a national view, the value of the land, and reduces the farmer to a mere wretched dependent upon the will of his landlord; and, observe well, this terrible evil, these deep-sighted gentlemen ascribe to the caprice, the unaccountable prejudice, and the hard-heartedness of the landlords. Against these heavy charges the Courier does, I think, furnish the land-owners with a tolerably complete defence, by shewing, that, if they do let leases, they throw away, in consequence of the depreciation of money, nearly one half of their incomes. This is a subject worthy of the most serious attention of the government. The effect, here spoken of, of the depreciation of money, arising from the funding system and its paper of all sorts, is one of the great evils, against which we have now to contend; or, rather, of which we have to get rid; for, while the funding system remains, it is utterly impossible to overcome, or even to check it. But, all this belongs to a separate question, and has nothing at all to do with the question arising out of my comparison of the two widows, which, as the reader will see, supposes the landed widow to have *let a lease of her land* twenty years ago; and, as it is evident, that her rent depreciated in the same degree that the annuity of the fund-holding lady depreciated, it must also be evident that my argument is not at all impaired by the producing of any circumstance relating to the depreciation of money. If I am told, that, at the expiration of the lease, the landed widow may raise her rent; or, that she might have kept the land in her own hands; or, that she might have let it by the year, or the month: if I am told this, I answer, that the gambling lady might have left off in time; or, that she might have bought in low; or, that she might have sold out high. We are not to talk of what may have, or might have, happened, in the last twenty years; but, of what has, upon a general view, taken place.——We are next told, that, in consequence of the depreciation of money, 1,000*l.* now, is not worth more than 600*l.* was worth twenty years ago; and, therefore, that, as the nominal rate of interest paid upon the amount of the national debt continues the same that it was twenty years ago, " the " total amount of interest paid upon the " debt, is not, perhaps, in relation to the " price of commodities, more than it was " twenty years ago, though, nominally, it " be double." We will, if you please, Sir, leave out the " perhaps" in a statement like this, particularly when the statement be made in answer to an argument, which you have represented as " ignorant, false, and " malicious." I not only allow that money has depreciated in the degree which you say it has, but, I will go further, and say, because I can prove it, and, indeed, have proved it, that money has, since the time referred to, depreciated *one half*; and, of course, that 1,000*l.* now is not worth more than 500*l.* was twenty years ago. I shall, indeed, leave you to apply this to Mr. Pitt's and old Rose's boasting accounts of the increase of imports and exports, and in which

no allowance at all was ever made for depreciation of money. I take your statement, even with my addition to your degree of depreciation, and a very few words will shew against whom the charge of ignorance and falsehood and malice ought to be preferred. In 1784, when the late pretending projector took upon him the direction of the nation's concerns, the annual charge on account of the national debt was, to speak in round numbers, 9 millions; it is now 27 millions. Nominally, therefore, it is now tripled, instead of being doubled; and, as the depreciation is only in the degree of one half, the real annual charge on account of debt is now half as much again as it was twenty years ago. We are got out of our subject here; but, that is not my fault; and, as we have digressed, I will digress a little further, in order to remind you, that, this addition to the taxes on account of the debt has arisen, not in twenty years, but, in *thirteen* years; and that the depreciation of money, of which you speak, has arisen in the same time. This is said for the comfort of yourself and your "blood-sucking" employers, and by way of giving you a foretaste of that which is to come.——But, the land proprietors are told, that, if the funds were swept away, their lands would not be secure. "The same feeling in the "landed proprietors in France produced the "revolution. The nobles would not pay "taxes to defray the interest of the national "debt. The funds went, and the lands "followed. The monarchy fell with the "funds, and the French nobles fell also." That they all went together we know very well; but as to the *cause*, "as to the cause, "good Japhet," we differ very widely in opinion. The nobles and others; in short, the people of France, were *unable* any longer to pay the full amount of the annual interest of their national debt, without submitting to such vexation and oppression as were beyond mortal endurance. There were Mr. Huskisson's and other clubs of the like philosophers, and many most famous bulletin-makers upon a grand scale. But the deficit in the finances was the grand cause; and, that deficit arose, not out of the want of will, but out of the inability to pay, without a submission to that which would have rendered life not worth preserving. The fund-holders, the "blood-suckers," hung on like leeches; the government had not the courage to tear them off; an outcry just such as that set up by this writer, prevailed; the state went reeling on, buffeted on one side by the people, and on the other by the fund-holders; and, at last, down it came never to rise again, an awful warning to all those nations who have been so unwise as to contract great public debts, and who have thereunto added the folly of acting upon the maxim, that, let come what will, the interest upon those debts is to be paid. The question in France was, "shall the nation destroy the debt, or the debt destroy the nation?" that is to say, the government and constitution; and such is, at this moment, the question in England; with this addition, however, as to the latter choice, that, the liberties, the independence, and the very name of England are at stake as well as the government and the constitution. Yes, yes; it is true enough, that the French monarchy and the French funds fell together; not, however, because the monarchy was supported by the funds, but because it was so foolish as to support them too long. They fell together as a man and his load fall together, the supporting, and not the throwing off, of the latter, being the cause of the falling of the former.——This is my opinion; and who does not apprehend similar, not to say much worse, consequences in England, if England does not, while yet there is time, throw off her intolerable load? And, shall those who warn her; those of her sons who yet dare to put up their voice for her preservation, be stigmatized as "*libellers?*" Libels, these are called, upon what? "Upon the faith of parliament!" Why, what I say is, that the faith of parliament is no more pledged for the continuation of the payment of the interest upon the national debt, than it was pledged for the payment of the Bank of England notes in specie; or than it is now pledged for the continuation of that famous project the Parish-army-bill. And, this is to libel the faith of parliament, is it? But, we are guilty of sedition, too, if not of treason. "Persons have been punished," we are gravely reminded, "for saying *the King* "should be destroyed, the *parliament* "should be destroyed, the *land* should be "divided, &c." Aye, and very justly, too! When I make a proposition for destroying either king or parliament, I shall certainly not hope to escape punishment; and, as to *dividing the land*, why, you wiseacre, is not this the very thing that I am objecting to! Is it not a proposition, on the part of my correspondent, in page 47, for the seizing of the land and dividing it, that has given rise to this discussion? The fund-holders and their advocates are for dividing the land: they see that the taxes must very soon fail to produce a sufficiency wherewith to pay their dividends at the present rate, and, therefore, are they endeavouring to prepare

men's minds for a division of the land, to which I object; and, I am ready to join any one in calling for the vengeance of the law upon the heads of all such revolutionary incendiaries.——As a consolation at parting, we are assured, that "the funding-system, "though somewhat feeble, from having "been so rapidly drawn upon, is still sound "and salutary." We are told, "that the "sinking fund is making rapid advances "towards the extinction of the debt; and, "that the funds should be eased a little by "raising the whole, or nearly the whole, "of the supplies within the year." Comforting assurance! Profound remark! Judicious advice! As to the operation of the sinking fund, we have seen, that, in the space of twenty years, it has tripled the nominal amount of the annual taxes raised upon us on account of debt, and has added in the degree of one half to the real annual amount of the taxes raised upon us on account of debt. This is rapid enough, I think. Does this sagacious politician, this profound political economist want it to go on faster? What, then, in the name of all that is shallow and empty, does he want? But, the funding system is to be "*eased;*" and how? By raising the whole, or almost the whole, of the supplies within the year. Does this wise man bear in mind, that, last year, the taxes raised amounted to about 38 millions, and the expenditure to about 70 millions? And, if he does, does he besides think it possible to raise this year taxes nearly double in amount to the taxes raised last year? Away, away with all such dabblers and dreamers! Send them to 'Change Alley, or to Bedlam; but, let them not approach even the steps to the cabinet or the parliament. No: the present ministers have not come into place to hide the sins of the last. The last contracted the debt; and let those who supported them in it, and who lent them the money, be very well contented if their interest be not immediately stopped. A wise scheme indeed would it be in the present minister, to say nothing about its absolute impracticability, to squeeze the whole of the annual supplies out of the people, in order to avoid adding to, and thereby impairing the solidity of, the interest upon the national debt! On the contrary, not one penny of new tax ought they to lay on, other than that which will be necessary to pay the interest upon the money which *they* borrow. They ought, in fact, to have nothing at all to do with the old debt; or, they ought, at least, to distinguish it by some name different from the debt now to be contracted; they ought always to be able, in a moment, to shew the state in which they found the concern. And, observe, that this was what the great reformer Pitt did, when he began those measures, which he boasted should cause his name to be inscribed upon the proud column about to be raised to public credit!——Having, and not, I think it will be thought, quite unnecessarily, occupied so much of the time of the reader with remarks upon this article in the Courier, I am compelled to defer an examination of the arguments of A. Z. till my next number. It would, moreover, be great injustice to him to couple his production with that of a stock-jobber's hireling; for, in no other light can I possibly view the person, whose at once feeble and malignant efforts I have here thought it right to expose.

THE ARMY.——Amongst the measures of the Pitts and Dundases, which it will be the duty of the present ministry to counteract, and the right of the present age and of posterity to hold in derision and contempt, is the famous Parish Bill; the system of sympathetic battalions, which that frothy declaimer, the late minister, brought forward as the grand restorative for the military character of the nation. The effect of this bill has been ludicrous as well as mischievous: it has done every thing that can or could be done by an act of parliament to prevent the accomplishment of that which was its main professed object. The reader has before seen the petition from Berkshire: that of the parish of St. Mary-la-bonne he shall now see. On the 18th instant was presented to the House of Commons, a petition of the noblemen, and the humble petition of others the vestrymen of the parish of St. Mary-la-bonne, in the county of Middlesex, setting forth, "that the number of "men required to be raised in the said pa- "rish, under the provisions of an act of "the 44th of his present majesty, intituled, "an act for establishing and maintaining a "permanent additional Force for the De- "fence of the Realm, and to provide for "augmenting his majesty's Regular Forces, "and for the gradual Reduction of the Mi- "litia of England, amounted to two hun- "dred and twenty-five; and, notwithstand- "ing every endeavour had been made by the "select vestry, churchwardens, overseers "of the poor, and other official servants, "it had been found impossible to procure "*a single man* in the manner and upon the "terms prescribed by the said act; and that "the said parish had therefore become lia- "ble to the several fines imposed by the "said act, and had consequently, on the "23d day of August last, been assessed in

" the enormous sum of 4,500l. in respect of " such deficiency, which, for the reason " before given, in was not possible to avoid; " and that the sum of 2000l. had been paid " to the treasurer of the county of Middle- " sex on account of the said penalties; and " the petitioners have not been informed, " nor do they believe that, since the said " assessment, a man has been carried to the " account of the said parish by the recruit- " ing officer of the district in which the " said parish is situate; and that, as the " said act seems to have failed in its in- " tended object in every respect, and to " impose very heavy penalties upon persons " without the possibility of their avoiding " the same, the petitioners pray that the " said act may be repealed."—— It is not only as to the *past* that this bill has been mischievous, but it must, of necessity be mischievous in the future. It has added to that disgust, which, from the ballot and other causes, the people already felt with regard to the army. But, however arduous the task must be, it must now be performed; I mean the task of forming an efficient and permanent military force; for, if it be not, this country will never again see one hour of *peace*, except under the sway of a conqueror. Men may whince and whine and fret and cry; but come to the forming of an army, or the submission to a foreign yoke, they must.—Napoleon has his eye fixed upon this part of our policy more than upon any other. He is now, not waiting indeed, for he never waits; but he is looking earnestly to see, what will be done with regard to an English army. He knows how many men we have; he knows the worth, the exact worth of every class of them; and his measures of invasion, or his terms of peace, will depend upon our measures relative to the obtaining of a military force. No new-vamped, no half-measure, will do. The people expect something *quite* new; and any thing which is not so will be useless. The object of Napoleon, is, to make us give up our right of seizure at sea. In order to accomplish this, he will keep on the war, either till he is able really to invade us, or till we are absolutely exhausted by the expenses and vexations of our present military system. Will you give up your rights upon the seas? That would give you peace for about a year; but, that peace would be your last as an independent nation. Do not cry, then, Balaam; for, all that is wanted of you is an army; but, this army you never will have, while such wretches as you engross all advantageous privileges and marks of distinction that are to be seen and enjoyed in society. Your rights and your honours, Balaam, you may still enjoy, as long as the French will let you; but, blame not the people, honest Balaam, if they do not feel an inducement to shed their blood for your protection, especially, if, by their military service, they lose all chance of acquiring any thing in society worthy of a struggle to protect.——When one considers the anxiety of the public upon this score, it is by no means wonderful that rumours should get afloat as to the intentions of the ministry; but, as far as I am able to gather, every thing that has been a subject of conjecture in the newspapers is very wide, indeed, of the mark. There we meet with nothing but vulgar notions, which, like all the notions of Mr. Pitt, become only the more vulgar for being refined upon and overcharged with little devices. The measure to be adopted, for a permanent force, must be ONE. It must be simple. It must speak to the hearts of the people. It must attract their admiration, and engage their affections. And, for it to be all, or any one of these, we need not insist, that it must be *new*; that it must bear no resemblance to any thing that ever came from the school of Pitt.——This is the very first measure. On it will depend our fate. No peace can be thought of, until it be accomplished. Without it, I repeat again and again, peace would last no longer than the Emperor of France saw his preparations ready for invading and subduing us. The finances, the tranquillity of Ireland, the security of our colonies, our character upon the continent; every thing is trifling compared with the formation of an army; and, let it be remembered, that this army is not to be formed without new means. If Mr. Windham fall into the track of Mr. Pitt; if he has recourse to miserable expedients; if he do not, at once, bring forward a scheme adequate to the purpose in view, I do not say that I shall blame him; for, I am certain he will do his best; but, I shall be amongst the very first to say, that, as a war minister, he is not a man for these times; I shall say, that calamity, the worst of all calamity, must come, and I shall hope to be able to bear my share of it as well as other men.—— To change the service to *term of years*, instead of for life, would produce some little effect; but not much. We are now too far gone to be restored by little means, means that might have been useful some time ago, but which would now only tend to create a belief, that we have no efficient means left. The indolence, the mere indolence, of public men; their repugnance to meet the difficulties of new circumstances, often produce the overthrow of states. I confidently hope,

that no such indolence will now prevail. I firmly believe that it will not. But, so anxious am I, in common with every thinking man in the country, upon the subject of the army, that I cannot refrain from urging the necessity of immediately and resolutely entering thereon. Those, if there be any such, who have taken possession of their places, at this time, with views of emolument, or of mere power, are unworthy of their trust. This is no time for entertaining any such views; and, if there be any one of them, who is unable to accomplish that which he contemplates for the good of his country, his first duty is to retire, and leave the others to try their useless projects. I apply this particularly to Mr. Windham; and I repeat, that, if he cannot do what he ought to do, his only honourable course is to retire. I am very far from supposing, that such will be the case; for, the circumstances under which the cabinet must now meet, appear to me to be of a nature to make them perfectly unanimous as to a new and efficient plan for forming and supporting an army. I look to them with great confidence; the people look to them with confidence; and I trust we shall not be disappointed.——In a subsequent page of this number I have inserted an article upon the subject of *Military Manœuvres*. The writer merits great commendation for his zeal; but, I must express my total disagreement with him as to all his notions respecting the utility of Volunteer Corps. Those bodies of men are, in my opinion, capable of producing nothing but mischief; and, I have no hesitation in saying, that however small the number of our regular army may be, the country would be much safer without Volunteer Corps than with them.

Affairs of India.——(Continued from p. 206). In a subsequent page of this present number, will be found, in an extract from the Morning Chronicle, some very judicious remarks upon the appointment, the extraordinary appointment, or rumoured appointment, of Sir George Barlow and others to the management of our affairs in India. In consequence of these remarks, an article, defending the appointment; an article evidently written, or caused to be inserted, by some interested person; some one deeply concerned in those transactions, in that country, which it is now the object of many to keep concealed from the public eye, and especially, to shelter from the investigation of parliament, appeared in the Morning Post. In addition to this article, another has appeared, in the same paper of the 20th instant, justifying the assertions of the former, and, stating, that the Court of Directors have actually made the appointments in question. The latter article is as follows: " We are happy to find" (Remember, that, it is the same persons still writing, who wrote before; the editor of the paper merely assumes the statement for the pay he receives). " *We* are happy to find, that the " opinion we have all along held with re- " spect to the propriety of confirming Sir " George Barlow in the government ge- " neral of Bengal, has had its due weight in " the consideration of the Court of Direc- " tors, who yesterday came to a final deter- " mination upon this subject, and announ- " ced the following appointments, viz. Sir " George Hilaro Barlow, Governor General, " Lord Lake, 2d in Council, and Command- " er in Chief, George Udney, 3d, and John " Lumsden, 4th in Council. The strictures " in our paper of Monday, on the very in- " temperate paragraph, which appeared in " another paper" (See the extract above referred to) " on the subject of India, were " strictly correct, except in one instance, " where it was stated, that 'the wars which " involved the expense charged upon the go- " vernment of India, and the neglect of the " commercial department, attendant upon " these wars, were conceived to be abso- " lutely necessary.' The fact is, that the " commercial department was never, for a " moment, neglected or overlooked. What " will those who have raised such a clamour, " about the investment say, when they are " informed, that in the year 1803-4, the " very year of our great struggle, which was " to decide whether the French and the " Mahrattas, or the English nation were to " be paramount in India? In that year the " investment for Europe, China, &c. " amounted to very nearly two millions and " a half sterling, an investment equal to, if " not exceeding, that of any former year of " peace; if, afterwards in the winding-up " the expenses of so important a war, some " diminution of the investment should take " place; if the India Company should be " disappointed for one season of the prodi- " gious consignments which they expect, " they, who have reaped such extraordinary " advantages, may well submit to an occa- " sional appropriation of a part of their " commercial funds, in order that the " stream may hereafter flow to them more " copious and secure. The deficiency, *if* " *any has*, or *should occur*, must be *tempo-* " *rary*. We are now invulnerable in the " East; all that remains to be done is to " consolidate our power, and turn the best to

" account that peace which has been the " result of a glorious, wise, and honourable " war."——One would like to take the several parts of this statement in their order of succession; but, really, it is quite impossible not, at once, to fasten upon this " glorious, wise, and honourable war." As to the glory of it, where, I would ask is the glory of overrunning and plundering and subjugating countries, the inhabitants of which understand little or nothing of the art of European warfare, or who, at the very best, are but indifferently skilled therein, and are almost entirely unprovided with all other than the mere bodily means of carrying it on? The victories over them have never been regarded as victories by me, nor, I will venture to say, by any one Englishman, who has duly reflected upon the circumstances, under which they have been achieved. Let any one observe, the effect produced upon the public by the pompous accounts, published in our papers, relative to those victories, and then let him say, what is the degree of estimation in which they are generally held. They are, in fact, no victories at all. They are felt to be no victories; and, if the history of them should live for only a century, it will be read with feelings much about such as those which are excited at the reading of the " victories" of the Spaniards over the helpless and unoffending inhabitants of Mexico and Peru. ——With respect to the " wisdom" of the wars in India, it might be enough to say, that they have been begun and continued in a direct, in an open, and daring violation, of a most positive and explicit declaration of parliament; but, besides this, we are now about to feel, nay we have already felt, that they have had no other tendency than that of adding to our financial embarrassments, of draining our country of men capable of bearing arms, and of sending to lord it in England, men who by plunder have grown rich, and by an unbridled use of power have grown intolerably insolent and oppressive.—Now, as to the fact (a fact in itself of little importance), whether these wars have, or have not, caused " the commercial department to be overlooked," one would naturally ask for proof of the assertion made by this writer; and, one would certainly conclude, that such proof is not furnished in the present state of the Company's affairs, which, as this writer himself seems to allow, are such as are likely to compel the Company to oblige the East India proprietors to " submit to an occasional appropriation of part " of their funds, in order that the stream " may hereafter flow to them more copious " and secure." This, if I understand him rightly, is, in other words, that the East India stock holders must now begin to submit to a *reduction of their dividends;* and, indeed, this is so very just and necessary, if the Company have not the means of paying them as heretofore, that I not only highly approve of it, but could wish to see the principle applied to certain *other dividends*, which, out of delicacy to the " blood-suckers and the muck-worms," I shall, for the present forbear particularly to designate. But, " the deficiency, *if* any has occurred, or should occur, must be *temporary*." Oh! by all means! Every failing tradesman's deficiencies are " temporary," *at first*; seldom, however, are they made up; and, this, I take it, will be the case with the East-India Company, if once, a reduction should be made in the dividends; unless, indeed, the parliament can be induced to *tax the nation* for the purpose of making such deficiency good; than which, I will venture to declare myself able to prove, nothing was ever attempted more unjust or impolitic.——Why plague us with this jargon about *investments* and *assets* and the like? What are these nick-names to us? Why not answer the plain and simple charge of owing the public above 7 millions of money? Why do not the East-India Company tell us, when they intend to pay us this, with the interest thereon? We have already had squeezed out of us, the people of this kingdom, two millions of money to give to this East India Company for the purposes of paying their debts; when, at the same time, we should, instead of paying to them 2 millions, have received from them 7 millions. These are plain facts. This statement every body understands. Why is it not contradicted? Simply because it cannot.——With regard to the appointments above-mentioned, they are objectionable in many respects. Mr. Francis, if he be willing to go to India, should be the Governor General. He has the strongest claim to it of any subject of the King; and, which is more, the King and the country have a claim to his valuable talents and rare integrity, in that capacity. But, if he was to be excluded, why not send out some other man? Why leave India in the hands of those men, who have been so conspicuously instrumental in all that has taken place, for many years past, in that wretched country? Men stared at one another, and well they might, when the navy was shifted from the hands of Lord Melville to those of Lord Barham. If these appointments have really taken place, and should be sanctioned by his Majesty's ministers, the country will have a complete proof, that, as far as regards

India, no change of system is to take place; and, in that case, our hopes must again be placed upon the force of events. But, it were well not to forget, that events of force will not now lag on so slowly as they have heretofore. As the patient approaches the termination of his fatal disease death becomes quicker in the repetition of his attacks. A ministry of twenty years' duration has just been put an end to; but, foolish indeed must be the man that ever expects to see another of half that duration, unless it be supported by principles quite different from those which supported the last. The present ministry, if they were to continue the Pitt system of governing India, would make that system their own; would adopt it as their child; would become the patrons of all its vices; and would, of course, in reason and in strict justice, become responsible for all the consequences it might produce. I do not, however, say, or think, that they have adopted this system; and, I trust, they will not. But, I must think it extremely unwise for them to sanction appointments which may furnish but too fair a ground for suspecting that they have adopted it. Some man, if not Mr. Francis, some man not steeped in or stained by India connections, should now be sent out to that country. There would then be a ground for hoping, that a salutary change was about to take place; but, until then, no such hope can reasonably be entertained.

New Appointments. —— In the last number of the Register, page 195 it was stated, that Lord Grenville "has a large "pension secured to him with a very com- "petent reversion to Lady Grenville." This fact had been so often stated in the news-papers, without contradiction, that I took it upon trust. I am now assured, that there is no such provision for either; and, that the Auditorship is all that his Lordship has secured to him. For this error I have to apologize, both to his Lordship and to my readers; and, I do it with a degree of pleasure equal to the pain with which I made the former statement; because, though this circumstance does not remove the objection to the very extraordinary measure then complained of, it certainly does, as to the point of disinterestedness, materially alter the case. In nothing that I said of this most respectable nobleman, did I wish to lower him in the public estimation. I spoke of him as I thought, and as I still think; and, when it is necessary to disguise one's opinion of public men, it will be full as necessary to cease to write; for writing under such restraint, neither can produce, nor ought to produce, any effect upon the public. Errors, particularly productions hastily sent to the press, all men are liable to fall into; and, in the present case, the error must prove advantageous to the party most deeply concerned, by bringing out a contradiction to an assertion which must have been greatly disadvantageous to him.—— Upon the appointment of Mr. Alexander Davison to be *Treasurer of the Ordnance*, I should have made some remarks; but, a correspondent, in a letter immediately below, has rendered it unnecessary, for the present at least, for me to say any thing more, than that I perfectly agree in all that he has said. He has said not less, perhaps, and not one word more than I myself would have said upon the subject if he had not said it.

NEW APPOINTMENTS.

Sir,—I have read your statements, respecting the new administration, with much interest. In addition to what you stated respecting the Lord Chief Justice having a seat in the cabinet, and the essential and never to be lost sight of difference between the judicial and executive functions of the state, permit me to offer, in corroboration of the impropriety of his being a cabinet minister, the supposed situation of the late Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, at the time of the disgraceful riots in the year 1780. Had his lordship then held a seat in the cabinet, will any one attempt to contend, that, even great, impartial, and clear as he undoubtedly was, in his high office, after having witnessed the burning of his house in Bloomsbury Square, and in it the law tracts, prepared with an unparalleled industry, and corrected and arranged by himself during a period of 40 years, by a lawless and desperate mob, acting under the misguided zeal and direction of a man, who was afterwards tried for his life before Lord Mansfield, in his judicial capacity: can it be imagined in the nature of things, that, under such circumstances, the human mind could divest itself of every tinge of partiality? On the contrary, so far is the principle recognised, that, by law, no judge can preside at any trial, touching any property whatever, in the county where he was born. Can it be supposed, that such a judge, even as my Lord Mansfield, after having experienced so grievous an injury; after having heard every argument that ingenuity and a knowledge of the laws of the realm could suggest, and the enlightened minds of his fellow cabinet ministers urge of the supposed guilt of the misguided delinquent, and the cogent reasons for his indictment and trial; can it, for a moment,

be entertained, that, under such circumstances, a judge must not, in some measure, be personally and ministerially biassed; and, being so, can, or ought, he to preside in judgment on the trial of such a delinquent? Had Lord Chief Justice Mansfield held a seat in the cabinet, he would have been placed in this novel and unheard of situation. —In addition to some other observations, respecting Lord Grenville and his office of auditor, &c. there are some minor arrangements, on which it is necessary to offer a few remarks; and among others, it appears, that ALEXANDER DAVISON is appointed Treasurer of the Ordnance of the United Kingdom, an office of great rank and respectability, and second to none in trust and responsibility. That very identical Alexander Davison was, till very lately, a prisoner in the King's Bench Prison, having been indicted, tried, and convicted, before the present Lord Chief Justice, for bribery and corruption of the worst and most extensive kind, at elections, and sentenced to imprisonment. That very Alexander Davison, so sentenced to imprisonment for bribery and corruption, is appointed to a place of the greatest trust and consideration in a pecuniary point of view. The sum voted for the service of the Ordnance last year was, if if I mistake not, £3,600,000. Over that sum this convicted and imprisoned man has the entire order, management, and controul, and the only security required of him is two sureties in £5000 each!!! One should have thought that the circumstance of this man's being a banker, and lately, if not now, contractor for various articles for the army, would (exclusive of the bribery, corruption, and imprisonment) have been both strong against the deed of his appointment. If ever there was an appointment that challenged observation, it is this. That any ministry should confer such a distinguished situation in point of rank and emolument on a private banker or army contractor would certainly excite sentiments not very favourable, however fair and honourable the character of the conferree might be. But, to give it to these situations united and superadded to convicted bribery and corruption of the deepest dye, that of bribing and corrupting the very source of legislature itself, must excite, in the mind of every honest man, feelings which I will not attempt to describe. If this convicted and imprisoned briber and corrupter, with his own means, dared, in defiance of all law and morality, to turn the wretched instruments of venality to his own criminal and vile purposes, will his new appointment lessen those means, or will his foul and guilty ambition have less whereon to feed itself? Will the receipt and direction of from 3 to 4 millions, work, in such a mind, a reform? Will it not, rather, extend those foul views and practices commensurately with the opportunity?——I am, Sir, yours, &c. &c.—A. B. *Bath, 18th Feb.* 1806.

APPOINTMENTS IN INDIA.

(Extracted from the Morning Chronicle.)

The repeated puffs published in some of the late ministerial newspapers, to exalt the character of some of the India Company's commercial servants in India, to whom the political government of that empire has, by the unfortunate death of Marquis Cornwallis, accidentally devolved, make it absolutely necessary to introduce those gentlemen to the public. Till now their names were hardly known, and their merits never heard of in this country. The persons we mean may be very honest gentlemen, and probably have sufficient skill, because they have had long experience in some of the lower departments of the Company's service, viz. —in the collection of a settled revenue, and in the provision of white cloths and piece goods. The names of these persons, now in possession of the Government of India, are *Sir G. Barlow*, *Mr. Udney*, and *Mr. Lumsden*. It is said, "that the high opi- "nion that was before entertained of Sir "G. Barlow, viz. by the Directors, *is* "*strengthened and confirmed by his conduct* "*since the death of the Marquis Cornwallis,* "*whose Plans of Reform he has continued* "*to carry into effect by all possible means,*" This meritorious conduct could only have acted and appeared in a very few days from the death of Lord Cornwallis to Sir G. Barlow's first letter to the Court of Directors, consequently the evidence of it is yet to be produced. On this subject, however, we have some questions to ask, which the friends of Sir G. Barlow would have done well not to provoke. How long has he been such a great favourite with the Court of Directors? The answer is, that by his uniform support of every principle and project of Lord Wellesley, he had incurred their highest indignation, and the more as he was *their special servant*, and bound to *their special service*. Is there a single act of Lord Wellesley's administration which this gentleman did ever oppose by protest, remonstrance, or opposition of any kind? If there be, let the fact be produced. It is not disputed, because it is a thing very likely to be true, that upon Lord Wellesley's being removed by Mr. Pitt, and Lord Cornwallis

being sent out to repair, if possible, some of the mischiefs of the preceding Administration—[and if he was not sent for that purpose, it is difficult to conceive why such a man, at the age of 68, should have been so employed and so sacrificed as it has been]—we say, it is not improbable that the said Sir G. Barlow, might suddenly have changed his note, and as suddenly have professed to reprobate the very principles, which he practically avowed during the whole period of Lord Wellesley's government: and on which he uniformly acted. The fact proves nothing, but his personal policy and his prudence, at the expense of some other qualities, which alone can entitle any man to esteem in private life, or to the confidence of the public. Mr. Charles Grant, the present worthy Chairman of the Court of Directors was educated under the Board of Trade at Calcutta. From an inferior station there, he was advanced, in process of time, to the superintendance of a commercial factory for the provision of white cottons, piece goods and indigo; and, in that line, it is but justice to him to declare, that the Company might not have a more skilful servant. Where he learned the science of a statesman, or how to govern an empire, does not yet appear. Mr. Udney was his Deputy at that factory. From that school and that station he was advanced to a seat in the Council to govern India. The vacancy, made by Lord Cornwallis's death, was instantly filled up by Mr. Lumsden, the Secretary, of whom nothing is known, good or evil. This arrangement, however, has, in the first instance, the iniquitous effect of superseding the just rights and claims of Mr. Thomas Graham, the Company's servant of 37 years standing, and in *his* person the authority of the Court of Directors.—This gentleman, in consequence of their repeated provisional appointments, has been in possession of a seat in the Council, has been removed by superior interest at home, and is now again superseded by Mr. Lumsden. These are the plain indisputable facts, without reflexion upon the character of any man; and this is the state in which it is proposed the government of India should be left.

AMERICAN FINANCE.

Official Report of the Revenue of the United States for the Year ending Sept. 30, 1805; *together with the Estimates for the Year* 1806.

REVENUE AND RECEIPTS.

The nett revenue arising from duties on merchandize and tonnage, which accrued during the year 1801, amounted to, dollars - - -	12,020,273
The nett revenue arising from the same source, which accrued during the year 1802, amounted to - - -	10,154,564
That which accrued during the year 1803, amounted to -	11,306,430
And that which accrued during the year 1804, amounted, after deducting that portion which arose from the additional dûties constituting the Mediterranean fund, as will appear by the statement (A) to	12,672,323

It is ascertained that the nett revenue which has accrued during the three first quarters of the year 1805, does not fall short of that of the corresponding quarters of the year 1804: and that branch of the revenue may, exclusively of the Mediterranean fund, be safely estimated, for the present, at twelve millions of dollars, which is nearly the average of the two years 1803 and 1804.—The defalcation which took place in the year 1802, and the increase in the next following year, sufficiently shew that no inconsiderable portion of that branch of the revenue, is due to the neutrality of the United States, during the continuance of the war in Europe. Yet, if the revenue of 1802, the only year of European peace since 1792, be considered as the basis on which to form an estimate, this, with an addition of 10 per cent. on account of the increase of population for three years, and of near 300,000 dollars, the computed revenue of New Orleans, will give a result of near eleven millions and a half.——The statement (B) exhibits in detail the several species of merchandize and other sources from which that revenue was collected during the year 1804.—The revenue arising from the sales of public lands has been greater during the year ending on the 30th Sept. 1805, than that of any preceding year. It appears by the statement (C) that during that period, besides 145,000 acres, sold to persons claiming a right of pre-emption, 474,000 acres have been disposed of at the ordinary sales, making altogether, with the preceding sales, from the time when the land offices were opened in 1800 and 1801, an aggregate of near two millions of acres. The actual payments by purchasers, which, during the year ending on the 30th Sept. 1804, had amounted to 432,000 dollars, and had not in any one previous year exceeded 250,000 dollars, have, during the year ending the 30th Sept. 1805, amounted to 575,000 dollars; of which sum 535,000 dollars were paid in

specie, and the residue in stock of the public debt. The specie receipts from that source, may for the ensuing year, be safely estimated at five hundred thousand dollars.

The receipts arising from the permanent revenue of the United States may, therefore, without even including the duty on postage and other small incidental branches, be computed, for the year 1806, at twelve millions and five hundred thousand dollars. - 12,500,000

The payment in the treasury during the same year, on account of the temporary duties, constituting the Mediterranean fund, which will have accrued, to the 31st March next, are estimated at 900,000 dollars, and about one hundred thousand may be expected from the arrears of internal duties and of the direct tax, and from other incidental branches, making for temporary and incidental receipts, one million of dollars. 1,000,000

The balance of specie in the treasury, which, on the 30th day of Sept. last, amounted to 4,575,654 dollars will, as the receipts and current expenditures of the present quarter, may be considered as nearly equal, be diminished at the end of this year, only by payments on account of the American claims, assumed by the convention with France, and as the whole amount of those claims which remained unpaid on the 30th day of Sept. last, will, in this estimate, be stated among the expenditure of 1806, the whole of the above-mentioned balance may be added to the receipts of that year, viz. 4,575,000

Making in the whole an aggregate of more than eighteen millions of dollars - - 18,075,000

EXPENDITURES.

The expenses of the year 1806, which must be defrayed out of those resources, are, like the revenue, either of a permanent nature, or temporary, viz. The permanent expenses are estimated at 11,450,000 dollars, and consist of the following items, viz.

1. The annual appropriation of eight millions of dollars, for the payment of the principal and interest of the public debt, of which more than 4,000,000 dollars will be applicable to the discharge of the principal, and the residue to the payment of the interest - - - - 8,000,000
2. For the Civil Department, and all domestic expenses of a civil nature, including invalid pensions, the light-house and mint establishments, the expenses of surveying public lands, the third instalment of the loan due to Maryland, and a sum of 50,000 dollars to meet such miscellaneous claims as may be allowed by Congress - - - 1,150,000
3. For expenses incident to the intercourse with foreign nations, including the permanent appropriation for Algiers 200,000
4. For the Military and Indian Departments, including the permanent appropriations for certain Indian Tribes - 1,030,000
5. For the Naval Establishment (exclusively of deficiencies for the service of the years 1804 and 1805, which are estimated at 600,000 dollars) - 1,070,000

11,450,000

The extraordinary demands, for the year 1806, amount to four millions of dollars, viz.

The Navy Deficiencies of 1804 and 1805, as above-mentioned -	600,000	
And the Balance of the American Claims assumed by the French convention which remained unpaid on the 30th September last, amounting to -	3,400,000	
		4,000,000

Making together, fifteen millions four hundred and fifty thousand dollars - - - 15,450,000

It appears from the preceding statement, that the permanent revenues of the U. States will, during the ensuing year, exceed the

permanent expenditures by a sum of more than one million of dollars, and that the monies already on hand, together with the temporary resources of the year, will, after leaving the sum which it is always necessary to keep in the Treasury, be sufficient to discharge the Navy deficiencies, and the whole amount of the claims assumed by the convention with France, the large receipts of last year rendering it unnecessary to recur for that object to the loan authorised by the Act of the 10th of November, 1803.

(To be continued.)

MILITARY MANŒUVRES.

SIR;——At this crisis of political affairs, permit me to request your patient and serious attention to the following hints and reflections, on the present state of our infantry forces, likewise on the military resources of Great Britain; which I presume to imagine, you may deem of some moment to the immediate, and future welfare of this nation, and her allies.—"Often the mind, hurried on by her own ardour to distant views" (perhaps almost wholly ruminating on mere vain and frivolous matters) "neglects the most important truths that lie open before her." I will not, at least at present, attempt to encroach on your time with surmises upon the many disastrous consequences, that, not unreasonably, might be attributed to a very miraculous oversight of several of the most material parts of that inestimable military treatise compiled by General Sir David Dundas, and commanded, by his Majesty, "to be rigidly conformed to, and practised by every regiment in his Majesty's service," since the 1st of June, 1792: whilst the minds of the commander in chief, and the senior part of the army, seem to have been principally diverted by the almost useless parts of parade; the annihilation of every thing that was characteristic of the British service; the introduction of immense tassels, feathers, and other ridiculous baubles, very ill suited to military service, from no evident reason than their being *German*; with the establishing of most highly unconstitutional and despotic maxims, such as place the fortunes and even characters of officers who, without any just cause of reproach, may have zealously and faithfully served for many years, wholly at the mercy of a weak and arbitrary commander in chief; which cannot fail, if continued, soon to extinguish, at least in the inferior ranks, every spark of honourable sentiment, of course of true British spirit, also to render his Majesty's military commissions totally undesirable to any being who has the least pretension to the dignity and feelings of a gentleman, likewise most imminently to endanger the existence of the state. But, I will endeavour, as briefly as a subject of such magnitude will permit, to elucidate how indispensably requisite the due observance of these great rules, which have so long been prodigiously misinterpreted, is to that most important of all military operations, THE QUICK AND JUST FORMATION INTO LINE, and the ACCURATE MOVEMENT OF THE LINE; likewise, that their several principles may be clearly and thoroughly "shewn to the eye, and fixed in the mind," of any man endowed with but very moderate understanding, in the course of a few days, most probably in a few hours; and be pretty well confirmed, provided the recruit is not deformed in his limbs, during a few days moderate exercise; and further, that when these few, and simple, but most important principles are once habitually acquired, no earthly reason can be advanced why even the worst of our volunteer corps should not be able to perform the nineteen manœuvres, ordered in his Majesty's rules and regulations; and the officers be individually found, in a knowledge of their principles, infinitely superior to either battalion of the guards, or almost any corps in Europe, in their present state of discipline.——As Sir David Dundas represents, in the 333d page, and in other parts of the rules and regulations, "*the chief object of every other movement is the quick and just formation into line when necessary, and the consequent advance of that line in front towards the enemy.*" *And*, "*to bring up troops to the attack in* IMPERFECT ORDER, *is to lose every advantage which discipline* proposes, and to present them to the enemy in that very state, to which after his best efforts he has hoped to reduce them."—In the introduction, the general very justly states that "*one man*, imperfect in his march, or whose person is distorted, "*will derange his division*, and of course "operate in a still more consequential manner on the battalion and line:" wherefore, "every *old soldier* is ordered to be "re-drilled on his return from long absence, "before he is permitted to act in the ranks "of his company."——Admit the fact that *one man imperfect in his march*, may derange his division; the truth of which, I trust, I shall presently clearly evince; and the immense consequence that a position, which, in standing and moving, gives the soldier at every instant nearly the greatest

possible command of his person, and which might be preserved longer than any other whatever, without constraint or fatigue to the soldier, should be adopted, in the drill and exercise of all our troops, and that the several wisely ordered rules for marching in line, &c. be properly inculcated in every officer and soldier, I imagine must be obvious indeed.——That such a position, and other necessary rules are most plainly laid down, in his Majesty's rules and regulations, I hope I shall succeed in my endeavours to convince you, and every other rationally reflecting man. Yet, I can feel no diffidence in protesting that those most essential rules have been egregiously misconstrued, though written in the most possible plain language, well adapted to every understanding, by the commander-in-chief, &c.; and seem even to have been almost totally forgotten by the great compiler himself, ever since he wrote them. Whether as the learned men, mentioned by Dr. Johnson, whose disputations "often continued till neither controvertist remembered upon what question they began," the general had continued to study, and write on tactics till the first rudiments, which he has so admirably laid down, had entirely escaped his mind, at a period of life when the faculties naturally fade; or that the Great Ruler, in whose rule and government are even the hearts and minds of kings, has been pleased here to present us with, a perhaps scarcely ever to be forgotten example, of the great weakness and instability of the mind of man,

> Il mêle à nos vertus *des marques de foiblesse*,
> Et rarement accorde a notre ambition
> *L'entier* et par honneur d'une BONNE ACTION.
> CORNEILLE.

or to whatever cause this wonderful fact is to be attributed, are not points of sufficient moment for our present discussion.—The first section of his Majesty's rules and regulations, describes the most possible firm, manly, and unconstrained, erect position in standing; and one which can be maintained longer than any other without fatigue, except that the arms would at first feel rather uncomfortable sensations from a very long continuance, in the proper military position. Of course, in the training of troops, attention is ever to be paid to the order [page 2] that "no recruit be kept long at any particular part of his exercise, so as to fatigue, or make him uneasy."—1st. Sect. "THE EQUAL SQUARENESS OF THE SHOULDERS AND BODY TO THE FRONT, *is the first and great principle of the position of a soldier.* The heels must be in a line and closed. The knee straight, *without stiffness.* The toe a little turned out, so that the feet may form an angle of about 60 degrees. Let the arms hang *near the body*, but *not stiff*, the flat part of the hand and little finger touching the thigh; the thumbs as far back as the seams of the breeches. The elbows * and shoulders † to be kept back, the belly rather drawn in, and *the breast advanced without constraint*; the BODY upright, but *inclining forward*, so that *the weight of it* bears *principally on the fore part of the feet*; the *head to be erect*, and *neither turned to the right or left.*"—"The positions in which a soldier should move determines that in which he should stand still. *That excess of setting up which stiffens the person and tends to throw the body backward, instead of forward, is contrary to every true principle of movement, and must therefore, be most carefully avoided.*"——And the position in marching described in the fifth section, except the arms being of absolute necessity confined straight by the sides, is, perhaps, the most natural, firm, and majestic walk that human wisdom could devise.—5th Sect. In marching, the soldier must maintain, as much as possible, the position of the body directed in sect. 1. He must be *well balanced upon his limbs.* His arms and hands *without stiffness*, must be kept *steady by his sides*, and *not suffered to vibrate.* He must not be allowed to stoop forward, *still less to lean back.* His BODY must be kept *square to the front*, and *thrown rather more "forward in marching* than when halted, that it may accompany the movement of the leg and thigh, *which movement must spring from the* HAUNCH. The ham must be stretched, but *without stiffening the knee.* The toe a little pointed, and kept near the ground, so that the shoe soles may not be visible to a person in front. The HEAD to be kept *well up*, *straight to the front*, and the EYES not suffered to be cast down. The FOOT, *without being drawn back* ‡, *must* be placed *flat on the ground.*"——In the ordinary time of march, in which all movements of the line are made, 75 steps, of 30 inches each, are taken in one minute.—The position of the soldier with arms is, likewise, incomparably well ordered, in the

* The points of the elbows always to be turned direct to the rear.

† The points of the shoulders to be thrown back, so that the shoulder blades might lie quite flat on the back.

‡ Consequently not thrown out in the common most absurd manner.

twenty-third section; although commonly, as the two before detailed sections, most widely transgressed.—Sect. 23d. *Position of the soldier with arms.* "When the firelock "is given, and shouldered, the person of "the soldier remains in the position directed "in sect. 1. except that the wrist of the left "hand is turned out, the better to embrace "the butt, the thumb alone is to appear in "front, the four fingers to be under the "butt; the left elbow is a little bent in- "wards, without being separated from the "body, or being more forward or backward "than the right one. The firelock is placed "in the hand, not on the middle of the fin- "gers, and carried in such a manner that it "shall not raise, advance, or keep back one "shoulder more than the other; the butt "therefore must be forward, and as low as "can be permitted without constraint; the "fore part nearly even with that of the "thigh, and the hind part of it pressed by "the wrist against the thigh; the piece "must be kept steady and firm before the "hollow of the shoulder; should the fire- "lock be *drawn back*, or attempted to be "*carried high, one shoulder will be ad-* "*vanced*, the other kept back, and *the up-* "*per part of the body distorted*, and *not* "*placed square with respect to the limbs.*" —And the immensity of the importance of the utmost attention being given to those wise, but very simple rules, is strongly illustrated in the following passages from the "Rules and Regulations."——"As the "march of every body, except in cases of "inclining, is made on lines perpendicular "to its then front, each individual compo- "sing that body must in his own person be "placed, and remain *perfectly square to the* "*given line;* otherwise he will naturally "and insensibly move in a direction per- "pendicular to his own person, and thereby "open out or close in, according to the "manner in which he is turned from the "true point of his march. If the distortion of "a single man operates in this manner, and "ALL TURNINGS OF THE HEAD *do so distort* "*him*, it may easily be imagined what that "of several will occasion, each of whom is "marching on a different front, and whose "lines of direction are crossing each other." —P. 25. "The soldier, in marching, must "*not turn his head* to the hand to which he "is dressing, as a *turning of the shoulders* "would undoubtedly follow." Ibid. "One "man, by bringing forward a shoulder may "oblige the wing of a battalion to run in "order to keep dressed." Page 26. "The "ELBOWS *must be kept steady*, without con- "straint; if they are opened from his body, "or if they are closed, in either case, wa- "ving on the march will take place." Page 25.——"THE MARCH OF THE BATTALION "IN LINE, either to front or rear, being the "*most important* and *most difficult* of all "movements, every exertion of the com- "manding officer, and every attention of "officers and men, become peculiarly ne- "cessary to attain this end. The great and "indispensible requisites to this operation "are the direction of the march being per- "pendicular to the front of the battalion as "then standing; the *perfect squareness of* "*the shoulders and body of each individual;* "the *light touch of the files* (towards the "the centre of battalions); *the accurate* "*equality of cadence, and length of step,* "given by the advanced serjeants whom the "battalion, in every respect, covers, fol- "lows, and complies with. If these are "not observed, its direction will be lost; "opening, closing, floating, will take place, "and disorder will arise, in whatever line it "makes part of." Page 220.——"*The* "*men are on no account to turn their heads* "*to the colours*, but to preserve them, and "consequently their shoulders, square to "the front, and to depend principally on "the light touch of the elbow, together "with *an occasional glance of the eye* [the "glance of the eye is intended chiefly for "the purpose of keeping the step with the "directing serjeants; whenever the eye is "turned, which must be as seldom as possi- "ble, it should be but momentarily, with "special care to prevent that shoulder to "which the glance is made from falling to "the rear] for the dressing." Page 224.— "Notwithstanding every direction that can "be given for the march of the line in front, "the success of its execution will totally de- "pend on the complete dexterity and train- "ing of its component parts; on the quick "eye and ready decision of the commanders "of battalions; on the accurate cadence "and length of step, and lines of march ta- "ken by the several advanced serjeants, "and by the battalions; together with the "perfect squareness of each individual's per- "son; all these, justly combined, are ne- "cessary to procure that precision which is "not unattainable, and is so essential in "this most difficult and important ma- "nœuvre, for the halt taking place near the "enemy; and, when the firing should be- "gin, there is no time then to rectify errors, "and redress the line, but every thing must "remain in the situation of that instant: "and though *a line a little irregularly halt-* "*ed* may not be deficient in fire, yet it will "present exposed flanks of battalions, and

" will *not be in a state to advance farther* " *without disorder*, even should an enemy " give way." Page 36.——" *Accuracy and* " *squareness of position*, the *equality of ca-* " *dence and step, the light touch of files*, " which is never to be relinquished, just " distances, *and true lines of movement*, " will give, without apparent constraint, the " head being turned, or the least trouble ta- " ken in dressing, *the most decisive exactness* " *in the marches and operations of the* " *largest bodies.*" Page 36.—Hence, the indispensable necessity of that admirably natural, unconstrained position, described in the 1st, 5th, and 23d, sections of his Majesty's rules and regulations, I presume has been rendered very clear to every understanding; as well as of a perfect knowledge, and due observance by every individual, from the commanding officer to the private, of the several most wisely ordered, and simple rules for marching detailed in the several foregoing paragraphs.—As for the nineteen manœuvres commanded for the practice and guidance of all his Majesty's infantry regiments, they are inimitably well arranged, and so constructed, that upon their few, and simple principles, every necessary change of position, of the greatest or smallest bodies, may be effected with great ease and accuracy. At the same time, there will not be seen, in any assembly room in England, nineteen country dances whose figures are not more complicated and far more difficult, than the evolutions of those nineteen manœuvres, when the first rudiments of movement are once understood.——From various experiments, which I have actually made, and which have succeeded in every instance far beyond my most sanguine expectations, I have no doubt but the ordered position, and a mature sensé of its importance in all military manœuvres, might be sufficiently established, by very gentle progression, in any man, having the most ordinary share of comprehensiveness, provided the limbs are not insuperably deformed, in the space of six days at farthest; and, I think, another week would enable any body of men to move in line, without (though, perhaps, with) arms, with a precision not to be arrived at by the common mode of training. Further, I doubt not but that by exacting from the officers and serjeants one or two hours (in each day) study in theory of the principles of the ordered manœuvres, besides the field exercise with the battalion, the new corps should appear in the space of two months, if not to have attained the acme of perfection in the most material points of service, at least, infinitely surpassing, in the performance of the nineteen manœuvres, likewise in the knowledge of the officer and non-commissioned officer, in the several principles of those manœuvres, either regiment of the guards, or any other corps in the British service, except those regiments which have lately been under the immediate command of Major General Sir John Moore.—— Yet, Sir, I do not believe there are ten regiments in his Majesty's service, in which there are two captains who could command a battalion through the evolutions of those nineteen manœuvres; or, that the generality of our military officers, of superior or inferior rank, could display a greater proportionate degree of professional science.—— Indeed, Sir, if you will take the trouble of observing the drill and exercise of the guards, or any of the before mentioned regiments, you would find the soldier, *so far from being well balanced on his limbs*, in an extreme constrained attitude, which cannot be continued long without much fatigue and pain, even by the old soldier. The arms and hands, not in the prescribed position, or steady by the sides, but unceasingly moving in various ways. The body, *never square* to any direction for ten paces together, and *leaning back* so excessively that the soldier can have but very little command of his person, even on the smoothest parade. The knee will be *stiffened*. The head almost incessantly turning, if not to whatever way mere idle curiosity may incline them, to the centre of the battalion, at the words of command, by the officers, " *eyes right*," or " *eyes left*;" although, in addition to what has been said of the necessity of the greatest possible care to keep the head and shoulders steady to the front, it is particularly specified in the 3d sect. of the rules and regulations; that those motions *(eyes right*, or *eyes left)* are only useful in the wheeling of divisions, or when dressing is ordered after the halt. The *foot*, instead of " without being drawn back," being placed flat on the ground; it will be thrown out in a very unnatural and highly irrational manner, of course brought back; and the heel alone, as the foot reaches the ground, will bear the weight of a tottering body, which will be leaning backwards. Wherefore, a superficial observer would naturally conclude, from the march of the guards, &c., that an accurate advance in line was impracticable; because each officer and soldier is continually committing several most flagrant errors, either of which would frustrate all human exertion to move in line with firmness and precision.—Every part of the mere show of parade should, at present, if not entirely, be laid aside, until

the whole of our infantry forces are perfect in the ordered system of exercise. Immense advantage would arise from a total abolition of military bands; then the minds of officers, instead of exciting the admiration of the ladies in the useless parts of parade, would be devoted to the study of real duty. "*The use of musick or drums are absolutely "forbid,*" [page 78 of rules and regulations] in the training of troops, "*being in-"compatible with the just and combined "movements of any considerable body, and "giving false aids to the very smallest: "they never persevere in the ordered time,* or "in any other, *are constantly changing "measure, create noise, and counteract the "very end they are supposed to promote.*" Nor should music ever be used in the march of troops, but whilst one or two persons are observing, by the plummet or stop watch, whether they can preserve the ordered cadence of step, "in spite of any noise or cir-"cumstance that could tend to derange "them."——What I have represented as practicable by undrilled troops in the course of two months, I presume might be accomplished by even the worst of our volunteer battalions, not infested by interior discord in the course of one month. As yet they are by no means in a state which ought to inspire themselves or their country with any solid expectation that their zeal and bravery could subdue an experienced enemy, whose recent victories yield them an almost irresistible confidence. I have often, indeed lately, been in Hyde Park, &c. where the volunteer and other corps have been brigaded and inspected; and the very instant that their arms were shouldered, I perceived that all their movements would be very irregular; nor have they been one minute in motion 'ere much confusion and disorder pervaded their ranks, through an egregious deviation from almost every rule laid down for their guidance. Yet, very flattering encomiums were lavished upon their soldier-like conduct under arms, &c.; which compliments were not dishonestly given, though utterly undeserved; for the generals of brigades and inspectors were very ignorant in the true and ordered principles of movement, and therefore, knew not how to direct them better.—At the same time, I will do the volunteers the justice to confess my opinion that they are very little inferior to most of our regular regiments, in point of discipline. For even in the last *campaign at Weymouth,* where, not many weeks since, I saw several sham battles, &c I remarked an equal degree of disorder and confusion at almost every instant of movement, proceeding from the same cause: and it is to be concluded that the Commander-in-chief would not have exposed himself to the indignation of the Sovereign, by sending regiments under the eye of the King, which were inferior, in discipline, to the generality of the British service.—The immense advantages that would immediately follow, from a reasonable reform in those defects which I hope I have clearly pointed out, would exceed easy calculation. If such perfection in discipline, as I have presumed to assert as attainable by even the worst of our volunteer corps in one month, or by a body of totally undrilled recruits, under one or two judicious officers, in the space of two months, could be established throughout the whole of our regular and militia regiments, and in four hundred thousand volunteers, composed of truly zealous, loyal, and brave men; even in the course of a few months; Great Britain might then be enabled to send a military force to the Continent, which could well be expected to co-operate effectually with our allies, in reducing her haughty foe to the absolute necessity of humbly suing for peace, upon such a solid basis as must ensure the repose of Europe for some ages. Our battalions, under a *commander* in whose *abilities* and conduct they could rationally entertain an implicit faith, would march against their Gallic enemies in a confidence, with which a well founded sense of their superiority would animate them, that would, perhaps, rival the great achievements of Crecy, Poictiers, Agincourt, or any glorious martial feats yet accomplished by the British arms. Nor would a monarch of France, be so absurd as longer to amuse himself, or that nation, with the chimerical hopes of attempting the invasion of this country, without meeting inevitable and instantaneous destruction; or of seriously affecting the vital resources of England by subsidies for a large standing force, to keep at bay a mere bugbear army, encamped at Boulogne, &c. when it should be known to the world that an immense army of the best possible trained Britons, who whilst they were peaceably enriching themselves in the midst of their families, and adding inexhaustible strength to the national finance, by their honest industry, would at all times be ready to muster impregnable lines on whatever part of our coasts an enemy should be rash enough

to approach. Neither would France soon venture again to trample on the established rights of civilized nations, or to violate those treaties which would proclaim a glorious peace to England and her allies.——The following fact, the verity of which I could easily substantiate upon ample testimony, might serve as a very powerful proof that neither the military strength or patriotism of this empire are to be estimated merely by the regular, militia, and volunteer forces now mustered under arms; likewise, that, whilst all classes of the community are united in fervent loyalty towards a wise and benevolent Sovereign, and by a rational attachment to our glorious civil constitution, no justly grounded fear of invasion ought to agitate the public mind, if the armies of every other European power were to assemble on the neighbouring shores. In the year 1798, I happened to be stationed at Monmouth, and one day dining in company with a very worthy and zealous patriot, was asked, by him, many pertinent questions concerning the army, especially of the general system of drill; I could not avoid ingenuously confessing, with all possible deference to the senior part of the army, my conviction that the usual method of training troops, in their exercise, was most palpably bad, and in most parts erroneous in the extreme. I likewise added a very humble, but most decided opinion, that, from what I had witnessed during one month in a militia corps, about the year 1787 or 1788, conjoined with impressions resulting within my own mind from some little serious meditation, a body of entirely untrained men, under two or three experienced, and judicious officers, and a few well drilled non-commissioned officers or soldiers, might be instructed to move in line, and perform the most material manœuvres, in less than many days, by *a firm, easy, and natural pace*, as well as could be done by the common mode of drill, in many years. About that time there were many volunteer associations forming, at the desire of the government. The before-mentioned gentleman was very active in promoting the wishes of government, and finding many persons professing great affection to the King and constitution, and high respect for the gentlemen elected as the officers for the Monmouth corps, still objected to enroll themselves, from a plausible conjecture that much valuable time, and expense would be wasted, under officers unversed in military tactics, without arriving at an efficient state of discipline; my friend, conceiving the justice of my answers to his several queries, repeated my sentiments to some of those who were hesitating about entering the volunteers. In consequence of which, about seven hundred respectable residents of the town and environs of Monmouth enrolled themselves, under very solemn pledges, to stand forward in the event of invasion, or of an enemy appearing in force upon the coasts, to place themselves under the regular officers who might be recruiting in that district, and to proceed to whatever part of the kingdom their services might be required in; each man receiving one shilling bounty, with a supposition of thereby binding themselves irrevocably, and most effectually under the discipline and penalties of martial law.——I have very good reasons for believing the same spirit of patriotism might be found throughout every town and village in England.—Should those errors in the drill, of which I hope I have sufficiently spoken, be amended according to the spirit of the few, simple and most excellent rules laid down by General Sir David Dundas, it would soon follow of course that the officers would possess "that degree of "INTELLIGENCE *which should distinguish* "*every officer according to his station*," and "*be cool and collected*" in all situations; *every word of command and instruction*, would be given in that "*firm*, decided, and "proper manner in which orders should be "given," and the *justness of execution and confidence of the soldier* would on all occasions be proportioned. No longer would the soldier receive hard stripes with *sticks and canes* upon his shoulders, and continually bear the brunt of terrible vollies of *drill-jargon*, which degrade the soldier to the lowest ebb in the esteem of his own mind: neither would the *gentleman* be insulted and abused, in the officer, by those disgraceful tides of *vile abuse, which now pass current for the very essence of military science*; whilst the errors at which they were directed were the unavoidable consequence of "*faults of principle, not of the soldier*."—After which, let the term of enlistment be limited; and some salutary regulations respecting service in unhealthy climates; as also concerning the commutation of legal penalties, for criminal offences, to military service, be established; I might then venture to pronounce that nothing would exist in the British army, which could be deemed inconsistent with the natural sentiment of rational beings endowed with sensibility.—And then it might be fairly presumed, the government would find no difficulty in mustering a sufficient regular force to answer the utmost probable exigencies of the state, in any popular cause, without the (present

ineffectual) offer of large bounties. I should not be at all surprised, if, in peaceable times, extremely good subjects should be found even ready to give a bounty to be received into the regular regiments.——I apprehend from pretty good sources of information, that few men, excepting those who have been discharged from jails, or from the custody of peace officers, for criminal offences, on the express condition of enlisting, have entered the *Army of Defence*; so that perhaps scarcely any man can be said to have *voluntarily* entered under that bill, from which Mr. Pitt cherished such great expectation.—I have witnessed several instances, very respectable evidence to which I could adduce, if required, of young men enlisting for life into the regular army, avowedly from the sole motive of not being obliged, by being ballotted, to go into the army of reserve; though they might have got thrice the bounty which they actually received for unlimited service, by going as a substitute into the same army of reserve, merely from regarding the Army of Reserve Bill as an oppressive and unconstitutional measure. Therefore, I can have no difficulty in forming a decided opinion that his Majesty's ministers, at present, can entertain no other than delusive prospects of being able to raise any considerable body of British subjects for the regular army, but by compulsatory means, the very sound of which would violently shake the constitution to its foundation, so as imminently to threaten its total ruin.——Perhaps, Sir, it might be requisite to inform you of my having presented to the government, within the last two or three years, several plans for effectually correcting these defects, and establishing a superior state of discipline throughout the regulars, militia, and volunteers; and have learnt, from a confidential friend of the minister, that they were not deemed unworthy of deliberate perusal by the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. But, from their not experiencing the further attention to which they have been thought entitled, by very able persons, I am inclined to persuade myself that a too great diffidence, and false delicacy, towards the commander-in-chief and the senior officers of the army, prevented my being sufficiently explicit, to have made the extent of my views perfectly conspicuous, in offering those suggestions.—And conceiving that an EXPOSITION *of the* NINETEEN MANŒUVRES *and* LIGHT INFANTRY EXERCISE (comprised within so small a compass as not to be cumbrous even to the breeches pocket) in very simple and concised delineations; a selection of those important rudiments, so strangely misunderstood for above fourteen years, being, in my work, written in a manner that could not fail to strike every mind [vide page 50], with the chief rules for moving in line, column, &c.; a method of dressing the divisions of a battalion [page 117] when forming into line, with promptitude and precision; also, with figures representing the divisions, and half platoons of a battalion, by which any manœuvres could be conveniently practised in theory; would be a material aid to the execution of my plans, in case of their being adopted; and thinking it not very improbable, even if my suggestions should not meet a very favourable reception, that the little compilation might prove instrumental in promoting the great object, which, purely from patriotic motives, my mind had long been very earnestly bent upon. I submitted to His Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief, nearly two years since, the accompanying exposition * of the nineteen manœuvres, &c.; and was honoured by " the thanks" of the Duke of York " for the communication of the same," accompanied with the compliment that " His Royal Highness very much applauded the zeal which led" me " to the study of those essential points of service, by which" I " had been enabled so accurately to delineate them." " An example" which His Royal Highness thought " highly worthy of imitation," &c.; likewise with an intimation that the commander-in-chief" was not aware the publication of the compilation would prove of any essential service, the subject having been so fully treated of by his Majesty's orders and regulations."—— However, I requested the opinion of Colonel Clinton, the then Secretary to the Duke of York, whether the commander-in-chief would be displeased at its publication; signifying, to the colonel, that, otherwise I felt inclined to risque the expense of publishing my little work, under a very humble hope that it might prove in some measure useful, " from its being principally com-
" posed of the most important parts of his
" Majesty's rules and regulations, *particularly for the movements of the line*, and
" *operations of the column*; and also, *from*
" *its containing a singular mode of imprinting on the mind of the recruit in one day's*
" *exercise, a perfect idea of the true princi-*
" *ples of moving in line*, according to his
" Majesty's rules and regulations [vide page
" 63], which I had never observed, either
" in that great work, or in the exercise of
" any regiment: but by which I had, in the

* Published at Lloyd's in Harley Street.

" course of one morning, made a volunteer " company, which had not been enrolled a " month, march several times round a field " situated on the side of a hill or rather " steep ascent, with a degree of precision " that I had not frequently seen surpassed." I was favoured by an answer from Colonel Clinton, informing me that he had " no idea that his Royal Highness would disapprove of" my " publishing the manuscripts which" I " could be urged to do from no other motive than that of contributing in some degree to the general good of the service."——However, in a few months afterwards, Major General Sir John Moore adopted, in the brigade under his command, a system of marching, and of drill, answering the conception I have, and have long borne, of those most excellent rules prescribed in his Majesty's rules and regulations, by General Sir David Dundas; except that, under Sir John Moore, the recruit is for a long while daily tortured in very stiffened and ridiculous postures, with a curious notion of their being necessary to instruct him in that admirably natural, firm, and manly position, incomparably laid down in the 1st and 5th sections before recited.—I have passed, perhaps, the most valuable period of human life, with a very ardent, though not the most fortunate zeal, in the army; but, at present, there are most cogent reasons for my not desiring to appear in any active military capacity; yet, as I should ever enjoy an inexpressible satisfaction in displaying any proofs of that fervent devotion to my King and country, which, from the first dawn of rational reflection, has taught me that every subject

" Est de tout son sang comptable à sa patrie,"

I hereby, with a view to induce the experiment, make a full and perfect offer of my life, or to suffer perpetual banishment, from my family, friends, and this my native kingdom, in the event of any volunteer corps, not afflicted by internal cabals, being embodied for a month; or any body of British men, officered by persons having the common education and address of gentlemen, with men of proper respectability for non-commissioned officers, being assembled for two months: and not be declared, by competent judges, to have attained upon a plan I could presume to suggest, a degree of discipline, in the most essential points of military service, within the stated periods, infinitely superior to what should be acknowledged by those judges to be practicable in the longest period of human life, by the common system of drill and field exercise: for, as a celebrated philosophical writer has said, if we set out upon false axioms, no diligence of art we can use while we follow so erroneous a course, will ever bring us to the desired end. There is a very respectable old officer, now residing in my neighbourhood, with whom I have not the honour of any personal acquaintance, but by whom I have seen such miracles performed through an almost incomparably mild and dignified manner of address, by the drilling for only one month of a militia corps, when the militia was first embodied after the American war, upon very defective principles, that I should feel myself perfectly easy under an implicit confidence that he, with perhaps, one or two officers whom he might desire as assistants, would fully accomplish every thing I have ventured to hold forth, in less than the specified time, by a few simple, concise, and infallible rules, which I could point out in his Majesty's rules and regulations, compiled by General Sir David Dundas, from which the eyes of vast numbers of the most possible gallant and zealous officers, for upwards of fourteen years, have been arrested by a too serious attention to " *trifling mimutenesses* " *and shadowy distinctions.*"——A VERY HUMBLE PATRIOT.—*Huntsmore, near Uxbridge, Nov.* 28, 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

TREATIES, &c. PRESENTED, BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND, TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, 28TH JANUARY, 1806.

Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of all the Russias, signed at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April, 1805.

In the Name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.—His Majesty, the King of the united kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, animated with the desire of restoring to Europe the peace, independence, and happiness, of which it is deprived, by the unbounded ambition of the French Government, and the immoderate degree of influence which it is striving to arrogate to itself, have resolved to employ every means in their power to obtain this salutary end, and to prevent the renewal of similar disastrous circumstances; and they have named, in consequence, for the purpose of fixing and agreeing upon those measures which their magnanimous intentions may call for, viz. His Maj. the King of the united kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, the Ld. Granville Leveson Gower, Member of Parliament of the said united kingdom, one of His Majesty's Privy Councillors, and his

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias; and His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Adam Prince of Czartoryski, one of his Privy Councillors, Member of the Council of State, Senator, adjunct Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the General Direction of Schools, Curator of the Imperial University of Wilna and of its district, Lieut. of the Grand Prior of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, of the Russian Catholic Priory, and Knight of the Order of St. Anne, and Commander of that of St. John of Jerusalem; and the Sieur Nicolas of Novossilzoff, his present Chamberlain, adjunct Minister of Justice, charged with the examination of the projects presented to His Maj. and with other special commissions, President of the Academy of Sciences, Member of the General Direction of the Schools, Curator of the University of St. Petersburgh and of its District, and Knight of the Order of St. Vladimir, who, after having verified and exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following article:—ART. 1. As the state of suffering in which Europe is placed, demands speedy remedy, Their Majesties, the King of the united kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and the Emperor of all the Russias, have mutually agreed to consult upon the means of putting a stop thereto, without waiting for farther encroachments on the part of the French Govt. They have agreed, in consequence, to employ the most speedy and most efficacious means to form a general league of the States of Europe, and to engage them to accede to the present concert; and, in order to accomplish the end proposed, to collect together a force, which, independently of the succours furnished by His Brit. Maj. may amount to 500,000 effective men; and to employ the same with energy, in order either to induce or to compel the French Govt. to agree to the re-establishment of peace, and of the equilibrium of Europe.—ART. 2. The object of this League will be to carry into effect what is proposed by the present concert, namely: *(a.)* The Evacuation of the Country of Hanover, and of the North of Germany. *(b.)* The Establishment of the Independence of the Republics of Holland and Swisserland. *(c.)* The Re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large augmentation of territory as circumstances will permit. *(d.)* The future Security of the Kingdom of Naples, and the complete Evacuation of Italy, the Island of Elba included, by the French forces, *(e.)* The Establishment of an Order of Things in Europe, which may effectually guarantee the Security and Independence of the different States, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations.—ART. 3. His Brit. Maj. in order to concur efficaciously on his side, to the happy effects of the present concert, engages to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces, both by sea and land, as well as his vessels adapted for transporting troops, in such manner as shall be determined upon in the general plan of operations; His Maj. will moreover, assist the different powers who shall accede thereto, by subsidies, the amount of which shall correspond to the respective forces which shall be employed; and, in order that the said pecuniary succours may be proportioned in the manner most conducive to the general good, and to assist the powers, in proportion to the exertions they may make to contribute to the common success, it is agreed, that these subsidies (barring particular arrangements), shall be furnished in the proportion of 1,250,000 pounds sterling, for each 100,000 men of regular troops, and so in proportion for a greater or smaller number, payable according to the conditions hereinafter specified.—ART. 4. The said subsidies shall be payable by instalments, from month to month, in proportion to the forces which each Power shall employ in pursuance of its engagements, to combat the common enemy, and according to the official report of the armies employed at the opening of the campaign, and of the several reinforcements which may join them. An arrangement shall be made in conformity with the plan of operations, which shall be forthwith regulated as to the period when these subsidies shall begin to be paid, and the mode and place of payment shall be settled so as to suit the convenience of each of the Belligerent Parties. His Brit. Maj. will likewise be prepared to advance within the current year, a sum for putting the troops in motion. This sum shall be settled by particular arrangements to be entered into by each Power, who shall take part in this concert; but His said Maj. understands that the whole of the sums to be furnished to any Power within the current year, as well as on account of the said advance, as for the monthly subsidies, is in no case to exceed the proportion of 1,250,000 pounds sterling, for every 100,000 men.—ART. 5. The High Contracting Parties agree that the different Members of the League shall respectively be permitted to retain accredited persons with the Commanders in Chief of the different Armies, to carry on the cor-

respondence, and to attend to the military operations.—Art. 6. Their Majesties agree, that in the event of a league being formed, such as is pointed out in the First Article, they will not make peace with France, but by the common consent of all the Powers who shall become parties in the said league; and also that the Continental Powers shall not recall their forces before the peace; moreover, His Brit. Maj. engages to continue the payment of the subsidies during the continuance of the war.—Art. 7. The present Concert, which is mutually acknowledged by the high contracting Parties to be equally valid and binding as the most solemn treaty, shall be ratified by His Maj. the King of the united kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and by His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at St. Petersburgh within the space of ten weeks, or sooner if possible.—In testimony whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms.—Done at St. Petersburgh, April 11, (30th March), 1805. Signed, G. L. Gower, Adam Prince Czartoryski, Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. I. (A.)—*First separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburgh, 11th April, (30th March),* 1805.

His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, having made known to His Brit. Maj. his arrangements with Their Majesties the Emperor of Germany and the King of Sweden, His Brit. Maj. engages to fulfil his stipulations of the present Treaty of Concert towards each of those powers, if, in the space of four months, reckoning from the day of the signature of the presnt instrument, both those powers, or one of them, shall have caused their forces to act against France, by virtue of the engagements they have taken with His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias.—This separate Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate Article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at St. Petersburgh, this 11th April (30th March), 1805.—Signed, G. L. Gower, Adam Prince Czartoryski, Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. 1. (B)—*Fourth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburgh, 11th April (20th March,)* 1805.

The collecting of 500,000 effective men, mentioned in Art. I. of the Treaty of Concert signed this day, not being so easy as it is desirable, their Majesties have agreed that it should be carried into execution as soon as it should be possible to oppose to France an active force of 400,000 men, composed in the following manner; Austria will supply 250,000 men, Russia not less than 115,000 men, independently of the levies made by her in Albany, in Greece, &c.; and the remainder of the 400,000 will be made up by the troops of Naples, Hanover, Sardinia, and others.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburgh, this 11th of April (30th March) 1805.—Signed G. L. Gower. Adam Prince Czartoryski. Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. 1. (C)—*Fifth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburgh, 11th April (March 30,)* 1805.

"His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, engages also to march as soon as possible, an army of not less than 60,000 men to the frontiers of Austria, and also another of not less than 80,000 men to the Prussian frontiers, to be ready to co-operate with the said courts, in the proportion established by the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and to support them respectively in case they should be attacked by France, who might suppose them to be engaged in some negotiation tending towards an object contrary to her views; but it is understood, that independently of the 115,000 men, which His Imperial Maj. of all the Russias will cause to act against the French, he will keep bodies of reserve and observation upon his frontiers.—It is moreover agreed, that as the forces promised by His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias shall all, or in part, quit the frontiers of his empire, His Brit. Maj. will pay them the subsidies, at the rate established by the present Treaty of Concert, until the return of the said forces to their homes; and moreover, the equivalent of three months of subsidy as a *Première mise en Campagne*.—The Russian troops already stationed at the Seven Islands, or which may be intended to be transported thither, will

not enjoy the advantage of the subsidies, and of the *Première mise en Campagne*, stipulated in the present art., before the day of their leaving the Seven Islands, to commence their operations against the French.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburgh, the 11th of April (30th March,) 1805.—Signed G. L. Gower. Adam Prince Czartoryski. Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. 1. (D)—*Sixth separate Article of the Treaty of Concert between His Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at St. Petersburgh, 11th April (30th March,)* 1805.

His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, being disposed to form an energetic concert, with the sole view of insuring to Europe a lasting and solid peace, founded upon the principles of justice, equity, and the law of nations, by which they are constantly guided, are aware of the necessity of a mutual understanding, at this time, upon several principles, which they will evince, in pursuance of a previous concert, as soon as the events of the war may render it necessary.—These principles are, in no degree, to control the public opinion in France, or in any other countries, where the combined armies may carry on their operations, with respect to the form of government which it may be proper to adopt; nor to appropriate to themselves, till a peace should be concluded, any of the conquests made by one or the other of the belligerent parties; and to take possession of the towns and territories, which may be wrested from the common enemy, in the name of the country or states, to which, by acknowledged right, they belong, and in all other cases, in the name of all the members of the league; and, finally, to assemble, at the termination of the war, a general congress, to discuss and fix the provisions of the law of nations, on a more determined basis, than unfortunately has hitherto been practicable; and to insure their observance, by the establishment of a federative system, calculated upon the situation of the different states of Europe.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April (30th March,) 1805.—Signed G. L. Gower. Adam Prince Czartoryski. Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. 1. (E)—*Eighth separate Article.*

It being possible that the bias which the French govt. tries to give to the councils of the different states of Europe, may determine one or other of those states to throw obstacles in the way of the attainment of the salutary effects which are the objects of the present concert, and even to have recourse to hostile measures against one of the high contracting parties, in spite of their endeavours to establish an equitable and permanent order of things in Europe, His Brit. Maj., and His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, agree to make common cause against every power, which, by the employment of its forces, or by too intimate an union with France, may pretend to raise essential obstacles to the developement of those measures which the high contracting parties may have to take, in order to attain the object proposed by the present concert.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April (30th March), 1805.—Signed G. L. Gower. Adam Prince Czartoryski. Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. 1. (F)—*Eleventh separate Article.*

The high contracting parties, acknowledging the necessity of supporting the propositions of peace, which it is their intention to make to Buonaparté by energetic demonstrations, have resolved to invite His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. to put his armies in a state of readiness for action, without delay, by completing their numbers, and by concentrating them in the neighbourhood of the borders of France. His Brit. Maj. considering the extraordinary expenses which this measure will render necessary, promises and engages to furnish to His Imperial and Royal Maj. immediately after his accession to the present concert, the sum of one million of pounds sterling, for *Première mise en Campagne*, which the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland will not reclaim, in case the negotiation for

peace should be crowned with success, provided that, in a contrary event, Austria would take the field immediately.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburgh, the 11th of April, (30th March), 1805.—Signed G. L. Gower. Adam Prince Czartoryski. Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. 1. (G)—*Separate and Secret Article.*

Although the high contracting parties have agreed by the first separate article of the Treaty of Concert, established this day between them, that Austria and Sweden shall not partake of the advantages of the said concert, but in the event of their bringing their forces into action against France, 4 months after its signature, by virtue of their engagements with His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias; yet His Brit. Maj. considering the advantage to the future security of Europe, which results from an union similar to that formed by His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, with their Majesties the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Sweden, for the purpose of opposing the further encroachments of Buonaparté, promises to fulfil the stipulations of the present concert, in the same degree towards either of those powers, if, in the course of the year 1805, both or one of them should bring their forces into action against France, in virtue of their engagements with His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias.—This separate and secret art. shall have the same force and validity. as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Treaty of Concert signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate and secret art., and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms.—Done at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April (30th March), 1805.—Signed G. L. Gower. Adam Prince Czartoryski. Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. I. (H.)—*Additional Article.*

His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, having, in pursuance of his sincere desire to insure success to the enterprise, concerted against France, determined, in case the circumstances should require it, to augment the forces which he has promised to bring into action, to an hundred and eighty thousand men, His Maj the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, promises, and engages to pay, in that case, to His Imperial Maj. of all the Russias, for the troops which he may thus add to the 115,000 already agreed upon, a subsidy and a *Première mise en Campagne*, at the same rate as is agreed by the fifth separate article of the Treaty of Concert, established between His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, the 30th March (11th April), 1805.—This additional article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the aforementioned Concert, and shall be ratified by the two high contracting powers; and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of ten weeks, or sooner, if possible.—In witness whereof, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed to it the seals of their arms.—Done at St. Petersburgh, the 10th May (28th April), 1805.—Signed, G. L. Gower. Adam Prince Czartoryski. Nicolas de Novossilzoff.

No. I. (I.)—*Additional Article of the Treaty of Concert, signed at St. Petersburgh, the 11th April,* 1805.

His Maj the Emperor of all the Russias, purposing to concert measures with the Court of Vienna, by which considerable Russian armies may be approximated to the frontiers of France, by crossing the Austrian and Prussian territories, while it is declared that the object of these movements is to obtain securities for the Continent, promises and engages to His Brit. Maj. in his own name, and in that of his allies, that, should even circumstances require, that at the moment when the Russian troops began their march, they should declare that this movement was in no way connected with an existing concert with His Brit. Maj. but that the powers of the Continent reclaim the fulfilment by France of her immediate engagements with them, yet as soon as the war shall have broken out, they will no longer pursue a particular object, but that which has been determined by the Concert of the 30th March (11th April), with all the clauses incorporated with it.—In return for this assurance, His Brit. Maj. promises and engages, in the first place, to fulfil towards the Emperor of all the Russias the stipulations of the above-mentioned Concert, in all their parts, as soon as the war shall have broken out between Russia and France, and especially to furnish for the Russian troops the subsidies agreed upon, payable from the day on which they shall have quitted the frontiers of the empire, and, moreover, the three months stipulated subsidy, under the

name of *Première mise en Campagne*; with this condition, nevertheless, that however long may be the term between the epoch of the departure of the Russian troops from their frontiers, and that of the commencement of hostilities, His Brit. Maj. shall not be bound to pay Russia for that interval more than six months subsidy at the most, the *Première mise en Campagne* being therein comprised.—In the second place, to fulfil, with regard to Austria, all the stipulations of the above-mentioned Concert, and especially all that relates to the subsidies, as soon as the ambassador of His Imperial and Royal Majesty shall have signed the Act of Accession of his Court; and lastly, in the third place, to pay in the like manner to the other allies of Russia, who shall assist in this enterprise (except in the case of special arrangements), the subsidies which have been allotted for them by the above-mentioned Concert, and on the conditions therein specified.—This additional art. shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted word for word in the above-mentioned Concert, and shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburgh, in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible. —In faith of which, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed it, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms —Done at St. Petersburgh, the 12th July (24th), 1805.—(Signed) G. L. Gower. Adam Prince Czartoryski.

No. II. (A.) *Preliminary Declaration of Count Stadion, to Lord Granville Leveson Gower, dated at St. Petersburgh, 28th July (9th Aug)*, 1805.

The undersigned Ambassador Extra. and Plenipotentiary of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. by order of his august sovereign, after having invited his Exc. the Ambassador of G. Britain, to join with him in the Preliminary Declarations which he has exchanged this day, with his Exc. the Prince of Czartoryski, has, moreover, declared as follows:—His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. in acceding to the treaty concluded on the 30th March (11th April), 1805, and subsequently ratified by the Courts of London and St. Petersburgh, under the reservations, modifications, and demands, as announced in the above-mentioned preliminary declarations, limits the pecuniary succours, which he expects from His Maj. the King of G. Britain, for the current year, 1805, to three millions sterling; of which sum one million and a half is to be considered as *Première mise en Campagne*; and as such, is to be furnished with as little delay as possible; and the other million and a half as subsidies, to be paid in equal monthly payments, until the last day of the year. These subsidies, as well as one million of the sum appointed for *Première mise en Campagne*, are to be furnished to His Imperial Maj. and shall remain in his possession, even though the vigorous demonstrations, in which his forces are actually employed, should not terminate in hostilities, but should lead, by the way of negociation, to the re-establishment of peace. Moreover, as these armed demonstrations afford the greatest and most efficacious aid, for the promotion of the object of the Concert, to which His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. has acceded, he expects, that, as long as they shall continue, the subsidy shall likewise continue to be paid, in the same manner, as if his armies were employed in actual war, and that for the year 1806, and the subsequent years, in consideration of the great number of troops which he is opposing to the common enemy, the subsidy shall be increased to the sum of four millions sterling, payable in the same manner as is stated above, until the return of the regiments into the hereditary dominions.—His Exc. the Ambassador of G. Britain having declared that the instructions and precise orders of his Court precluded him from acceding without restriction, to the above-menttoned demands, and having engaged, by a preliminary act, exchanged against the present, in the name of His Brit. Maj. to stipulations which differ from them considerably, as well with regard to the sum, as to the terms of the propositions made in the name of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj.—The undersigned accepts this Act, given in by the Ambassador of England, but he declares at the same time, that he does not consider the sums stipulated therein as sufficient, and that he expressly reserves for his Court the power of reclaiming to this effect, and of effectuating the fulfilment of its demands. —In transmitting this Preliminary Declaration, which is to be in the place, and have the validity of the most solemn treaty, to His Exc. the Ambassador of His Maj. the King of G. Britain, he is authorised to declare to him, at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately, on these same bases, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of Austria, to the concert of 30th of March, (11th of April.)—These presents shall be ratified by the respective courts in as short a time as is possible.—In faith of which, the undersigned, by virtue of the full powers of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj., has signed the present preliminary declara-

tion, and has affixed thereto the seal of his arms. Done at St. Petersburgh the 28th of July (9th of Aug.), 1805. (L.S.) J. PHILIPPE, Comte de Stadion.

No. II. (B.)—*Declaration of Count Stadion to Prince Czartoryski, dated Petersburgh, 28th July (9th August)*, 1805.

The undersigned Ambassador Extr. and Plenip. of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj., being especially authorised by the Emperor, his august master, declares, in answer to the declaration which has been delivered to him by his Exc. the Prince Czartoryski, of this day's date as follows:—1. His Imperial and Royal Maj., in accepting the different articles announced in this declaration, accedes to the concert concluded between the Courts of St Petersburgh and London, the 30th March (11th April) of this year, as well as to the last plan, which the Russian ministry has caused to be presented at Vienna. His Maj. promises to fulfil the engagements thereof, with the exception of the modifications, clauses, and demands, included in the different official pieces to which his Imperial Maj. of Russia has given his consent in the preliminary declaration, which will be taken as the basis of the concert of measures which Austria and Russia are to employ for the attainment of their object.—2. His Imperial and Royal Maj. engages to execute, without delay, the military arrangement agreed upon at Vienna, the 16th of July, as well for the armed demonstration which is to facilitate the negociation, as for the operations against the enemy, which may ensue; in the confidence and certain expectation, that the present preliminary agreement shall be unexceptionably and literally fulfilled, and that the definitive agreement shall be concluded without delay, and on the same basis between the three powers.—3. His Imperial and Royal Maj. engages, as soon as the whole or a part of the Russian troops shall have passed their frontiers, not to treat for peace but on the basis which his Maj. has himself acknowledged to be indispensible for the safety of Europe; and if hostilities shall take place, to make neither a peace nor truce, but with the consent of the allies, according to the stipulations of the concert of the 30th March (11th April) of this year.—The undersigned, in delivering the present preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place, and to have the validity of the most solemn act, to his Exc. the Prince Czartoryski, is authorised to announce to him, at the same time, that he is ready to proceed, immediately, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the Court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March (11th April).—The present declaration, and that delivered to the undersigned by his Exc. the Prince Czartoryski, shall be ratified by the respective Sovereigns, in the least possible time, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at St. Petersburgh.—In faith of which, the undersigned, Ambassador Extr. and Plenip. of his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Maj. has signed the present declaration, has caused to be affixed thereto the seal of his arms, and has exchanged it against the declaration, signed this day, by his Exc. Prince Czartoryski, joint Minister for Foreign Affairs of his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias. Done at St. Petersburgh, the 9th Aug. (28th July,) 1805. Signed J. PHILIPPE, Count de Stadion.

No. II. (C.)—*Copy of the Declaration delivered by Prince Czartoryski to the Ambassador Count de Stadion, on the 28th July (9th Aug.)*, 1805.

The undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs, being authorised to that effect by his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, declares to his Exc. the Ambassador Count de Stadion, as follows: 1. The several observations and proposals announced by the Court of Vienna, in the preliminary declaration delivered by the Vice Chancellor of the Court and State, Count de Cobentzel, to the Ambassador Count de Razoumofsky, on the 7th of July, are assumed by his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, to serve as a basis for the concert of measures between the Court of Russia, and those of Vienna and of London. In like manner, the modifications proposed therein by his Imperial and Royal Maj. for the regulation of the affairs of the Continent, are also adopted, in case of their being reason to hope that war may be avoided by means of negociation.—2. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias confirms the military arrangements detailed in the protocol of conferences held between the General Baron de Wintzingerode on one side, and the Prince de Schwarzenberg and General Mack on the other, and which was signed the 16th of July. And his Imperial Maj. engages strictly to fulfil the whole of the measures therein arranged.—3. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages, moreover, to endeavour to prevail on his Brit. Maj. to consent to the modifications and demands contained in the paper entitled, "Remarks on some particular Objects of the Convention signed between the Courts of Petersburgh and London, the 30th March (11th April) of this year."—4. His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias promises to use his best endeavours to engage his Brit. Maj. to grant the total amount of the subsidiary demands

made by the Court of Vienna; with this condition, nevertheless, that in case his Imperial Maj. notwithstanding all his exertions, should fail in the attempt, this circumstance shall occasion no essential change in the measures concerted between Russia and Austria.—5. His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias engages, as soon as the whole or a part of the Russian troops shall have passed their frontiers, not to treat for peace but upon those bases which his Imperial Maj. has himself acknowledged to be indispensible for the safety of Europe; and when the war shall have broken out, to make neither peace nor a truce without the consent of the allies, according to the stipulations of the concert of the 30th March (11th April) of this year.——The undersigned, in delivering this preliminary declaration, which is to be in the place and have the validity of the most solemn act, to the ambassador of Austria, is authorised to announce to him, at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately on these bases to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the Court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March (11th April).—The present declaration, and that delivered in return by the Ambassador, Count de Stadion, shall be ratified by the respective Sovereigns, in the shortest possible term, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburgh.—In faith of which the undersigned Joint Minister for Foreign Affairs has signed the present declaration, has caused the seal of his arms to be affixed thereto, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his Exc. the Count de Stadion. Done at St. Petersburgh the 28th July (9th Aug.) 1805. (Signed) Le Prince Adam de Czartoryski.

No. II. (D.)——*Declaration of Prince Czartoryski to Lord G. L. Gower, dated St. Petersburgh, 28th July, (9th Aug.)*, 1805.

The undersigned, Joint-Minister for Foreign Affairs, being authorised to that effect by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, declares to his Exc. the Ambassador, Lord G. L. Gower, as follows:—1. The undersigned has this day exchanged with his Exc. the Ambassador of Austria, the declarations, of which copies are hereto annexed.—2. His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, expects that the ambassador of England will agree, in the name of his Court, without reserve to their contents; and that if he do not consider himself sufficiently authorised thereto, he will express, in a formal declaration, the several points to which he can immediately assent.—3. The undersigned is authorised to exchange this declaration against that which shall be delivered to him by his Exc. Lord G. L. Gower.—The present declaration, and that delivered in return by the ambassador of England, which are to be in the place and to have the validity of the most solemn act, shall be ratified by the respective Sovereigns, and the ratifications exchanged at St. Petersburgh in the shortest possible term.——In faith of which, the undersigned Joint-Minister for Foreign Affairs has signed the present declaration, has caused to be affixed to it the seal of his arms, and has exchanged it against the declaration signed this day by his Exc. the Ambassador of England. Done at St. Petersburgh, the 28th of July, 1805. Adam Prince Czartoryski.

No. II. (E.)—*Declaration signed by his Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, and delivered to Prince Czartoryski and to Count de Stadion, 9th Aug.* 1805.

The undersigned Ambassador Extr. and Plenip. of his Brit. Maj., having been invited by his Exc. the Prince Czartoryski, Joint Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Count de Stadion, Ambassador Extr. and Plenip. of his Imperial Royal and Apostolic Maj. to accede to the declarations reciprocally exchanged between the two Imperial Courts on this day, the 9th of August, in virtue of his full powers, declares as follows:—The several observations and proposals expressed by the Court of Vienna, in the preliminary declaration delivered by the Vice Chancellor of the Court and State, the Count de Cobentzel, to the Ambassador Count Razoumoufsky, on the 7th of July, and in the *Mémoire Raisonné* of the 21st of July, are assumed by his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. to serve as a basis for the concert of measures between the three Courts of London, Vienna, and Petersburgh, and the modifications proposed therein, for the regulation of the affairs of the Continent, are in like manner adopted, in case there should be reason to hope that war may be avoided by the means of negociation.—The British ambassador, while he declares that his positive instructions preclude him from acceding to the pecuniary demands of the Court of Vienna, engages in the name of his Sovereign, that the monthly subsidies agreed to by the concert of the 30th March (11th April), shall be payable from the 1st of Oct. 1805: he engages likewise to advance, with the least possible delay, the equivalent of five months subsidies, under the head of *Première mise en Campagne*, with the express condition, that his Brit. Maj. may reclaim whatever payments shall have been made in

favour of his Imperial and Royal Maj. beyond the million stipulated by the 11th additional article of the above-mentioned treaty, whether as *Première mise en Campagne*, or as current subsidy, in case that the negociations, which are about to be set on foot with the French government, do not terminate in war.——He declares, moreover, that if the said negociations shall not be brought to a conclusion before the 31st day of December, 1805, the expiration of the first three months shall be the term of the payments, which are to be continued monthly, until the commencement of hostilities.—His Imperial and Royal Maj. having engaged to embody an armed force of not less than 320,000 men, the undersigned consents, that the advances to be made, under the head of *Première mise en Campagne*, shall be paid according to this calculation, with this condition nevertheless, that if, contrary to all expectation, the Austrian armies do not amount to the force above specified, his Brit. Maj. may deduct from this payment a sum proportionate to the numbers that are wanting.——The British ambassador cannot consent to the modifications and demands contained in the paper, intituled, "Remarks on some particular objects of the Convention, signed between the Courts of Petersburgh and of London, the 30th of March, (1st of April)" of this year; as he has hitherto received no instructions from his Court, which authorise him to accede to such demands.—The British ambassador accepts the accession of his Maj. the Emperor and King, under the conditions specified in the preliminary declarations exchanged this day between the plenipotentiaries of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, with this formal reservation, that this acceptation shall not be considered as valid, nor the above-mentioned engagements obligatory, unless the Court of Vienna shall, on their side, conform themselves to the whole of the stipulations of the said act.—The undersigned, in delivering to his Exc. Prince Czartoryski (Count de Stadion) the present preliminary declaration which is to be in the place, and have the validity of the most solemn treaty, is authorised to announce to him, at the same time, that he is ready to proceed immediately on these bases, to the conclusion of the formal act of accession of the Court of Vienna to the concert of the 30th March (11th April.)—These presents shall be ratified by the respective Courts, in the shortest possible term.——In witness whereof, the undersigned, by virtue of the full powers of his Brit. Maj., has signed the present preliminary declaration, and has affixed thereto the seal of his arms. Done at St. Petersburgh, the 28th July (9th Aug.), 1805. (L.S.) G. L. Gower

No. III.—*Preliminary and Secret Convention between his Maj. and the King of Sweden, signed at Stockholm, 3d Dec.* 1804.

His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of Gt. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, being animated with a mutual desire to strengthen and draw closer the ties of friendship and harmony, which so happily exist between the two Courts, having thought proper, with this view, to regulate, by a preliminary and secret convention, certain points of their mutual interests, relative to the present situation of affairs; their said Majesties have named for that purpose, his Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, the Sieur Henry Pierrepont his Envoy Extr. and Minister Plenip., and his Maj. the King of Sweden, the Sieur Frederick d'Ehrenheim, President of his Chancery, and Commander of his Order of the Polar Star, who, after having reciprocally communicated their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—Art. I.—His Brit. Maj., in order to enable his Swedish Maj. more effectually to provide for the defence of Stralsund, against any attack whatever on the part of the French, engages to pay, once for all, the sum of 60,000l. sterling, which is to be appropriated solely to that purpose; this sum shall be remitted in three payments, at the interval of a month between each, the first of which is to become due upon the ratifications of this convention being exchanged.—Art. II. His Maj. the King of Sweden engages, so long as the war between Sweden and France continues, or during the space of 18 months for the least, to permit the establishment of a depot in Swedish Pomerania, either at Stralsund, or in the island of Rugen, or in both those places, for the corps of Hanoverians, which his Brit. Maj. shall be desirous of raising there.—Art. III. The officers appointed to raise the said levies, shall be allowed to clothe, arm, and victual them, to form them into battalions, and to remove them out of Swedish Pomerania into such places, and in such proportions, as his Brit. Maj. shall judge proper.—Art. IV. The stipulations of the two preceding articles being founded on the principle that Sweden is actually a declared belligerent party, it is understood that the said articles II. and III. are to be suspended in their operations until his Swedish Maj. shall find himself, by the return of the open season, in a situation to send additional reinforcements into Pomerania, insomuch that no measure relative to these dispositions can be

adopted before that time.—Art. V. His Maj. the King of Sweden engages, moreover, to grant to the subjects of his Brit. Maj. during the continuance of the war between G. Brit. and France, the right of an *entrepôt* at Stralsund, for all the articles of the growth, produce, and merchandize, as well of G. Brit. as of her Colonies, shipped in British or Swedish vessels. All such articles intended for re-exportation, whether by sea or land, shall only pay a duty of three quarters per cent. *ad valorem*; and those for consumption, such duties only as are actually established at the port of Stralsund with respect to the most favoured nations. A more detailed arrangement of this branch of commerce, as likewise of other points whereby the commercial interests of the two nations might be more closely connected, is to be reserved for a particular act.—Art. VI. His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, mutually engage to ratify the present act, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of its signature. In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of our respective Sovereigns, have signed the present convention, and have thereunto affixed the seals of our arms. Done at Stockholm, the 3d of Dec. 1804. (Was signed) Henry Pierrepont. F. d'Ehrenheim.

No. IV.—*Convention between his Maj. and the King of Sweden, signed at Helsingborg, the* 31*st Aug.* 1805.

His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, animated with equal desire to contribute, by all the means which Providence has placed at their disposal, to put an end to the misfortunes which disturb the peace of Europe, and particularly convinced of the urgency of securing the fortified places in the North of Germany against all hostile enterprise, have agreed to enter into stipulations for that purpose, by a separate Convention, in addition to the preliminary and secret one concluded between them on the 3d of December last; for which purpose, Their said Majesties have chosen and named for their Plenipotentaries, *viz.* His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, the Honourable Henry Pierrepont, His Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenipo. with His Swedish Maj. and His Maj. the King of Sweden, the Sieur John Christopher Baron de Toll, a Lord of the Kingdom of Sweden, Governor-General of the Duchy of Scania, General of Cavalry in his Armies, Chief of the Regiment of Carbineers of Scania, Knight and Commander of his Orders, and Knight of all the Russian Orders, who have agreed upon the following articles:—Art. 1. The Preliminary and Secret Convention concluded between the two Sovereigns on 3d Dec. 1804 is renewed, and shall continue in full force and validity during the period hereinafter specified in Art. VII. —Art. II. His Maj. the King of G. Britain, conceiving that the object stated in the preamble, cannot be more completely attained with respect to Swedish Pomerania, than by maintaining the Fortress of Stralsund in a respectable state of defence, in order to preserve a rallying point and place of retreat for the forces of the Allied Powers, and especially for the troops of the Emperor of all the Russias, in case his Imperial Majesty should be desirous of landing his forces at that place, in order to co-operate in the general plan, engages to pay monthly the sum of 1800l. sterling for every 1000 men of regular troops, with which his Swedish Maj. shall reinforce the usual garrison of the City of Stralsund.—Art. III. A garrison of 8000 men in the whole, being deemed sufficient for the defence of this place, and the usual garrison, including the Burgher Militia, amounting to upwards of 4000, it is understood, that the reinforcement spoken of in the preceding Article, shall not exceed 4000 men of regular troops, so that the Subsidies to be furnished by His Maj. the King of G. Britain, will amount to the sum of 7,200 pounds sterling per month.—Art. IV. The payment of the above-mentioned Subsidies shall be made before the end of every month, and shall be computed from the first day of July last, for the Swedish troops, amounting to 1500 men, actually in Stralsund, and for the reinforcements which may arrive there, from the day of landing.—Art. V. The two high contracting parties not having been able to agree upon the expenses of transport, His Maj. the King of Sweden, desirous of affording a convincing proof of his wish to contribute to the success of the common cause, engages to be at the sole charge of conveying to Pomerania the troops which are to be sent there, in pursuance of the present convention, and not to require any thing for their return.—Art. VI. His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias having signified his desire to land a part of his troops in Pomerania, His Swedish Maj. engages, in consequence of the present conventoin, to afford every facility in his power to such disembarkation and moreover to enter into particular stipulations with his Imperial Maj. on that head.

—Art. VII. As the conditions of the obligations contained in the Articles II. and III. of the Preliminary and Secret Convention, limit the enjoyment of the privileges therein granted to the King of G. Britain, to the duration of the war between Sweden and France, or to the period of eighteen months for the least; and his Britannic Maj. not having availed himself of the stipulations of the above-mentioned two articles, His Maj. the King of Sweden engages to extend them as long as the subsidies fixed by the present Convention, shall be discharged by G. Brit. and whilst that Power shall continue the war against France, in conjunction with Russia. —Art. VIII. The ratification of the present convention shall be exchanged at Stockholm, within six weeks, or sooner, if possible.—In witness, whereof, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our powers have signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seals of our arms. Done at Helsinborg, the 31st of Aug. 1805. (Was signed) Henry Pierrepont. J. C. Baron de Toll.

No. IV. (A.)—*Act of Guarantee by the Emperor of Russia of the Convention signed at Helsinborg, on the 3d of Dec.* 1804.

A convention having been concluded this day, by the intervention of his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, between his Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, to provide for the reinforcement of the garrison of Stralsund, in pursuance of the secret and preliminary convention of the 3d of Dec. 1804; the two high contracting parties have amicably requested his Imperial Maj. to consent to guarantee the execution of so desirable an object. His Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias has accordingly willingly agreed to a measure which tends solely to so salutary an end; and having thereunto furnished us with his full powers, we, the undersigned Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenip. of his Imperial Maj. declare and assure by this present act, in virtue of our full powers, that his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias guarantees the convention, which has been signed this day, between his Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, in all its extent, as well with the two separate articles which are annexed to it, and which form part of the same, as of all other conditions, clauses, and stipulations, which are contained therein, in the best possible form; and that his Imperial Maj. will cause to be forwarded and delivered, the particular ratifications of this act of guarantee.—In faith of which, we have signed the present act, and have caused the seal of our arms to be thereto affixed, and have exchanged it against the acts of acceptation; as shall be likewise exchanged the ratifications of the present act against the ratifications of the said acts of acceptation, in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible. Done at Helsinborg this 31st day of Aug. 1805. D. Alopeus.

No. IV. (B.)—*Acceptance by his Maj. of the Russian Guarantee to the Treaty of Helsinborg, of 31st Aug.* 1805.

A convention having been concluded this day, by the intervention of his Maj. the Emperor of all the Russias, between his Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, to provide for the reinforcement of the garrison of Stralsund, in pursuance of the secret and preliminary convention of the 3d of Dec. 1804; and his said Imperial Maj. having also granted, at the request of the high contracting parties, a guarantee to all the stipulations contained in the said convention, the undersigned, Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenip. of his Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, receives with acknowledgement the act of guarantee which has been delivered to him this day, in the name of his Imperial Maj. of all the Russias, by his Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenip., and declares, at the same time that his Brit. Maj. will cause to be forwarded and delivered, the ratification of this act of acceptation.—In faith of which, the undersigned Minister Plenip. has signed this present act, and has caused the seal of his arms to be thereto affixed, and has exchanged it against the act of guarantee above mentioned; as shall also be exchanged, the ratifications of the present act against the ratifications of the said act of guarantee within the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible. Done at Helsinborg this 31st day of Aug. 1805. (Signed) Henry Pierrepont.

No. IV. (C.)—*First Separate Article of the Convention of Helsinborg, signed 31st Aug.* 1805.

His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Brit. and Ireland, and his Maj. the King of Sweden, have agreed by the present separate and additional article, that the subsidies fixed by the second and third articles of the convention signed this day, shall continue to be paid by G. Brit. during the continuance of the war between that power and France, conjointly with Russia, or as long as the state of affairs and the operations of the allies, shall require that the fortress of Stralsund be kept in a respectable state of defence, unless the two high contracting parties shall mutually consent to the cessation

of such subsidies. In both cases, if the term of their payment should happen when the sea is innavigable. His Brit. Maj. engages, nevertheless, to continue their payment, according to the same rate theretofore, till the day of the return of the Swedish troops into Pomerania, which shall take place by the earliest opportunity.——This separate article shall have the same force and validity if it were inserted, word for word, in the convention signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In faith of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.—Done at Helsingborg, the 31st day of Aug. 1805.—Signed HENRY PIERREPONT. T. E. BARON DE TOLL.

No. IV. (D)—*Second separate Article of the Convention of Helsingborg, signed the 31st of Aug.* 1805.

The Hanoverian troops, which (in pursuance of the stipulations of the second and third art. of the secret and preliminary convention, of the 3d Dec. 1804, renewed by the seventh art. of the present convention), may be hereafter assembled in Swedish Pomerania, shall continue, as long as they remain in that province, under the supreme orders of the commander-in-chief of the united forces, without any violation of the rights established in the three above-mentioned articles.—This separate art. shall have the same force and validity, as it were inserted, word for word, in the convention signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In faith of which, we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate art., and have caused the seal of our arms to be thereto affixed.—Done at Helsingborg, this 31st day of Aug. 1805.—Signed HENRY PIERREPONT.—T. E. BARON DE TOLL.

No. V.—*Treaty between His Majesty and the King of Sweden, signed at Beckuscog, 3d of Oct.* 1805.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity!—His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, and His Maj. the King of Sweden, in pursuance of the ties of friendship and good understanding by which they are at present so happily united, desirous of establishing a more direct communication upon every thing which relates to the present war, which the French govt. has excited against several powers, by measures equally unjust and offensive, and by conducting itself upon principles incompatible with the security and tranquillity of every independent state; their said Majesties have judged proper to concert together upon the means of opposing a sufficient barrier to the misfortunes which menace the whole of Europe. In consequence, they have chosen and named for their plenipotentiaries, namely, His Maj. the King of the United Kingdom of G. Britain and Ireland, the Hon. Henry Pierrepont, his Envoy Extra. and Minister Plenip. to His Swedish Maj.; and His Maj. the King of Sweden, the Sieur Christopher Baron de Toll, a lord of the kingdom of Sweden, Gov. Gen. of the Duchy of Scania, Gen. of Cavalry in his armies, Chief of the regiment of Carbineers of Scania, Knight and Commander of his Orders, and Knight of all the Russian Orders; who, after having communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—ART. 1. There shall be a perfect understanding, friendship, and alliance between His Brit. Maj. and His Maj. the King of Sweden.—ART. 2. The convention concluded between their said Majesties on the 31st of Aug. last, is hereby renewed, and shall remain in full force and validity, independent of the new stipulations contained in the present treaty.—ART. 3. His Maj. the King of Sweden, desirous of co-operating with effect towards the success of the general plan, engages to furnish a corps of troops, destined to act against the common enemy, in concert with the allies, and especially with the troops of His Imperial Maj. of all the Russias, which shall be landed in Pomerania. The number of Swedish troops employed for this purpose, shall be fixed, in every case, at 12,000 men.—Art. 4. His Brit. Maj. in order to facilitate to His Swedish Maj. the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the sentiments of zeal and interest, by which he is animated for the common cause, engages to furnish him an annual subsidy, at the rate of twelve pounds ten shillings sterling for every man; which subsidy shall be paid in equal proportions, at the end of each month.—ART. 5. His Brit. Maj. moreover engages, as a compensation for the expenses of assembling, equipping, and conveying the said troops, to furnish, under the head of putting them in motion, a sum equal to five months subsidy, to be calculated according to the scale laid down in the preceding art. and payable immediately after the ratification of the present treaty.—ART. 6. The two high contracting parties engage not to lay down their arms, nor to conclude peace with the common enemy, but by mutual consent; but, on the contrary, to remain firmly and inseparably united, as long as the war lasts, and until the conclusion of a general pacification.—ART. 7. In pursuance of the ar

gagements agreed upon between the two high contracting parties, by virtue of the preceding art. not to lay down their arms but by common consent, His Brit. Maj. engages to continue the subsidies stipulated by the present treaty, until the end of the war.—Art. 8. His Brit. Maj. in order as well to cover the expenses of the return of the Swedish army, as of all other objects connected therewith, engages to continue the subsidies stipulated by the present treaty, until three months after the peace.—Art. 9. His Brit. Maj. impressed with the importance of putting the fortress of Stralsund in the best possible state of defence, engages to place, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, at the disposal of His Swedish Maj. the additional sum of 50,000l. sterling for that purpose.—Art. 10. The present treaty shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in six weeks, or sooner, if possible.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our powers, have signed the present treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seals of our arms.—Done at Beckascog, the 3d Oct. 1805, (was signed) Henry Pierrepont. J. C. Baron de Toll.

PUBLIC PAPER.

Hanover.—*Proclamation issued at Berlin, on the 27th of January, 1806, relative to the Occupation of the Electorate of Hanover.*

We, Frederick William, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, &c. &c. hereby make known, &c. After the events which have terminated in peace between Austria and France, all our endeavours have been directed to ward off from these districts the flames of war, and its disastrous consequences, which momentarily threatened the north Germany, and particularly the countries of the Electorate of Brunswick. With this view, and as the only possible means to attain it, a convention has been made and concluded between Us and the Emperor of the French, in pursuance of which, the states of His Britannic Majesty in Germany, will not be again occupied by French or other troops combined with them; and, till the conclusion of a general peace, will be wholly occupied and governed by us; in pursuance of which, we have caused the Brunswick Electoral countries to be occupied by the corps under the command of our General of Cavalry, Count Vonder Schulenburg Keknert, to whom, in our name, and till the peace, we entrust the administration of the said countries, in such manner that, through him, and the Commission of Government which he may think proper to appoint, all affairs relating to the Government of the country may be transacted, and the necessary orders thereto communicated to the interior Magistracy and Magistrates.—We therefore charge, as well those, as the Prelates, Nobles, Citizens, and all subjects and inhabitants of the said country, without exception, to conform themselves duly to these dispositions made for their welfare; and also to the commands of our before-mentioned Commissaries of Administration, and the Commission by them to be appointed, as well with regard to civil as military affairs; not only not throwing any impediment in the way of our troops which are to march in, but to assist and afford them all the information in their power; and in the high or more general affairs of the country, and also in propositions and petitions thereto relating, alone and only to address themselves to the before-mentioned Commissaries of Administration, as standing highest under our immediate orders.—As by this measure we have in view the repose and tranquillity of the North of Germany and of the Brunswick States, so we have resolved to pay out of our Treasury, for the necessaries for our troops, according to the peace establishment, and leaving the extraordinary expenses of a state of war to be defrayed by the country; while we, on the other hand, shall take care in general, that its revenues, during our administration, after deducting the expenses of Government, shall only be appropriated to its advantage.—We further promise, that our troops shall observe the strictest discipline; that attention shall be given to all just complaints; and, in general, that every quiet and peaceable inhabitant shall be maintained in his property and rights, and, in case of need, be vigorously protected: but that, on the contrary, those who may refuse to conform themselves to the dispositions concluded on, and the measures which may have been taken, or who may dare to counteract them in anywise, will have to reproach themselves for the rigid and disagreeable consequences which will unavoidably result to them. Given under the signature of our own hand, at Berlin, the 27th January, 1806. (L. S.) Frederic William.

Von Hardenberg.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" The pledge which he gave of his sincerity, as to matters of œconomy, in bestowing the Clerkship of " the Pells upon Colonel Barré, added new warmth to the general approbation. The praises of his " disinterestedness was sung alike by Lords and Commons. No circumspect hearer could, however, feel " the glow of approbation, when a lord of the bed-chamber praised the ministers' " " *noble* and *generous* " " conduct, in rejecting the advice of the lord on the wool-sack, to take the Clerkship to himself as it " " had so fairly fallen into his hands." " This step, if we allow him the smallest perception of his own " interest, was impossible. Had he grasped at the sinecure for his own emolument, or for the benefit of " his relations, degradation of character, if not total ruin of popularity, must have been the instant " consequence. Selfish craft, therefore, would suggest, that 3,000l. a year could, in no way, so well be " laid out as in buying an additional stock of popular favour, and that the pecuniary interests of the family " would thus be best consulted."——DR. BEDDOES's pamphlet, 1796.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR. PITT'S DEBTS.——The promise which I have given my readers to lay before them a true history of this gentleman's public conduct, of the arts that he made use of to obtain and prolong that influence and power, by which he finally reduced England to the wretched state, in which he left her, has, I am glad to perceive, been received with a degree of satisfaction, which cannot fail to be a spur to application, but, which does, however, naturally excite a fear of producing disappointment. Upon one point, at any rate, they will not be disappointed; for, they may rest assured, that, that hypocrisy in some and that weakness in others, which would fain have us observe I know not what tenderness towards his memory, shall have no influence with me, but that, to use the words of an admired correspondent, I shall " speak of him no otherwise than if he were " still alive, or than if he had died an hun- " dred years ago;" and, it seems perfectly safe to defy any one to show, that this line of conduct is not strictly consistent with moral as well as political justice.——At present I shall confine myself to the subject of the payment of his debts, by the people, and out of those taxes which are already weighing them down to the earth. And, here, the first argument, in favour of this measure, which presents itself for our examination, is, that which was grounded upon a supposed admission of his *disinterestedness*; and this argument is the more worthy of notice from its having been, not without exciting some degree of surprise, used both by Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox. These gentlemen, whose only apology, I repeat it, must be sought for in magnanimity pushed to excess, must, one would think, have been able duly to estimate the real worth of those acts, or of that forbearance, whence they seem to have drawn their conclusions, as to the disinterestedness of Mr. Pitt; and, I should like to have an opportunity of putting it to their candour, whether the reasoning contained in my motto to be not perfectly sound; and whether it has not been completely verified by events? From the herd, who through the instrumentality of Mr. Pitt, have so long been feeding, and are now so fattened, upon the labour of the people; from those, who, like the friends of the poor, though unjust, steward in the parable, have " taken their bill and set down an hundred" instead of fifty; from these one expects nothing by way of justification of their conduct, nothing in the way of justice or of reason. But, Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham cannot have forgotten the trick referred to in my motto; and upon them I call to declare, whether that was a mark of disinterestedness, taking into view the millions upon millions which were subsequently lavished upon Mr. Pitt's relations, private friends, school-fellows, and adherents, for whose subsistence, in a life of splendour, the people are now taxed, and, if all things remain unaltered, will continue to be taxed, for half a century to come. The Clerkship of the Pells the disinterested, the heaven-born youth, generously gave away, and thereby eased the people of the payment of a pension of 3,000 pounds a year, and, thereby, too, secured to himself that popularity, which enabled him to retain his power in defiance of every principle of the constitution, and which power again enabled him to make grants and pensions to the amount of more than half a million a year. But, to confine ourselves to the mere personal view of the matter; mark the result: he generously foregoes the taking of 3,000l. a year for his life; he took quite enough without it; quite as much as any subject ought to receive out of the public purse: but, that consideration aside, he generously foregoes 3,000l. a year for his life; he lives 20 years; and, the peo-

ple, the cajoled, the infatuated, the stupid people, who, when he rejected the 3,000*l.* a year for life, made the air ring with shouts of applause, are called upon to pay 40,000*l.* (I think that is the sum) to discharge his debts at his death! They are called on to pay, and, if any one amongst us hesitates he is loaded with the foulest reproaches; they are, good God! called upon to pay 40,000*l.* in money, as a debt due to that disinterestedness, which they have over and over again so dearly paid for in popularity! But, am I told, that the "heaven-born" subject of these remarks had no notion of ever putting the people to this expense; that he had no notion of the people ever being called upon to pay in money that which they had before so amply paid in applause of disinterestedness; here, however, is a dilemma, not easily gotten out of by the utmost powers of rhetorical ingenuity; for, if he did not entertain this notion, what shall we say of the moral honesty, which could induce him to contract so large a debt without the prospect of an ability to pay; and which, during the continuance of a pretty long illness, could suffer the hour of dissolution to arrive without having made any provision for payment? "He looked to his friends." May be so. But it must have been to friends rendered able to pay by his largesses; by his generosity; by his munificence; largesses, generosity, and munificence, all, yea, all, and every part and particle of them, at the expense of the people: and, therefore, from whatever source he expected, or could even in possibility expect, the payment to come, the choice of his defenders, upon this score, still lies, between sham disinterestedness and moral dishonesty, the former of which being, perhaps, the least reprehensible of the two, I chearfully own, that to that I attribute his conduct. Will I, then, not allow, that the foregoing of pecuniary emoluments to himself, when he has such emoluments within his reach, is any mark at all of disinterestedness in a minister? In itself it is a mark of disinterestedness; but, as in all other cases, the motives, as illustrated by the general tenour of his conduct, must be taken into the account; and, when we apply this standard to the motives of Mr. Pitt, is there, in the whole kingdom, and not within the circle of his own pensioned or job-fattened swarm, one man who will attempt to maintain, that he was disinterested? For a minister to merit the praise of disinterestedness, it will, I think, not be denied, that, in his abstaining from taking to himself pecuniary emoluments, he must act under the persuasion, that, by so abstaining, he is benefiting the public; and, of course, that the benefit will arise, from a certain retrenchment of, or prevention of addition to, the public expense. Admit this position; and deny it who will, for, then, the very ground of your argument slides from beneath you: admit this; next look at the pensions and grants of Mr. Pitt, concluding with the addition of 1,500*l.* a year to the sinecure salary of Lord Melville, and the new grant to the Duke of Atholl; and then, with attitude erect, with eyes unblinking, and cheek unblushing, look at the people, weighed down under their accumulated burdens, and awaiting the enunciation of the budget as the helpless brood awaits the pouncing of the kite; thus look at them, and say that Mr. Pitt was a disinterested minister!——There was, too, in the manner of paying the debts of Mr. Pitt something not less exceptionable than the principle, upon which the measure was attempted to be justified. Where were the parliamentary grounds for the proceeding? That Mr. Pitt was in debt was matter of hearsay, of rumour; and, as far as appeared from the discussion, nothing more. Ought there not, previous to the granting of, or the resolving to grant, the sum of 40,000 pounds of the public money, to have been some sort of parliamentary inquiry, some document, something in some shape or other, to prove, that he was in debt, and that the debt was in amount bearing some proportion, at least, to the magnitude of the grant? Has it been customary for parliament to discharge the debts of the princes of the blood; or the heir apparent; or even of his Majesty's civil list; has it been the custom to do this without previous inquiry? And, what, I should be glad to know; what circumstance could authorise a departure, in this particular instance, from a rule so essentially necessary to the prevention of a wasteful expenditure, a throwing away, of the public money, the fruit of the labour of the people? If a previous inquiry had taken place, and, which would have been quite proper, in order that the people might know the origin of the demand upon them; if a list of the debts and of the names of the creditors had been produced to parliament, we should then have seen *who* those creditors were; and, perhaps, we should have found, that their confidence originated in a source not very widely different from that of the disinterestedness of the debtor, which disinterestedness, too, would, perhaps, herein have met with further illustration. But, better late than never; and, therefore, along with the distribution of grants, or, rather, along with the estimates upon which the grants for the present year are to be voted,

let us entertain an unanimous hope, that this list will be furnished to those, who, in the language of DELOLME, "hold the purse-strings of the nation." This list will not content me, if it does not go into particulars. A bumping account of money borrowed, tradesmen's bills, servants' wages, and so forth, will fall short of the object in view: it will not satisfy the minds of those who feel that it is they who are to work for the payment. The *name*; nothing short of the name of each individual creditor, together with the precise sum due to him, and for what cause, either can be, or ought to be, regarded as sufficient; and, when we have these before us, we shall be able to judge of the past, and to consider how far this measure is proper to become a precedent for the future.——After all, however, the great objection to this measure, is, the sanction which it gives, especially when supported upon such grounds by Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox, to the mischievous notion, that a minister, acting as Mr. Pitt acted, is to be regarded as a disinterested minister; for, in matters connected with the public money, men in general are by no means sufficiently refined in their reasoning to separate the minister from the man; which refinement would, moreover, be quite useless in the forming of their judgment, it being to the merits of the minister, and not to those of the man, that the money was granted. Here, then, refine and discriminate as long as you please, is a sanction given by Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox to the conduct of the "heaven-born" minister; and, after the giving of this sanction, how are they, either in words or in action, to condemn his system of policy and of rule; which, nevertheless, they must condemn, and that, too, in the most unequivocal, the most decided, the most resolute, and the most effectual manner; or, it were as well, nay, far better, that they had never again entered the cabinet. That which is said cannot, indeed, be unsaid; but, let us hope, that in their future conduct with regard to the Pitt system, they will justify the apology, that I am, and that the nation will be, ready to make for them, of having been led astray by the weaknesses of the moment; by an over-stretch of magnanimity, by a too willing ear to compassion pleading in a shroud, by a too ready yielding to the reflection, that the only tongue whereby their criticisms could possibly be combated was never more to move. Of this apology the nation and the world will accept; but, if the principle upon which they ostensibly acted, be still acted upon, with regard to the system of Mr. Pitt, where shall be found the talents sufficient to provide them with an apology, that would not instantly become the subject of derision? Nay, it will not be enough to condemn that mischievous system in action: it must be condemned in words: in specific, open, decided, and even in grave and solemn declaration. This must precede action. The people must have a promise, an engagement, that the sweat of their brow shall not be turned into poison for their lips: that the taxes raised upon them shall not be employed in the destroying of their liberties and in the degrading and disgracing of their country: this they must have, or, expect not from them that chearfulness, that readiness to bear calamity, that public-spirit and that loyalty, which the preservation of the independence of England now so imperiously demands. That the unanimous wish and intention of the present ministry is so to act as to restore to the nation the happiness, the liberties, the security and the honour, of which it has been robbed by the Pitt system, I have no doubt; nay, I feel, in common with a vast majority of the people, that such is their virtuous intention; but, I am anxious, in no common degree, that this intention should be made manifest to the people, in such a way, that would leave no room for doubt, or for confidence half given, even in the most sceptical of men; what, then, ought to be our anxiety, that no expressions from the present ministers, that no word or act of theirs, however distant and indirect in its bearing, should tend to countenance that system, and therein to excite fears of its continuance! This anxiety, if the reader participates it with me, will sufficiently apologise for the length as well as earnestness of these remarks upon the acquiescence of Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham relative to the disinterestedness of Mr. Pitt; and, if he feels no anxiety upon the subject, all apology whatever must be useless, and therefore unnecessary.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.——As I regard this subject as being second to none in point of public importance, excepting solely that of forming a permanent military system, I shall make no apology for now entering upon that examination, which, in my last number, I stated it as my intention to enter upon, of the arguments advanced by A. Z. in opposition, not to the main principle whereon I proceeded in justification of my proposition for ceasing to pay the interest upon the national debt, but to my arguments in support of a distinction, in point of right, between funded and other property. But, in this stage of the controversy, it is necessary to revert a little, in order to come at the true

state of it, by taking a short view of its origin and its progress.——Much has, at various times, been stated in the Political Register, respecting the justice and the policy (the measure being supposed necessary to the preservation of the independence of the country) of ceasing to pay the interest upon the national debt; and, much has also been said, in speeches as well as in print, in disapprobation, not to say execration of such sentiments, my opponents always having, in the superabundance of their wisdom as well as their candour, chosen to appear to consider the whole debt as due by *me*, and, in the regular course of reasoning to conclude, that I had deliberately conceived the intention of committing a fraudulent bankruptcy upon a large scale. From adversaries thus proceeding it is no wonder that I had little to dread; and that, without any trouble on my part, the doctrine I had broached made an impression upon the public mind, men beginning, at last, seriously to talk of throwing off the almost insupportable mill-stone. Early, in the present year, however, seeing the cause, perhaps, in a desperate way, and wishing to retrieve it while yet there was time, an opponent of another stamp did me the honour of addressing to me the result of his reflections upon the subject. In his letter, which will be found in the present volume, page 47, he acknowledged, first, that the national debt, in its present magnitude, was an evil full as great as I had ever described it; secondly, that the present scheme for reducing it was totally insufficient for the purpose; but, he insisted, that the nation possessed ample means for paying it off; that it had effects wherewith to make the liquidation; and that, this being the case, to cease to pay the interest, until the debt was paid off, would be an act of injustice and of cruelty, which would stamp eternal infamy upon the character of the nation. This conclusion, however, resting upon the fact of the nation's possessing ample means of paying it off; he thought himself bound to prove this position; but, unfortunately for his argument, this proof was drawn from the statements of Old Rose and Mr. Pitt, statements, the falsehood of which I was not called upon to prove; first, because the falsehood of them was matter of notoriety, and, secondly, because he himself had repudiated them in asserting the inefficiency of the sinking fund, the efficiency of which never failed to make a part of those very statements. Nevertheless, the statements whence his conclusion of ability to pay were drawn, were hardly noticed; because, in his scheme for turning this ability to account, he brought the whole controversy to one simple question: namely, whether, the taxes being insufficient to pay the interest upon the debt, the land and the goods and chattels ought not to be seized for the purpose of being sold by the government, in order to pay off the principal. More amused with than alarmed at this project, I took little notice of it in detail; but, endeavoured to show how unjust it would be in principle, even if it were practicable; and, in doing this, as I could not deny that something must be done to get rid of the debt, it became necessary to maintain the justice of my own proposition. This answer, preceded by a most appropriate motto, taken from a speech of the *great* Earl of Chatham, will be found in page 97. Here I endeavoured to establish a clear distinction between the debts of a nation and those of an individual; I endeavoured to show, that, in no way in which the bargain of the Fund-holder could be viewed, did he acquire a right of pursuing the nation to its ruin, which ruin being compared with the ruin of a bankrupt individual, a total dissimilarity between them was made manifest; and, as to the main point, the injustice of seizing upon the land and the goods and chattels, in order to reimburse the Fund-holder, it was, I think, incontrovertibly established.——These comments drew forth a letter from A. Z. which I was about more fully to notice last week, when, as the reader's exhausted patience will, in all probability, remind him, my attention was drawn aside by a wiseacre in the COURIER, who, having stolen a thought or two from my own correspondent, had made a most violent effort to work them into a ground of calumny on myself. From page 225 and onwards, where the article here referred to will be seen, we must now turn back to the letter of A. Z. which the reader will find in page 212, and which I am disposed to treat with every mark of respect due to talents and to controversial candour.——This writer appears to be duly impressed with the evils produced by so enormous an amount of debt; he states no reliance and no hope whatever on the operation of the sinking fund; he advances nothing by way of proof, that the nation is able to pay off the principal of the debt, and even seems to doubt of its ability to continue much longer to pay the interest; he contends not for the justice of seizing upon the lands and the goods and chattels, for the purpose of indemnifying the fund-holder; on the contrary, he allows, that the parliament has the power to cause the payment of the interest to cease, that the exercise of such power may become an act of justice, and that, when the nation is no longer able to

pay out of the taxes, the fund-holder must go unpaid; but, he does, nevertheless, lay down, and surrounding himself with divers illustrative statements, endeavour to maintain this plain and broad proposition, *that the interest upon the national debt stands upon precisely the same foundation as the ownership of lands and houses.* I say that it does not. Here we are at issue; and I think myself able to convince him, that, in maintaining, that to cut off the interest upon the national debt is merely a matter of expediency, I do *not* "strike at the root of every species of property."——But, previously, and for the purpose of removing whatever may tend to prevent our coming at a clear and distinct view of the principal point at which we aim, it will be necessary to notice two or three detached, and somewhat irregularly-introduced statements.—— The statement relative to the great change in the value of money, as shown in the height of prices, was purloined by my old friend of the COURIER, and was answered in pages 229 and 230.——As to the high rate of interest, which the nation has paid, and still pays, to the fund-holders: this, embracing a point of fact, cannot be wholly answered without a reference to those documents, which would give us correct information as to the terms of the several loans that have been made, from which documents we should, I believe, find that the conjecture of my correspondent is not correct. But, whether the nation has, upon the whole, paid more or less than five per centum a year for the money that has been borrowed by its successive administrations, is a point upon which I laid very little stress, it being quite sufficient for my purpose, that it has paid a higher rate of interest than land will bring; and, I think no one will deny, that, upon the supposition that lands are generally let by lease, it has paid nearly twice as high an interest as lands will bring, loaded as they are with poor-rates, and with several other burdens, from which the stocks are entirely exempted. The partial instances of great gains from speculations in land, at the sea-side, or elsewhere, are not to be noticed in an argument of this sort; and, besides, the writer did not see me including the partial gains of fund-holders; the large fortunes acquired by their gamblings I do regard as a terrible evil, but I did not proceed upon a supposition, that, in a mere pecuniary point of view, the nation was a loser by the acquirement of such fortunes. As being closely connected with this point, I will here notice an observation, that the willingness of persons to purchase stock and to hold it at a lower rate of interest than they could obtain by letting their money out on mortgage is a proof, that my argument, founded upon a supposition that every fund-holder knew before-hand the uncertainty of his tenure, is not sound. But, are there not many advantages, present advantages, always the most powerful in deciding men's conduct; are there not many of these advantages which the funds possess over mortgages upon lands and houses? First, the funds are always open for deposit; not a single day need ever be lost; the nature of the security is such, is so well known, as to render the advice of no lawyer necessary, as safely to dispense with the burthensome aid of attornies and negociators of every description. Next, the short periods and the punctuality of payment, to the very hour, of the interest; whereas, in the case of mortgages, though the payment be, in the end, secure; yet it may be, and it frequently, not to say generally, is, very far from being punctual; and, in numerous instances, is, at last obtained not without a law suit, a part, at least, of the expenses of which must fall upon the mortgagee. Then comes the facility of transfer. From the funds money can at any hour be drawn, without either expense or trouble. A part can be withdrawn and a part left. In short, it is the same almost as having it in your desk, with the advantage of its bringing interest while it remains there. Can the same be said of mortgages? And, when to all these real present advantages we add the chance of great gain, of the sudden acquirement of fortune without any gift of talent or any exertion of labour, is it wonderful, that men though they clearly perceive the inferiority of the funds in point of permanent soldity, should prefer them to mortgages, as a place of deposit for their money? Arising out of these observations, there is another, which, though not immediately belonging to the subject before us, I cannot refrain from making; and, that is, that, while every transfer of property, whether real or personal, out of the funds, is loaded with a heavy duty, the transfer of funded property is loaded with no duty at all; no tax of any kind; and hereby, in addition to the sole payment of the poor-rates (now amounting to six millions a year), is the land-holder most grievously injured. He is loaded with taxes on one side, while, on the other, a general, a national borrower has set up against him, and has offered terms so advantageous to every lender, that it is, and must be, with the utmost difficulty, that he can obtain a mortgage upon his land. The consequence is, he sells it; the fund-holder, the jobber,

the contractor, the " blood-sucker and the muck-worm" purchase it; and thus, are the ancient gentry of the kingdom become nearly extinct. Why not, if we must have, as we must have, new taxes; why not tax the transfer of stock? Not, however, that I would aid in deluding the public with any hope of effectual relief from any measure of this description, being fully convinced, that, unless the payment of the interest of the debt be discontinued, all other measures will prove useless.——A. Z. acknowledges, that the fund-holder has no claim whatever to his principal, unless the nation choose to pay him off at par, in which acknowledgment, I should think, he would have perceived, that he himself was making a pretty clear distinction between the foundation of funded and other property. But, laying this aside for the present, let us proceed to the observation made upon my statement, that the interest of the fund-holder had, upon former occasions, and by the sole will of the nation been reduced. This fact, says A. Z. does not alter the case; that is to say, it is no precedent for lowering the interest now; because those of the fund-holders, who, upon the particular occasion referred to, " did not " choose to subscribe to Mr. Pelham's plan, " had the option of being paid off their " stock at par." This circumstance may be of weight as to degree; but, how does it impair the precedent as to the principle? The stock-holder had, perhaps, purchased at a price above par. The loans had been made at various prices; and, when, from favourable circumstances, the possession of funded property was become more advantageous than it before had been, where, supposing that property to rest upon precisely the same foundation as landed property, was the justice of compelling the fund-holder to sell out at par, or to take a less interest than he had hitherto taken? But, proceeding upon the contrary supposition; upon the supposition, that funded property rests upon no other foundation than that of the ability of the nation to pay the interest without risking its ruin, and that, of that ability the parliament must be the judge; proceeding upon this supposition, the measure of Mr. Pelham was perfectly just.——In coming now to the main position of this writer, that the interest of the national debt rests upon precisely the same foundation as the ownership of lands and houses, it ought, at the very outset, to be observed, that, if this position be established, the proposition for siezing upon, and dividing the real property of the nation, as an indemnification for the fund-holders, becomes, at once, just and reasonable, though as to its practicability few, even amongst the inhabitants of the 'Change, can, I should think, be very sanguine. In order to maintain this position, my correspondent has recourse to a description, sometimes not very correct, and I might, perhaps, add, not quite so fair as one could have wished, of the origin of the proprietorship of lands and of tithes. He describes this proprietorship as proceeding from the " arbitrary grants of despotic sovereigns;" or, more recently, from grants made by limited monarchs, in conjunction with their parliaments; and, having characterised these grants as founded in violence and injustice, he asks, " is not " the title of the fund-holder as good as the " title of those land-proprietors, whose " proprietorship arose from such grants?" As to the *goodness* of the title, he himself has admitted, that a case of necessity may fully justify the parliament in cutting off the payment of the interest upon the debt; all, therefore, that I have to prove, is, that the proprietorship of lands and that of funds rest upon *different* foundations, the goodness or the badness of either being a matter of inference, left entirely to those who may choose therein to deposit their wealth. And, here, first of all, I must protest against the description of " arbitrary grants by despotic sovereigns;" for, what are we, the English nation, but the descendants of invaders, possessing the country in right of conquest? Another conquest did, at a subsequent epoch, confer a new right of the same sort, which was exercised either in making new grants, or in confirming the grants made in virtue of the former right; and this description, whether applied to land or to titles; whether to England, Scotland, or Ireland; whether to times ancient, or to times recent; whether to periods previous to the existence of parliament, or to periods since its existence, is equally correct, is perfectly simple, and is as perfectly consonant with all the principles of natural and universal law, strengthened in many respects, and in very few impaired, by the common and statute law of this realm. This is the foundation of the real property of the nation. The original grants consisted of what the sovereign acquired by right of conquest. They consisted of things which nobody possessed. They consisted not of things taken or collected from the people; for the people were not originally the owners of the soil; and, for this simple reason it is, that the people, considered in a body, have no claim, either in law or in reason, to property the ownership of which has grown out of such grants. But, is such the foundation of funded-pro-

perty? Is such the foundation of the claims to a continuation of the payment of the interest upon the national debt? Can it be said, that the money raised for this purpose is not previously private property? Can it be said, that it is not taken, or collected, from the people? Can it be said, that the interest to be paid this very year is not at the moment I am writing the property of the people who are to pay it? And, if this cannot be said, will it yet be said, will my correspondent yet contend, that landed property and funded property rest precisely upon the same foundation? And, will he still persist, that, in contending for an inferiority of right in the fund-holder; that, in contending for the justice, on the part of the people (through their representatives), not to take away what they have granted out of their private property, but to refuse to grant any more from that source; that, in contending for the justice of this measure, rendered necessary, too, for the preservation of their liberties and of the throne of their sovereign, I "strike at the root of all property whatsoever?"—— Here, as to matter of controversy, I naturally stop, and wait for a reply; notifying, however, that, as the position just discussed, and, as I think, refuted, is the point upon which every thing inferior must turn, I shall hope, considering the scantiness of my space and the various disadvantages arising from voluminous discussions, to see the reply confined solely to this point.——Merely as matter of observation, there are two passages of A. Z.'s letter which remain to be noticed. The first is that, wherein he admits, that "when it "shall have been *proved*, that the interest "of the debt can no longer be paid without "ruin to the country, it must be lowered, "and possibly, in the end, be altogether "done away." This admission, coupled with the position, that the interest upon the debt stands upon precisely the same foundation as the ownership of lands and of houses, does, indeed, produce a strange confusion of ideas; but, what I am now tempted to ask, is, what will this writer regard as proof, that the interest of the debt can no longer be paid without ruin to the country? Or, as this would naturally depend upon the answer to another question, I would wish to ask him, what he should consider as national ruin? If, in answer to this latter question, he says: "the total annihilation of the people, or, at "least, their subjugation to a foreign pow-"er:" If no proof short of this will content him, it must be confessed that it has not yet been given; though it must, at the same time, be observed, that, if he wait for such proof, his remedy would be as useless as a dose administered to a patient already most effectually relieved by the hand of death. But, if his notions of national ruin extend not to the utmost verge of national existence; then, let him look around him; let him view the miseries and degradation of the people; let him look over the melancholy account of 1,200,000 parish paupers, upon a population of nine millions of souls; let him survey the innumerable swarms of tax-gatherers; let him trace back the failures of the last war, the miserable attempts at peace, and finally the peace of Amiens, big with the seeds of another and more disastrous war, to their pecuniary causes; let him think of the influence, given by the funding system, to jobbers and contractors and all that description of men, whose interest is ever in opposition to the true interests and the honour and the power of the country; let him, casting his eyes abroad, first look at India, with all its fund-holders, its debts, and its consequent wars; returning to Europe, let him estimate the power of our natural and now implacable enemy, punishing every where our friends, deposing kings, creating monarchies; and, last of all, let him look at Boulogne, asking himself, at the same time, what are the terms, how long the duration, and what the natural and no very distant consequences, of the peace which next we shall make. This let him do, and in doing it chase from his mind the fumes of delusion; and then let him say, whether national ruin is not at hand, and whether the application of the remedy, if it come not soon, will not come too late.——The other passage, on which I think it necessary to make an observation, is that, in which my correspondent introduces the authority of Mr. Fox, and this is the only instance of a deviation from controversial fairness, of which I have to accuse him. I have had recourse to no authorities; I have come to the controversy unaided by the strength and unadorned by the brilliancy of authorities; I have declared my opinions, as far as relates to living political economists, to be my own; I have ventured forth at the risk of the imputation of peculiarity; I have rested for success solely upon the truth of my facts and the force of my arguments; an example which will, I trust, be, in future, followed by all my opponents. As an omission, I might notice, that it was incumbent on my correspondent, before he drew his conclusions with respect to the binding engagements of parliament, to reconcile his notions upon that subject with the measure for exempting the Bank of England from making payments in specie. But, as he has not chosen to meet this argument, it must, of

course, be concluded, that he was persuaded, that he could not meet it with any probability of success.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA. —— These affairs have, at last, as Mr. FRANCIS has so frequently predicted they would, "*forced* them-"selves upon the attention of the parlia-"ment and the country," and, therefore, the readers of the Register will naturally expect as much information upon the subject as, in such a work, can conveniently be given. Seeing, also, that it may be useful, at the beginning of the successive articles upon the subject, so to enable the reader to refer to the former articles, as to render repetition unnessary, I shall here begin with pointing out the pages, in which and their sequel will be found all the observations, in the present volume, relating to India Affairs: page 171, 197, 237, 244.——The several parts of the chain, as far as it has hitherto reached, being thus connected, we will now proceed to some remarks upon the debate, which upon this subject, took place in the House of Commons, on Tuesday last, the 25th instant. MR. FRANCIS made a motion for the production "of extracts from cer-"tain letters respecting a sum of money "inserted in the accounts of the East-India "Company for the year 1803, and said to "have been advanced by way of loan to the "Guicowar." This motion, after some representations on the part of the members of the Board of Controul, was, for the present, withdrawn; but, a motion made by MR. PAULL, and which motion passed without a division, gave rise to a discussion of considerable length, and of interest not less considerable. The nature of some of the engagements of the East-India Company, those engagements whereon they obtained their highly advantageous charter, were described with tolerable accuracy in page 171 and the following, to which I now beg leave to refer. Amongst these engagements was that of paying, on the part of the Company, under certain provisions and penalties, the sum of 500,000l a year into the king's exchequer, as an equivalent, in part, for the exclusive advantages granted and secured to the Company by the nation. In case of failure to fulfil this important provision of the act of Charter (being the 33 Geo. III. Chap. 52), the lords of the Treasury, of whom Mr. Pitt, afterwards Mr. Addington, and then Mr. Pitt again, were at the head, were to take certain steps, and to make certain reports thereon to the parliament. It is now 13 years since the act of charter was passed, of these 13 years the first year only has seen a payment made by the Company into the Exchequer, the Company owing, therefore, to the nation 6 millions sterling, with, as the act provides, accumulated interest at 15 per centum a year; yet, in the whole of this series of years, during this long scene of defalcation and of forfeiture, have the Lords of the Treasury, though so positively thereunto enjoined by the act, never taken any steps whatever, and never made any report to parliament relating to the subject; having thus, for the space of 12 years, and that, too, upon a point of such great importance, proceeded just as if the act of parliament had never been passed! These facts were, amongst men conversant in the Affairs of India, well known; they have, indeed, thanks to the honest zeal, the perseverance, and the excellent talents of MR. FRANCIS, long been matter of parliamentary, and even of public notoriety. But, there, as yet, has been no official document before the House of Commons, expressly stating them; and, therefore, when they came to be taken into view as constituting part of the proof of the evil consequences of that unnecessary and extravagant expenditure in India, which, in all appearance, will form one of the charges that MR. PAULL has it in contemplation to prefer, it might, perhaps, be objected, that there was no parliamentary ground for the advancing of such proof. With a view of obviating this objection, MR. PAULL moved for the papers above described; and having, in the course of his speech, gone into a statement of the injury sustained by the people of England, in consequence of the failure of payment on the part of the Company, and of duty in the execution of their office, on the part of the Lords of the Treasury, LORD CASTLEREAGH, who has himself just been in the Presidency of the Board of Controul, said, that the bargain was not imperative upon the Company, and that MR. PAULL had misunderstood the act of parliament. Whereupon, LORD FOLKESTONE, who seconded the motion, not only clearly showed, by a reference to the act itself, that MR. PAULL had not misunderstood it; but, further, and apparently, to the entire satisfaction of a great majority of the members present, that the bargain was of such a nature, that a failure in the performance of it, on the part of the Company, had worked, in equity as well as law, a forfeiture of their charter. MR. CHARLES GRANT, the president, I believe, or the something else, at the head of what is called "the *Court* of "Directors," repeated, notwithstanding the refutation by Lord Folkestone, the doctrine of LORD CASTLEREAGH as to the con-

ditional nature of the Company's engagement, and asserted, that, though the half million a year had not been paid into the Exchequer, the blame lay neither with the Company nor with the administration of the day; for that the inability of the Company to pay, had arisen from wars, and other events which they could not controul. Now, not to dwell, at present, upon the nature and causes of these events; not to dwell upon the fact, that parliament has put upon record a solemn declaration, that wars in the East Indies are in the highest degree impolitic, and that they shall not be undertaken without the observance of certain preliminaries, not one of which has been observed in the commencement of the wars hereunto referred; not to dwell upon the circumstance, that it has been stated to the public and even officially to the parliament, over and over again, and sometimes in great detail, that those India wars were concerns of great gain instead of loss; it may, for every purpose relating to an analysis of the debate before us, be sufficient to observe, that, it is for the express purpose of ascertaining *the cause* of the inability of the Company to make good their engagements, that a select committee of the House of Commons is proposed to be moved for; and yet (I beg it to be remarked and remembered) that in *objecting* to this proposed committee, as likely to "spread alarm amongst our friends "and to give confidence to our enemies," Mr. Charles Grant, the head man of the "Court of Directors," concluded his speech! Mr. Francis having, in an explanation of something before said, stated, that he had never given his opinion *prospectively*, as if he meant to say, that the *mode* of conducting the government of India ought now to be altered, Mr. Fox rose, and said, in the language of the best report that I have been able to find in the news-papers, "that the few words of explanation which "had just fallen from his Honourable "Friend, rendered it less necessary for him "to enter particularly upon this subject. "He had understood him precisely as his "explanation imported. He agreed that "we were not now to revert to original "theories; but when we were examining "into the causes of important events which "were extremely complicated in their nature, it was somewhat difficult to do so "without, in some measure, adverting to "such original theories. He, however, did "not mean to say that any alteration ought "at present to take place in the general system of Indian Government as now, by "law, established. He had occasion to "state, at a former time, that there was a "wide difference between disapproving of "measures at their commencement, and "afterwards rescinding them when they had "been some time in practice. This he had "said with regard to the Union with Ireland. "He had strongly dissapproved of that "measure when it was proposed, because "he was then convinced it was a bad one, "and was still convinced that it would have "been much better for the country if it had "never taken place. He had also dissapproved of the plan for the Government of "India, but what he had said with regard to "the Union with Ireland, he now said "respecting this plan of Indian Government. It was, in his opinion, a bad one "from the beginning, but as it had been "adopted and acted upon, it was not now "to be lightly rescinded. In ninety-nine "cases of this nature out of a hundred, it "was better to put up with many inconveniencies arising from the first adoption of "a measure than hazard worse evils by pre-"mature and ill-considered alterations and "innovations. This was his opinion. Now "the Hon. Gentleman had said something "about a Committee to investigate the rise "and progress of the debt. This was the "first time he had heard of any such Committee. But when he said this, he begged "leave to be considered as not pledging himself in any way upon the subject. If however, upon examining into the state of the "finances of the Company, there should "be any thing which, though clear to the "Hon. Gentleman, might not be so clear "to the House in general, he did not say "but what in such a case he might think a "Committee extremely adviseable. If, on "the other hand, the accounts should place "the matter in a plain and clear light, the "appointment of a Committee would be an "useless trouble. Now with respect to the "details of this debate, he, speaking on the "part of the public, would certainly say, "that it was a most monstrous proposition "to assert that in the year 1803, the state "of the Company was highly affluent and "prosperous. To be sure the act of 1793 "only applied to the surplus of the produce. "But then it supposed that such a surplus "was likely to exist, otherwise it would "have been perfectly nugatory from the "beginning. We were surely to conclude "that there might be a surplus in such case. "This certainly was not too much. But "when we find that from 1793 to 1803, a "period of ten years, no surplus had in fact "existed, and that nothing had been done "on the provisions of the Act of Parliament,

" such a long experience might be sufficient " to convince us that the affairs of the " Company had not been in the very flourishing state in which they had been asserted to be. But we must say, after the " passing of this act, and the long time that " had elapsed, during which nothing had " been done upon it, that the fair conclusion " was, either the surplus had been misapplied, or that the country had been most " grossly deluded; and that instead of being " in a flourishing condition as had been " pretended, the affairs of the Company " had in fact been in a most alarming situation, a situation which ought to have been " explained and laid open to the public, instead of being carefully concealed from " public view. In his opinion, the unprosperous condition of the Company's concerns had never been sufficiently accounted " for. He did not say he had not heard a " great deal on the subject, but what he " had heard in general, proceeded on false " facts, and false principles. We ought to " have the accounts of the Company before us, with a view to a full and " complete examination, not for the purpose of retrospective inquiry into the " conduct of the managers of the affairs " of India, with the intention of throwing " blame upon any body, but for the purpose of warning us (the present Administration), against the errors which others " had committed. In one thing the present Administration would certainly not " follow the example of others, and that " was in holding out false and delusive " hopes to the country. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Grant) had said, and justly " too, that it would be mischievous to " spread alarm among our friends, and " inspire confidence into our enemies, when " no necessity for it existed. But without " pretending to underrate the value of the " observation, he must say, that this had " been a common-place argument on one " side of the question. It might be improper " to excite alarm when there was no necessity for it, but it was much worse to conceal danger when it actually existed, and " thus lead people blindfold to their destruction. It was worse in any department of " Government, but more particularly so in " the case of the East India Company. But " he would put it to him whether, of late, " the error had not been committed much " oftener in the way of delusion, than the " way of alarm, at least as far as regarded " this subject? Now, experience would " teach the wise to avoid those faults into " which they had found others most apt to " fall. Certain it was that much less was " to be apprehended from too much jealousy than from too much negligence. " No objection had been made to the motion of his Honourable Friend near him " (Mr. Francis). He had only been requested to postpone it upon a point of " convenience; to which he had properly " agreed. Before he sat down he could not " avoid paying that tribute of praise to the " industry, perseverance, and clear-sighted " policy of his Hon. Friend, on questions " relative to India, which they so much deserved. No merit belonging to any other " who had turned his attention to these subjects, however high it might be, could " possibly be put in competition with that " which his Hon. Friend might fairly and " justly claim."——Upon a speech, coming from so high a quarter, and involving so many points of great importance, it will be necessary, by and by, to offer a remark or two; but, first we must pursue out our analysis of the debate. Sir T. METCALF, I believe, went over, as to the conditions of the charter, the same ground with LORD CASTLEREAGH and Mr. CHARLES GRANT; but, added, that his chief motive in rising was, to shew, that though the Company had not paid the annual half million to the public, the public had derived other advantages from the Company more than equal to it. " The duties," said he, " upon tea, at the " time that the charter was granted, amounted to no more than 12½ per centum; but, " they have since been augmented to 95 per " centum. The conclusion is, that, if the " duties had remained at 12½ per centum, " the sum paid into the Exchequer, supposing the half million to have been regularly paid, would have been 5 millions; " whereas, in the increased duty upon tea " imported by the East India Company, " the sum actually paid into the Exchequer " is 17 millions!" Who is this gentleman? What is he? A logician, perchance; but certainly no politician. In the first place, I would ask Sir T. METCALF, in what part of the act of charter he will find the government restricted as to the amount of duties to be laid upon tea; but, does he really think, that any human creature, not to say any member of parliament, is so shallow, so stupid, so totally devoid of all the powers of perception as well as of deduction, as to believe, though but for a single moment, that this additional duty upon tea has come into the Exchequer *from the pockets of the East India Company?* Does he think, that it will ever be believed, that the East India Company have *themselves con-*

sumed all the tea that has been thus loaded with additional duties? And, if he does not, does he not know, that all taxes, and all taxes on consumable commodities especially and obviously, fall *solely upon the consumer?* If he could, indeed, prove, that the additional duties had *diminished* the consumption of tea, then he might urge it as an injury to the affairs of the Company; but never can he make any thing with human reason in its brains regard the amount of additional duties upon goods as money given to the nation by the original owner of those goods; for, if I, for instance, who pay into the Exchequer, four or five thousand pounds a year for the stamps upon my Register, were to pretend that I gave the nation so much annually, would not my readers, who know that *they pay me* the amount of those stamps, look upon me as the most impudent, or the most foolish, of men? No, Sir T. Metcalf; no, it is not the East India Company; it is the people; the people of England and Scotland and Ireland; it is that burdened people, to whom the East India Company owe about 7 millions of money, (to say nothing about the addition to the *nominal* sum caused by *depreciation*), and to whom they are coming for more, instead of paying what they owe; it is that same deluded people, who, about twenty years ago, were, by the craft of the commercial hypocrites and their abettors, induced to set up such a senseless bawling about "chartered rights," protected by "a heaven-born minister;" it is this people that have, as they richly deserved, been compelled to pay the 17 millions in additional duty upon tea. So much for Sir T. Metcalf and his notions of commercial payments! Mr. PRINCEP, who was for a full and fair investigation into the affairs of the Company, was followed by Mr. JOHNSTONE, who is, I believe, a great proprietor of India stock at home, and also a considerable creditor to the Company abroad. He observed (as is stated in the newspapers) "that he would not trouble "the House with many remarks upon this "business; first, because the question" (relative to the proposed committee) "was "premature, since it would have come forward much better after the accounts had "been laid on the table; and next, because "the attention of Ministers ought not at "present to be turned away from affairs "that required their more immediate labours. But he would say, however, that "no blame whatever attached to the Company, as it was clear from the accounts "that their failure to pay the sum agreed "upon to the public, arose from the wars "in which they had been engaged. No "Committee, he contended, was necessary, "as every thing was detailed in the accounts "in the clearest and minutest manner. "And when differences arose between his "Hon. Friend (Mr. Francis) and himself on "the one side, and the Noble Lord (Castlereagh) near him on the other, the cause "was, that the Noble Lord always proceeded upon the estimates, while they "constantly attended to the results. There "were no differences as to facts."——— This latter part I do not pretend quite to understand; but, if it was meant to assert, that there was no difference between MR. FRANCIS and LORD CASTLEREAGH as to facts connected with the state of the East-India Company's finances, for the contrary of this assertion I appeal, if, indeed, it be necessary, to the excellent pamphlets, which MR. FRANCIS has published upon the subject, and, in every one of which there are many important facts respecting which the two persons concerned are at variance. As to the prematurity of the discussion, the blame, if any existed, lay at the door of MR. CHARLES GRANT; and, with regard to "the attention of ministers," what, I would ask, has a more pressing demand upon it, than the affairs of a company, who owe an immense sum of money to the public, and who are coming now to borrow more, instead of paying off any part of what they owe? Does MR. JOHNSTONE think, that, as yet, the people of England are so lightly burthened, that they can well bear another million or two of supplies annually, for the purpose of paying the creditors of the East-India Company? He himself is, I allow it, a great, a surprisingly great financier! The thing, therefore, may, by him, be regarded as trifling, but, does he, measuring other men's financial abilities by his own, imagine that Lord Henry Petty will find it so easy a matter to discover, to impose, and to collect the new taxes rendered necessary by the advances to be called for by the East-India Company, in addition to the new taxes that will become inevitable on other accounts? The same modesty, or rather generosity of disposition to consider others as being equally gifted with himself led this gentleman to conclude, that no committee of inquiry, no combination of talents, was necessary to a full and true statement of the Company's concerns, because "every thing was detailed in the accounts "in the clearest and minutest manner." In the *minutest* manner, if you please; but, as to the *clearness*, are there, out of the thousand (or thereabouts) members of the two houses of parliament, twenty who ever had

the patience to endeavour to obtain a thorough knowledge of the accounts, to which allusion was made? "Compared with the "exigency," said Mr. Francis, when, in his speech of the 29th of July, 1803, he in vain endeavoured to dispose the house seriously to turn its attention to the affairs of India; "Compared with the exigency, "these voluminous accounts and annual "budgets are mere formalities. They furnish some materials, but they provoke no "inquiry. In this house, they excite neither "attention nor attendance. The only things "listened to, or looked at, are the flattering "commentary, and the delightful prospect. "From year to year, as one set of promises "fails, the next improves. A losing account is balanced by a winning estimate, "and perpetual disappointment cured by vigorous expectation." How true, how concise, and how elegant! And yet, even with Mr. Fox's so decidedly expressed approbation, Mr. Francis is now excluded officially from all concerns connected with the management of India! But, to proceed: "An early and "resolute parliamentary investigation into "the state of India, and of every subject "connected with it, is, in my opinion, indispensable. Such was the course pursued in 1781; and, if the measure was "wise and necessary then, much more so is "it now, when your dominion is double "what it was, and when your embarrassments are greater than ever." Apply this, Mr. Johnstone, to the present still greater embarrassments, still more widely extended dominion, and still more imminent dangers; place, then, your opinion with the loud cheering of Lord Temple, in one scale, and the opinion of Mr. Francis in the other, and leave the public to see which kicks the beam.——Mr. Hiley Addington and Lord Morpeth, the two paid members of the Board of Controul, very exactly repeated each other's words, in advising Mr. Paull to withdraw his motion, seeing that it was unnecessary from the notoriety of the facts which he wished to have officially before the house, and from the impossibility of obtaining any other return than that of a word or two expressive of a mere negative; but, as was very properly observed by Dr. Laurence, it being the common custom to prove that there are no such papers by obtaining a return to that effect, Mr. Paull persisted in his motion, which was then put and carried without a division. When the return is made, the nature of the papers which *ought* to have been forth-coming shall be more fully described; and, in alluding once more to the advice so kindly and gratuitously given by Mr. Hiley Addington to Mr. Paull, not prematurely to make use of any harsh expressions towards a noble Marquis late at the head of affairs in India, I have just to express my thorough conviction, that, whatever expectations and even *wishes* may be, by the malicious and the cowardly and the corrupt, entertained to the contrary, the advice will be strictly followed by all persons in parliament and out of parliament.——In offering, now, a remark or two upon the speech of Mr. Fox, the first thing that presents itself is his declaration with regard to the mode of managing the government of India in future; and here we are clearly to understand, or, at least, I so understand what he said, as by no means leaving us to infer, that a correction of abuses is not to take place; that a wasteful expenditure of men and money is not to be put a stop to, and that wars, upon such pretexts as those heretofore acted upon are not to be reprobated and prevented; for, if this were not his meaning, what good could be possibly expected from the change of men at home? This declaration, which has alarmed so many people, had in it, I am fully persuaded, nothing more, than that, now, it would not be prudent to do away the whole of the mode of governing India, unfortunately established by the India Bill of the Pitt faction in 1784. What he said, in answer to Mr. Charles Grant, upon the subject of making a full exposure of the situation of the Company's affairs was precisely that which every one wanted to hear him say. No; it is not unnecessary alarm that he wishes to excite; not encouragement to our enemies; but, he must well know, that, if his fame as a statesman is for ever and ever to be blasted, it must be done by his quietly becoming the heir and owner of the system of the Pitts and of all its calamitous and degrading consequences. To suffer himself to be wheedled into this by the friends of the Pitts and Dundasses; to purchase their support at the expense of becoming the approver, either actively or *tacitly*, of the Pitt system, would be a sample of folly in the very last stage of its progress; and, the friends of sound principles and consistency therein may be assured, that he never will fall into it. His approbation, his decided approbation, and his no less decided preference, of Mr. Francis, has given universal satisfaction. The just tribute of applause, which he paid to that gentleman's conduct relative to the affairs of India, has convinced the public, that the exclusion of Mr. Francis is not to be attributed to him. This the public wanted to be assured of; for,

they are now looking with extreme anxiety to the result of the proposed inquiries, and their anticipation as to what that result will be depended greatly upon what should appear to be the determination of Mr. Fox. The people of this country always lean on the side of the accused; they never condemn unheard; all that they wish for is a full and fair investigation into the causes of that state of things, which has not only disabled the East-India Company to pay the nation what it owes, but has rendered it necessary for them to leave their other debts unpaid, or to come to the nation for assistance. They well remember the principles upon which Mr. Fox set out as to Indian delinquencies; they do not say, nor do I say, that such delinquencies *now* exist; but, if they be found to exist, they will rely upon the operation of the principles so manfully declared by Mr. Fox, upon former occasions. They heard him, in his memorable speech of the 9th of July, 1782, express his "sorrow to perceive, that the noble lord "(Shelburne) was inclined *to screen from* "*justice* and punishment those delinquents, "who had destroyed our possessions in the "East, and involved us in all the calamities "which that lord so honourably endea-"voured to remove." The consequences, the fatal consequences, of that which he then condemned, are now before both him and the people, who are, after long delusion and suffering, become sensible of the wisdom of his advice and of the folly (to give it no worse a term) of that of his opponents; and, thus seeing and feeling, they look to him now for that which he then would have done for them, if he had been, as he now is, the leading person in the ministry. Nor, will they be disappointed. They may rest *assured*, that he will not abandon; nay, that he will, with all his might, support the cause of justice; and, that he will continue to make a part of no ministry, by whom, whether through direct or indirect means, that cause shall be injured. This I have thought it necessary to say, because I know, that fears have, in some persons, arisen and been expressed, upon the subject; and because I also know those fears to have no good foundation. These fears owe their origin chiefly to the ominous exclusion of Mr. Francis from any department connected with India. All men now clearly perceive the ruinous state, into which the Company's affairs have fallen in consequence of his advice having been so long and so pertinaciously rejected. Even the dividend to the proprietors of India Stock, which is the first, though it ought to have been the last, object provided for in the 33d of the King, chap. 52, must now, some way or other, if paid at all, be paid by the public; or, at least, by money borrowed and a loan guaranteed by the government. In a commercial sense, no lawful or honest dividend can be made but of *profits*, ascertained by accounts annually settled and balanced. The contrary course, taken by Mr. Dundas and the Directors I shall leave the reader to characterize. The India Budget was (for what reason the public may judge) omitted last year for the first time since the institution of the Board of Controul. So that, the last we officially know of the debt of the Company *in India*, is, that it stood at 20 millions sterling at the end of March, 1803. Lord Castlereagh has said, that, last year, *the accounts were not sent home.* If so, this is another flagrant breach of the act before mentioned, and what it is in the Governor General a perusal of that act will inform the reader. In these circumstances, added to all that we know of the political dangers that threaten India, his Majesty's ministers, or some of them, at least, appear to think, that they have sufficiently provided for the safety of those immense possessions by leaving them to the care of three of the Company's clerks! Are the difficulties less now than they were when Lord Cornwallis was dispatched to India? Or, if Sir George Barlow, educated in the government-teaching school of Lord Wellesley, be qualified to meet these difficulties, and to fill the place of Lord Cornwallis, why was Lord Cornwallis sent out? The formal nomination of Sir George Barlow, confirmed or assented to by the ministry, amounts to a declaration that Lord Cornwallis was not wanted in India. The Directors neither have, nor even pretend to have, a right to *appoint* a Governor General. The formal nomination is left with them; but, the real power is reserved to the King, whose ministers must answer for an improper choice, and for all the consequences that may attend it. To them, therefore, we must ascribe the appointment of Sir George Barlow, and Lord Minto, in preference to Mr. Francis; and, now that we have Mr. Fox's declaration before us, we shall be at no loss to discover the influence through which the exclusion of Mr. Francis has been effected; and still less shall we be at a loss to discover the motive whence so strenuous an exertion of that influence has proceeded.

Lord Grenville.——I am sorry to perceive, that the observations, which I thought it my duty to make upon the retention of the Auditorship by this nobleman, have, in the mind of a most respectable private cor-

respondent excited some degree of irritation. Of the public there are, I believe, very few indeed who think with him; but, his opinions are certainly not entitled to less attention on that account; for, it not unfrequently happens, that what is called popular opinion, is, particularly upon subjects of this sort, decidedly hostile to sound political principles. His opinions ought, therefore, and, in my eyes, they do, stand upon their intrinsic worth, and the decision ought to turn solely upon the reason, the cool and dispassionate reason of the case.——I am asked, whether I go the length of maintaining, that all sinecures whatever ought to be abolished? To which I answer, that I do not. The sinecures have grown out of the changes which time has produced in the manner of conducting the affairs of the nation, and of providing for the maintenance of the dignity and the splendour of the throne. They now serve, or ought to serve, the purpose of rewarding public services, services well-known and unequivocally acknowledged; and, which is not less essential to the maintenance of the monarchy and the welfare of the state, for the purpose of upholding and cherishing those amongst the ancient nobility and gentry, who, otherwise might fall into a state that would inevitably bring disgrace upon rank, and would, thereby, leave us no aristocracy but that of wealth, ten thousand times more grinding and insolent than the lords of the worst of feudal times. With this notion of sinecures in my mind, it is impossible, that I can be an advocate for their indiscriminate abolition; unless it shall, indeed, appear, that they have been and are likely always to be, perverted from their wholesome use. That, for a long, long time, they have been so perverted, no one will, I think, attempt to deny. Let the list be looked over. Let any one examine the pretensions of the present holders of those offices, and of those to whom very many of them are pledged in reversion down to the third generation; let him look at a thousand a year for life given, in various shapes, to a man merely because he had been the under editor of a publication, the chief object of which was to answer the party purposes of the minister and to asperse the characters of his opponents; let him look at the great proportion of them which have been granted merely as the means of procuring and insuring party support to the minister of the day; let him compare the number and amount of the places which have been given for real public services and for the laudable purpose of supporting the sinking nobility and gentry, with the number and amount of those which have been granted for the purpose of exalting upstarts to nose and to trample upon every thing that was once noble and dignified; let him do this, and then let him say, whether the existence of sinecures may not be regarded as a thing of doubtful policy, without justifying the imputation of rashness in the person who views it in that light; especially, and this is the main point, supposing that the principles, upon which they have, for the last twenty years, been bestowed, are *still* to be acted upon; a supposition, however, upon which I should be very sorry to proceed.——Applying what has been said to the sinecure of Lord Grenville, as a prop to sinking nobility, exhausted by the drains of taxation and weighed down by the hand of commercial opulence created by that very taxation, this sinecure was not wanted; but, upon the score of public services, I am by no means inclined to deny, that it was justly and judiciously bestowed; and, as long as it could have been retained without any departure from the principles upon which it was granted and held and acknowledged to be justly held, very few men in the kingdom would, I believe, have expected or wished to see it relinquished. But, when his lordship chose to accept of another place of as great or greater emolument, was it, upon that very principle, the principle of a reward after public services, not inconsistent to retain it? And, is not the inconsistency greatly heightened, when we consider the circumstance of incompatibility? Am I told, that, the office of First Lord of the Treasury was of uncertain duration; that, when that should cease, the permanent emolument would be irrecoverable; and, that, therefore, it behoved his lordship not to give up a certainty for an uncertainty. But, to say nothing about the notions upon which reasoners in this way must proceed, was it to give us a favourable impression of his lordship's views and hopes, so to act at the out-set, as if he doubted that his future services would entitle him to a lasting reward? Was the acting upon the notions and the policy of one of those, who, like Huskisson and so many others, secures, while in place, a *contingent pension*, the thing to be wished for in the man who stands forward as prime minister in times like the present, when the mischiefs of a long predominance of selfishness are to be counteracted and overcome as the very foundation of future hope?——Still, however, the retention of the Auditorship would have been a measure less objectionable, had it not been accompanied with circumstances that discovered so decided a disposition to retain. To

give up is one thing, and to let a place *fall away of itself* is another. The place of Auditor, legally speaking, became vacant upon his lordship's accepting of that of First Lord of the Treasury. We have seen, and felt, too much from the giving up or the ostentatious forbearance of taking sinecures, as the reader has been reminded in the first pages of the present sheet. But, here there was no danger of incurring the charge of ostentatious and cajoling disinterestedness. The plan and the emolument would naturally have ceased of themselves; the suffering them to cease would have demanded no noisy and empty applause; but, in the minds of all thinking men, it would have been a proof of the absence of an interested disposition, and, as all such proofs do, would, in due time, have produced a suitable effect. But, instead of this, when the disposition to retain is so strong as to resort to the exertion of the highest degree of power in order to gratify it, though in the teeth of acknowledged incompatibility, what must be the decision of every impartial mind?——Nor must I omit again to give weight to the circumstance that led to that singular case in our civil jurisprudence, which arose out of the crime of ASTLETT. The people, and surely the people are something; nay, all men of reflection, saw with profound grief, that an act of parliament was then necessary to render legal those evidences of property to an immense amount, which were illegal, only because Lord Grenville had not done the trifling business which his office of Auditor required of him; what are, nay, what must be, their feelings, then, when they see a second act of parliament passed for the sole and avowed purpose of securing to him for life the great emoluments of that very office; and this, too, just at the moment when he is entering upon another office, incompatible with the former, and equal to it in point of emolument? In those feelings I participate, and so participating, I think it not only my right, but my duty also, to express what I feel; but, with the full force of these feelings upon my mind, there is one insinuation, to which this unfortunate transaction has given rise, that I think it a duty in me no less imperious to endeavour to counteract; because it is highly injurious to Lord Grenville, and more especially, because reason, and, indeed I may assert, *a knowledge of the facts*, convince me that it is unjust. I allude to the notion, not inertly inculcated, and not confined in the extent of its circulation, that, a refusal on the part of Mr. Pitt to suffer Lord Grenville to retain the Auditorship together with an active office of great emolument, was the real cause of his lordship's refusing to come into the views of Mr. Pitt in the spring of 1804, when the last miserable ministry was patched up. With those who observe that, in case of Lord Grenville's then joining Mr. Pitt, there would have been no ground whatever for Mr. Pitt's objecting to the retention of the Auditorship, that office not being at all incompatible with any other that Lord Grenville would have held; to those who recollect, that his lordship had, in a ministry with Mr. Pitt, held the Auditorship before while he held another high office in the state; to those who recollect these circumstances, and who, in the letter of Lord Grenville to Mr. Pitt, at the time reverted to, saw the real grounds of their disagreement upon the subject of forming a new ministry; to such persons, nothing need be said to convince them of the falsehood, not to say the malice, of those who are endeavouring to circulate this insinuation so injurious to Lord Grenville and so complimentary to the memory of Mr. Pitt; but, as these circumstances may not, at first, present themselves to every one, I have thought it necessary thus to furnish the effectual means of counteracting the effects of the insinuation. —— The remark, short, slight, and merely parenthetical, as it was, upon the subject of the *talents* and *mental faculties* of Lord Grenville, has also become a subject of complaint with my correspondent. Of those talents I spoke precisely as I thought; I expressed an opinion not hastily formed, not founded upon any single instance, but upon the result of long and no very careless observation of what had come to me, in common with other men, through the channel of his parliamentary speeches, in which, though I have always perceived a great degree of good sense and of plain dealing added to that sort of accuracy which is the fruit of public zeal manifested in sedulous research, I have never discovered any evidence of talents of the first rate; and I have, as to matters of political economy, perceived a course of thought obviously proceeding from a source which I never could bring myself to regard as profound. But, this is merely a matter of opinion. My opinion may be wrong; those who differ from me may possibly see their opinion confirmed by events; the *right*, however, that I have to express my opinion they cannot deny, and my fairness in exercising it they cannot question, when they consider, that I therein risk the danger of being shown to be in error, and, further, that the channel for the circulating of my opinion is

always open for the circulation of theirs. As to the policy, or, perhaps, we should call it, the *fitness*, of exercising this right, that, too, must depend entirely upon my own judgment, and is attended, in respect to those who disapprove of my publishing the opinion, with all the circumstances counterbalancing the expressing of the opinion itself. So that, in whatever light we view the matter, there appears, on the side of the friends of this nobleman, no good ground of complaint; unless, indeed, they should have entertained, and should now be proceeding upon, the notion, that, from some cause or other, I do not, with regard to the present ministry, and especially with regard to Lord Grenville, possess the right of freely expressing and publishing my opinions, than which I will venture to say, that a notion more erroneous never entered into the mind of man. I have before (page 199) stated the principles, upon which, with regard to observations on public men and public measures, I think every writer ought to regulate his conduct, and upon which I always have, and, I trust, always shall, regulate my conduct. Upon those principles I have proceeded in this case; I have acted under a conviction, that the promulgation of my opinion with regard to Lord Grenville would tend to the public good, and so convinced, should I not, leaving duty and conscience out of the question, remembering only what I have so repeatedly declared to be the sole ground for hoping for any good from a change of ministry, and observing what but too evidently appears to be the intention of the Grenville part of the new ministry; thus remembering and thus observing, should I not, in suppressing my opinions upon any subject therewith connected, act a part worthy of the most shameless slave that ever disgraced the human form? Ten years have I now been a public writer. During the whole of that time have I been, to the best of my judgment, labouring for the welfare and the honour of England, and, thereby, hoping to lay the foundation of fair and permanent fame; and never have I, in any one instance that I can recollect, been tempted by my pressing and accumulated difficulties and distresses, to yield one particle of that independence of mind, which, as it was my birth-right, it behoves me never to part with. In my personal intercourse with public men, an intercourse never sought by me, I have acted upon the principles that I have always professed. In no case was I ever an intruder. Encouragement and kindness never rendered me forward or familiar; but, whilst, towards birth and station I have constantly and strictly observed, as well in my address as in the whole of my demeanour, that respect which I have held to be due to the persons whom I have approached, I have, with regard to the exercise of my judgment and the expression of my opinion, been as free as if I were still amongst my companions of the green. By halves I never love, or hate; and, therefore, any circumstance that would sever me from those whose friendship I have so highly valued, could not fail to be severely felt and deeply lamented. But, I must, at the same time, feel that something is due to myself; to my own character and weight in the country; this, indeed, I may have far over-estimated, but, by that estimate, whatever it may be, my conduct must be swayed; and, if there be any persons, who regard this estimate as beyond all the bounds of modesty and of justice; who, looking back at the humbleness of my origin and of my progress from the ranks of the army onwards through a bookseller's shop to the editorship of a newspaper, think that I bear a mind formed for nothing but servitude; who, from the habit of estimating the pretensions of men by the length of their purse, the mode of their garments, and the grace of their bow, have inferred that my pretensions extend not beyond a sufficiency of food and of raiment; who, considering a newspaper as an article of commerce, and as the means of obtaining not only victuals and drink and clothing, but also as the means of obtaining money to lay by, naturally suppose that the utmost of my ambition must be so to push on the thriving trade as to swell the proceeds to a plum; who, from observing, that, amongst courtiers and politicians, a forwardness to claim their due is seldom a quality in which they are wanting, have imagined, that, though the Register may have produced some effect, the effect is to be ascribed to the subjects of its panegyric, and not to the talents of its author; who, ascribing my respectful deference for birth and station, not to the operation, upon my mind, of a fixed and frequently declared political principle, but to a due and becoming sense of inferiority in one born for nothing else but to honor and obey; if there be any persons, who, from all, or from any of these premises, have drawn such a conclusion; if they have hitherto regarded me as one of those political silk-worms, who, in the emphatical description of Swift, are content to spin out their existence in the weaving of robes for beings of a superior order, such persons may, for aught I shall assert to the contrary, have formed a correct estimate of my talents and my worth, but certain I am that they have egregiously mistaken my views.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"As to a Change of Ministry, the change to answer any good purpose, must be *radical*; it must include "all; yea, underlings and all; there must be a clean sweeping out of all the dirt of twenty years collecting; "it must be such a change as will lead to, and very soon produce, a complete *change of system*, or I shall "have no hope in it." POLITICAL REGISTER, Vol. IX. p. 95.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SWEEPING OF OFFICES.——The Courier newspaper, of the 6th instant, complains most bitterly of the "sweeping," down to the very clerks, which has taken place, in the public offices, in consequence of the change in the ministry; upon which the first observation to make is, that it is *false*. Very little sweeping has taken place; no clerks have been removed, that I have heard of; and, as to Under Secretaries, there certainly has not been sweeping enough. In truth, the fault is, that, in almost every department, there appears a disposition to retain as many as possible of the creatures of Mr. Pitt; and, in the Treasury Department, this disposition is evidently very strong indeed. We all know how much, when we come to the execution of an office, depends upon the secondary officers; and, therefore, it must be matter of concern with the friends of the new ministry, to see so many of these officers remain; and, further to see, that in the removals, care seems to have been taken to avoid, as much as possible, touching the close adherents of the late minister, whose *intentions*, as to appointments, have, it is said, as far as comes under one great officer of the new cabinet, been punctually fulfilled. I once observed, that, upon the grounds whereon the Pitts and Dundases had been supported, for many years past, I did not see why they might not bequeath us at their death! So far, then, from the Pitts having reason to complain of a sweeping disposition in the new ministry, it appears to me, that the public has a right to complain, that there has been nothing worthy of the name of sweeping taken place. Too many of the odious old names are continually occurring, as we read or talk of the offices of government. Old habits must still be indulged in. It is quite impossible, while we see these men in office, that we should believe, that such a change has taken place as we could have wished; or, which is worse, that such a change is intended to take place. Mr. Fox is, in the above-mentioned paper, most bitterly reproached with the changes that *he* has made in his office; and, after what has been said above, I have only to add, that the subject for regret is, that his example has not been more generally followed. There are, indeed, certain offices which, generally speaking, are, and ought to be considered as being too low to be liable to feel the effect of ministerial revolutions; yet, this must always be a matter to be left to the judgment of the superior officers; for, it not unfrequently happens, that an inferior officer has power to do great mischief; and, if he has been a devoted tool of the late minister, it is quite silly to hope for any change of that system from those by whom such tool is retained in office.

MINISTERIAL PROFESSIONS.——That, however, which has given the most alarm to all the real friends of the new ministry, is, the latitude, or supposed latitude, of their professions, now made in parliament, with regard to measures, which they have heretofore so decidedly condemned. Of the uses, which the friends and adherents of the Pitt system are making of these professions, a specimen offers itself in the following remarks from the Courier newspaper of the 3d. instant. "This reasoning" (meaning the reasoning contained in Mr. Fox's explanation, on the 17th ultimo, of what he had said, a few days before, in disapprobation of the Union with Ireland) "This reasoning will enable Mr Fox to abandon all his "opposition doctrines, and we are happy to "see Mr. Fox have recourse to it, as it gives "assurance that he will not be the dangerous man in power it was apprehended, "that he will not advocate the plans of "Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, or promote the "designs of the Corresponding Society. "But this reasoning has not wholly removed the effects of his original imprudent "declaration. The meetings in Dublin have "indeed resolved not to press the repeal of "the Union immediately; but they have "appointed a permanent Committee to "maintain a correspondence throughout "Ireland with those who desire the repeal. "Mr. Fox's rash language has given birth "to an establishment of Corresponding Societies, the evil effects of which may one

" day be severely felt. He seems fully a-
" ware of the mischief he has done, and
" has made a second declaration in Parlia-
" ment to counteract it. In the debate on
" India Affairs on Tuesday, alluding both to
" Ireland and India, " " He agreed we
" " were not now to revert to original the-
" " ories; but when we were examining
" " into the causes of important events
" " which were extremely complicated in
" " their nature, it was somewhat difficult
" " to do so without, in some measure, ad-
" " verting to such original theories. He,
" " however, did not mean to say that any
" " alteration ought at present to take place
" " in the general system of Indian Go-
" " vernment as now by law established.
" " He had occasion to state, at a former
" " time, that there was a wide difference
" " between disapproving of measures at
" " their commencement, and afterwards
" " rescinding them when they had
" " been some time in practice. This
" " he had said with regard to the Union
" " with Ireland. He had strongly disap-
" " proved of that measure when it was
" " proposed, because he was then con-
" " vinced it was a bad one, and was still
" " convinced that it would have been
" " much better for the country if it had
" " never taken place. He had also disap-
" " proved of the plan for the government
" " of India; but what he had said with
" " regard to the Union with Ireland, he
" " now said respecting this plan of Indian
" " government? It was, in his opinion,
" " a bad one from the beginning; but as
" " it had been adopted and acted upon, it
" " was not now to be lightly rescinded.
" " In ninety-nine cases of this nature out
" " of a hundred, it was better to put up
" " with many inconveniencies arising from
" " the first adoption of a measure, than
" " hazard worse evils by premature and
" " ill-considered alterations and innova-
" " tions." "——The above declaration of
" Mr. Fox is of the highest importance; it
" cannot be too often read and considered
" by the country. It *is a general argument,*
" *applicable to any other measure or system*
" *of things as well as to the Union and the*
" *government of India.* On the same prin-
" ciples Mr. Fox *may renounce every opi-*
" *nion he has hitherto held, revoke every*
" *pledge he has hitherto given.* The public
" will perceive this with great satisfaction,
" and cherish the most flattering hopes. For
" this we are no doubt indebted to the in-
" fluence of Lord Grenville, who has also,
" we believe prevailed upon Mr. Fox to
" abandon all design of soliciting peace at a
" moment so inauspicious as the present.
" Under these circumstances we shall " hope
" for the best," without very minutely in-
" vestigating the minor appointments in the
" government."——As an enemy of the new ministry, and particularly of Mr. Fox and his friends, this writer has managed well his statement; has turned his materials to good account. But, his inferences are false. Not only are they false in fact; but, they do not fairly flow from the premises, which he himself has stated. The passage of Mr. Fox's speech, quoted by this writer, is, I must confess, more liable to misconstruction than I could have wished. As to the measure of the Union, it is one, which cannot now be undone without throwing the country into confusion. It is, in point of magnitude, somewhat approaching to a change of dynasty. But, because a measure like this cannot be undone; or, at least, because it cannot be undone without producing effects of almost a revolutionary cast; is this any reason why a change, yea, a complete change, should not take place as to the mode of governing and conducting the affairs of our colonies in the East-Indies; especially when we are now convinced, when the proof is before parliament itself, that the present mode is subversive of all the ends for which colonies ought to be held? Every man is now convinced, that the deplorable state of the East-Indies and the East-India Company's affairs, never forgetting the heavy taxes which have thereby been, and will again be, brought upon the nation; every man is now convinced, that all this has proceeded from the Pitt system of governing India: and, if we are to be told, that it is better for us still to put up with these mischiefs and calamities, " than to hazard worse " evils," when, and in what case are we, 'a God's name,' to hope for any benefit at all from the change which has taken place in the councils of his Majesty! That no " *pre-*
" *mature* and *ill-considered* alterations and " innovations" should take place, all men of sense will agree; and, it was only in the applying of the remark, relative to the Union, to the mode of governing India; it was only in making such an application of that remark as seemed to extend it to all cases whatsoever, and to shut the door against all change; it was in this only, that Mr. Fox furnished a handle for the sarcastic observations of his enemies, and that he excited alarm amongst his friends; alarm, however, which I am confident the result will prove to have been perfectly groundless. —Along with these professions of Mr. Fox, there, unfortunately comes, too, the awk-

ward step of General Fitzpatrick, the new Secretary at War, who, as we shall, upon a future occasion, more fully remind ourselves, took a very active part in the case of Colonel Johnstone; who gave a solemn notice of an intended motion upon the subject as soon as parliament should again meet; and who has now *withdrawn that notice* for a reason, which, in spite of the multitude of words, by which, like stinted fruit buried in a superabundance of leaves, it is sheltered, resolves itself, at last, into this, that the intended motion is not now proper, because the intended mover *is in place!* The motion was to stand upon the ground of an alledged injury, received by Colonel Johnstone. It would, doubtless, have had in contemplation the prevention of the future recurrence of such injuries to officers of the army; but, the first object of all was, or ought to have been, to obtain justice for the injured party. Has that been obtained? The new Secretary at War's speech says no such thing. Will it be obtained? The new Secretary at War makes no such promise. Indeed, he says nothing at all about it. He withdraws his support, his promised, his pledged, support, without letting fall a single word, that could induce any man, who has been an observer of similar scenes, to believe, that he had seriously in contemplation, either to obtain redress for the past, or to prevent similar injuries for the future.———This very unexpected step of the Secretary at War, joined to the professions of Mr. Fox with regard to India and the Union with Ireland, have, it must be acknowledged, produced a very considerable alarm amongst all those, who, in a change of ministry, anxiously looked for something very different indeed from a mere change of men, a mere transfer of emoluments; who looked, in short, for a complete *change of system*, as the only means of giving the country a chance of restoration.——— As to the professions, said to have been made by Mr. Fox to the Irish Roman Catholics, it must be observed, that that question does not stand upon the same ground whereon it stood last year. It, then, had never been submitted to parliament; now, it has been so submitted, and has been decided. The great alteration, indeed, which is made by the proposer of a measure moving from one side of the House across to the other (and which has been so fully manifested in this last instance) is not to be left out of the consideration; but, it appears to me, that a vast majority of the king's subjects are fully convinced, that, to grant what the Catholics now ask would be merely to invite them to ask more; that, in fact, if any thing be granted them, much more *ought* to be granted them; and, that, therefore, until you can settle upon some material alteration, some great and final change in their condition, the wise way is to let them remain as they are, taking care, however, to use every means in your power to render the administration of the government in Ireland as mild and beneficent towards them as possible; and, that such care will be taken, by the present ministry, every one, who has observed the new appointments to the affairs in that country, must, I think, be convinced.——— In remarking upon the recent professions of the ministers, I have in view to prevent misconstruction in others, rather than to criticise myself. The mind of the public is, at this moment, just in that state which exposes it to the receiving of an evil impression, and an impression, too, not easily to be removed. The expectations of the people were very great; for, though they did not hope for an immediate good effect from the change of councils, they expected an immediate indication of a wish, of an intention, and even of a resolution, on the part of the new ministers, to make such *alterations*, to introduce such a *change of system*, as would be an earnest of future good. This expectation has not, it must be avowed, been yet fulfilled; and, the state of the public mind, is, to give it the most favourable description, that of doubt, bordering rather upon disappointment as to the present, and of apprehension as to the future. Into the steps which have chiefly tended to produce this effect upon the public mind, Mr. Fox has evidently been led by that same influence, which during the last session of Parliament, occasioned those memorable declarations, which, in exculpation of Mr. Pitt, were made from the Opposition Benches. The concessions *then* made were very injurious to the cause of public justice, as well as to popular confidence in public men; for, there was not, in the whole kingdom, one single man of common sense, who did not perceive, that, as to the misapplication of the naval money, Mr. Pitt stood in exactly the same situation with Lord Melville; and, where was the man who did not perceive, that the distinction between the cases of the two consisted simply in this, that the former had friends amongst the Opposition, while amongst them the latter had none. To the same cause must be attributed the faint opposition that was made to the proposition for erecting a monument to Mr. Pitt; and, which is, after all, of still more importance, the ready acquiesence in the proposition for paying that

person's debts. How far this complaisance, this disposition to compromise, may be carried, I cannot pretend to foresee; but, I have little hesitation in saying, that, if it be carried much further, and, particularly, if, as in the instance of Mr. Francis's exclusion, it be suffered to chip away the great foundations, upon which the Fox party stand so completely committed; if this should be, I hesitate not to say, that the fame of a twenty years of opposition will be extinguished for ever by a twenty months, nay, by a twenty weeks, of official situation. Only a little more in the way of compromise, in the way of concession, in the way of retractation, express or tacit; only a very little more; only another step or two, and it will be too late to recoil. The thing will be done: the public mind will be decidedly made up: and to proceed, though shackled in every limb, and dragged along through mire and filth, will be just as safe and as pleasant as to retreat.

Lord Ellenborough.——On Monday the 3d instant, a motion was made, in the House of Lords, by the Earl of Bristol, for passing a resolution, disapproving of the appointment of the Lord Chief Justice to a seat in the Cabinet. A similar motion was made in the House of Commons, by Mr. Spencer Stanhope. In the former the motion was negatived without a division: in the latter, there were for the motion, 64; against it, 222; a division which, (particularly when we consider who were the persons that voted on the side of the ministers, and how those same persons lately voted) has established, beyond all controversy, the fact, that arguments coming from the right-hand side of the House do produce greater effect than when they come from the left-hand side, whence Mr. Fox made his last speech upon a division question, and where he found himself left in a minority of 89 against 258?——After having duly attended to every part of this discussion, as far as I have been able to attend to it, I remain confirmed in the opinion, which I before entertained and expressed, relative to this important subject. Lord Grenville is, in the newspapers, reported to have said, "that much pains had been taken, out of "the House, to *mislead* the public mind "upon the subject, and to impress a per-"suasion that the appointment was *illegal*." No: with all due deference to Lord Grenville; not so. I, for my part, observed no *pains* taken to mislead the public. I heard no insinuation, nor any high-swelling bombastical verbosity, intended to seduce or scare the poor public into an erroneous opinion as to the appointment of Lord Ellenborough, of whom besides, *personally*, not one single syllable had, from first to last, been uttered, except in commendation; commendation, too, which, perhaps, Lord Ellenborough might not be disposed to regard as the less valuable on account of its being founded on his well-known hostility to the corruptions of the Pitt system.—— That the appointment in question was "ille-"gal" no one has ever asserted; but, as a correspondent (whom I thank for his hints) observes, that it was *unconstitutional*, in the fair sense of the word (if the word has any fair and fixed sense at all) nobody can, I think, deny. Lord Bristol, whose speech, not less admirable in manner than in matter, made a great impression upon the House, and has since made an impression equally great upon the country; this nobleman chose, in his proposed resolution, the word "in-"expedient," instead of "unconstitu-"tional," which was, I think it must be allowed, carrying forbearance to full as great a length as the case would justify.—— The reader will have perceived, that the whole course of the speakers, who defended the appointment, was, to avoid all general reasoning on the impropriety of uniting the two characters of Judge and of Cabinet Minister; and to entrench themselves behind a long list of precedents from practice. Nor, must we here, except Mr. Fox, who, though his speech was a finished specimen of eloquence, and though he did most manfully lay down the doctrine of responsibility, was obliged to have recourse to precedents as the only ground, whereon to make even a shew of successful resistance. But, after all this, who was there, that must not have perceived, that, of all the instances, which were cited as examples, one only could be properly called a precedent, the rest being, at best, loose and distant analogies. Lord Mansfield's case was the only one which could strictly be called a precedent. He, being a common-law Judge, had a seat in the Cabinet, and did take an habitual part in advising the crown, on the ordinary affairs of state. Since the Revolution no other common-law Judge ever did; and, upon the propriety of taking precedents, with respect to Judges, from that period downwards, we may surely insist, because one of the great works of the Revolution was the act for making them independent of the crown. ——The nature of the other precedents it is truly curious to observe. The Chief Justice, say the defenders of the appointment, has almost always been named one of the members of the Council of Regency, in the

different Regency acts which have been passed since the Revolution. This had been alluded to in the speech of Lord Bristol, who had allowed, that a Judge of the courts of Common Law might, for extraordinary and special occasion, have had a species of political existence; but, the former position still remains, that, as to precedents, there is but one instance of a common-law Judge having become a member of the ordinary executive government. Observe, too, that, whether it be wise or unwise to make a Judge a member of the Regency Council, it is, at most, only on special emergencies that we can be exposed to the evil; and, when we are, the thing certainly loses a good deal of its mischievous quality, from its being *parliament*, and not the *crown*, that appoints the Council of Regency. The whole of the statement, wherein we are desired to look upon each member of the cabinet as being nothing more than a *privy councillor*, called to sit in a particular committee of the privy council, is, if not a quibble, certainly what one does usually denominate an argument; or, if we must dignify it with that name, we must, at the same time, be allowed to say, that it is wholly destitute of foundation; and we may be allowed to express our fears, that it is calculated to deceive and delude the people upon a subject, where, at some time or other, delusion may lead to most mischievous consequences. As a privy-councillor merely the member acquires no influence whatever in the determining upon measures of state, and, as to those measures, he contracts no responsibility. A member of the cabinet is one of the confidential advisers of the crown: call him by what name you please, he is substantially a *King's minister*, or *King's servant*; and, is it not notorious, that, so far from the cabinet being a selection of privy councillors, one half of the present ministers were called to the cabinet *first*, and, being already cabinet ministers, were, for that reason, made privy councillors.——This subject, having said no more upon it than what I regarded it my duty to say, and having had no intention whatever to mislead or inflame the people, but believing, that they do generally disapprove of the appointment, and that they may still disapprove of it, without discovering a disposition that would render them unworthy of a minister's endeavours to rescue them from destruction; this subject I will now dismiss in the words of the nobleman who began the debate in the House of Lords, and in whose sentiments I most heartily concur. "I may "be told, that these are cases" [cases wherein the Lord Chief Justice would have to decide upon the Bench, and in which he would be interested as a cabinet minister] "which "are not likely to occur, and that, under "such circumstances, the learned Judge "would abstain from attending the cabinet. "I desire no better proof of the incompatibility of the two situations than this; "namely, that, in order to do his duty as "a man, he must desert his duty as a judge, "or as a minister. And I must observe be-"sides, that I desire a better security for "the persons and property of my country-"men than the discretion of any mortal "breathing."

Affairs of India. —— The motions, which are making, in the House of Commons, preparatory to a general discussion relative to the conduct of Lord Wellesley, bring out, ever and anon, some curious facts, acknowledgements, and assertions. Of these latter, the following from Mr. Hudleston, a Director, on Monday, the 3d instant, is worthy of particular notice. "That the *evils* which *now oppress* "the East-India Company, were not "imputable to the Court of Directors." These were his very words. Observe, then, 1. The distress is acknowledged; it is, at last, acknowledged. 2. To whom is this distress to be imputed? 3. Why have not the Directors represented their case, and their ruin, *in its progress*, at any time, to parliament? 4. Have they even petitioned the king in council as the law points out? If not, it follows, that, by *their own* acts or omissions, they have barred themselves from all title to relief from the public purse, even if it were *possible* for the public purse to relieve them.——But, surely, there is not, and never again will be found, a minister to propose and a parliament to sanction a levy of money upon the people of England for the purpose of paying the debts of this Company of East-India merchants, who, as a debt growing out of their charter, already owe to that people, that wronged people, several millions of money! Surely this never will again be witnessed in England! Much better; much more merciful; much more just; much more politic, for the parliament to levy upon the people money wherewith to discharge the debts of all the debtors in the King's Bench prison, and in all the prisons of the United Kingdom.—— Nay, frown not, thou Eastern Bashaw! what, in the name of justice and of reason, gave you a claim upon our benevolence stronger than that of our poor countrymen, who, perhaps, have been, many of them, forced into jail at the suit of the tax-gatherer?

I am not questioning the propriety and the necessity of such suits; but, have not the sufferers as good a claim as you upon our purse?——More of this hereafter, when we come to examine Mr. Charles Grant's position, that England is "benefited by the "fortunes acquired in India and spent here:" more of this then; and, for the present, let us quit the subject with a remark or two upon the sort of assistance which Mr. Paull experiences in the obtaining of the documents necessary to his proposed inquiry. We before noticed the advice which had been kindly and gratuitously bestowed upon the honorable gentleman by Lord Morpeth and Mr. Hiley Addington, the two paid members of the Board of Control; and, the kindness of Lord Temple now appears not less evident, nor, indeed, less useful, than that of Mr. Hiley Addington; but, his lordship has the additional merit of being only a volunteer in the business.

The Pitt faction.——This description of persons are most egregiously deceived, if they suppose, that the people will ever look to them as an opposition. All that they will have in view, will be to obtain "in-"demnity for the past and security for the "future;" and, if they succeed in this, they may be very well contented. The people, they may be assured, will never look for defenders of their rights amongst the defenders of Lord Melville; and, if the present ministers should act contrary to the principles, which they professed while out of office, a new race of men will arise, or, the whole scene will become too contemptible to be worthy of notice.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

To the Right Hon. Charles James Fox.

Sir;—I perfectly concur in the opinion of Mr. Cobbett, that the National Debt is a subject, which, at this time, claims the most grave and serious consideration. If I am right, it yields to none in the mighty consequences it involves: and, I am free to own, as the result of the closest investigation and deepest reflection, which my mind is capable of, that I am profoundly penetrated with the truth of the observation; that "*the nation must destroy (reduce) the debt; or the debt will destroy the nation.*" Much as I am in the habit of deference to so high an authority as your judgment: much as I give you credit for every statesman-like qualification: and convinced as I am that you possess too much dignity of mind, to make any improper concessions, for the purpose of obtaining credit with the "blood-suckers" and "muck-worms" as one of the greatest men this country has produced, denominated the fund-dealers. I cannot, however, forbear expressing my uneasiness at, and total dissent from, the opinion attributed to you, in the newspaper reports of a speech of yours lately; in which you are made to say, that "*the sinking fund has done great good to the country.*" This, I would willingly hope, is a mis-statement. If, indeed, your observation had been confined to the support and approbation you had given to the measure, at the time it was introduced: if you did then, as I for one, certainly did, hope that it would prove adequate to its professed object; and that, consequently, without any thing like intolerable addition to our burthens, the country might, by peace and economy, rescue the succeeding generation from the evils we had brought upon ourselves, by an impolitic, wasteful, and ruinous war: there needs, so far, no apology either for Mr. Pitt, as the author, or yourself as the supporter of the sinking fund. But the subsequent war, (just or unjust, wise or unwise, is not now the question) has certainly been so expensive as to supersede, and render *totally abortive*, this scheme for the reduction or liquidation of the national debt. Before I proceed, I beg leave to disclaim the most distant intention of opposition to your administration. On the contrary, I hail it as most auspicious to the best interests of the British nation. If I have any political prejudices, they certainly all run in your favour. In short, I have been so long accustomed to entertain a most implicit confidence, both in your integrity and judgment; that, though myself unconnected with office, I now feel the extravagant pretension of being identified, in some sort, with the glory and success of your measures. If, therefore, I happen to differ from you, on what I deem a momentous question; I am very willing to allow, that, the only presumption of my being right, and you wrong, is, in its having engaged my most unremitting attention, while it has possibly employed only a small portion of yours. I am well informed from various persons, that the part of your speech, to which I have alluded, has produced a very strong sensation of applause in 'Change Alley: and this, permit me to say, is very cogent, and to me *alarming* evidence, that they expect from you the support of Mr. Pitt's system of finance. If such expectation should be founded, how deeply should I lament your elevation to power! For I would rather the nation should be trampled to death by any one than by my friend Mr. Fox. Though I must admit that assertion is not argument; I have a right to defy, and I do defy, any one

to prove, that with a peace establishment to-morrow, the present income of the country is adequate to the expenditure. I will go further, and insist, without fear of contradiction, that with the continuance of the war taxes, and allowing them, against all probability, to be as productive as they have hitherto been, the whole revenue would be short of the expenditure by 15 millions.—But, there is a most unaccountable delusion, which, strange as it may appear, has been by some means imbibed very generally among the superficial thinkers on this subject; unfortunately the great majority of the nation. I have collected from frequent conversation and otherwise, that it is very *pleasantly* imagined, that the increase of the debt, by loans, is confined to the principal *only*; while the sinking fund is to extinguish both principal and interest; and thus, if we invert the application of the metaphor of Thomas Payne, "the cow is to overtake the hare." This gross fallacy I do not mean to expose to your enlightened mind: but permit me, through the medium of this address, to say to those who are under the influence of so preposterons a notion, that the same rule, according to the unalterable nature of things, of compound interest, which operates in the redemption of the debt, by the sinking fund, must apply to the increase of debt by the annual loans. For the sake of elucidation let us suppose on a peace establishment the expenditure to be 50 millions, and the income 40 millions: is it not a self-evident proposition, that government must borrow, at 5 per centum, 10 millions and a half; and thereby create a new debt of half a million? And is it not equally incontestible, *cæteris paribus* that for the second year the sum of 11,025,000l. and for the third 11,576,250l. must be borrowed, and so progressively increase every year? I repeat that this sort of reasoning, against which may be justly urged the quotation, "in re non dubiâ, testibus non necessariis utitur," is not addressed to you: it would be little short of insult to a mind so comprehensive as yours, to insist upon such truisms. The inference then is, that, unless the patriotic gentlemen who have hitherto so kindly assisted in getting the nation deeper into debt, will lend their money, in future, without interest or bonus, which, I *rather* suspect is not the intention of this race of patriots, it only remains for the legislature to determine, whether it is wise to contend any longer with impossibilities; or whether it will at once adopt an effectual plan for the *reduction* of the debt, and the consequent diminution of the taxes. I have, so far, argued upon the hypothesis of the present revenue being maintained. In a second letter which I propose to have the honour of addressing to you, I shall endeavour to demonstrate that a great defalcation is not only inevitable, but that the present system of taxation is at mortal enmity with the industry, commerce, and manufactures of the country; and will, therefore, undermine and destroy, if not speedily put an end to, the very foundation of *permanent* revenue. Its other baneful effects, of a still *more dangerous* nature, I shall also make some observations upon.——I have the honour to be with the highest respect, &c. I.T.

London, February 8, 1806.

P. S. It will appear to any person who chooses to make the computation, and nothing can be more easy: that, supposing an annual deficiency of ten millions for 14 years, it would create, at interest of 5 per cent. upwards of 205 millions of debt. Now it is matter of notoriety, that capital invested for that period, will barely double itself, with compound interest. Admitting, therefore, the commissioners to have redeemed 140 millions of the national debt, they can only redeem about as much more within the time mentioned. I bar any quibbling of the small wits, about the appropriation of the annual million, and part of every loan, to the sinking fund; because my *supposed* deficiency of income, must be increased accordingly. The same may be said of an imaginary advantage the commissioners possess, by receiving the dividends quarterly or half yearly; for it is evident, the stock they buy up, must be dearer than if the interest were paid annually.

	£
Amount of deficiency of revenue to be borrowed	10,000,000
Interest on ditto	500,000
	10,500,000
2d year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	20,500,000
Interest	1,025,000
	21,525,000
3d year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	31,525,000
Interest	1,576,250
	33,101,250
4th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	43,101,250
Interest	2,155,062

	45,256,312
5th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	55,256,312
Interest	2,762,815
	58,019,127
6th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	68,019,127
Interest	3,400,956
	71,420,083
7th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	81,420,083
Interest	4,071,004
	85,491,087
8th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	95,491,087
Interest	4,774,553
	100,265,640
9th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	110,265,640
Interest	5,513,282
	115,778,922
10th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	125,778,922
Interest	6,288,946
	132,067,868
11th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	142,067,868
Interest	7,103,393
	149,171,261
12th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	159,171,261
Interest	7,958,563
	167,129,824
13th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	177,129,824
Interest	8,850,491
	185,986,315
14th year deficiency of revenue	10,000,000
	195,986,315
Interest	9,799,315
	205,785,630

CONSEQUENCES OF THE LATE CAMPAIGN.

Sir; Europe has received so severe a blow in the last campaign, that nothing but the folly of its antagonist or conducting its remaining resources with great wisdom, prudence, and foresight, can be expected soon to restore it. It is necessary to weigh well and in time what his next enterprizes may be, for, I do think that they must be "Nature's fools," not his, who can entertain an idea that he will remain satisfied not only with what he has acquired, but with what he is in a train of acquiring. He generally publishes his schemes with an ostentation that would be thought a design to mislead, if experience did not prove that it arose from the presumptuousness and insolence of success. There can be little doubt, that the first of his wishes is, to break the power of this country; and, it is not improbable, that to succeed more surely, to put an end to any coalition, and to be at liberty to prosecute other views with more freedom, he may propose peace: it would be the armistice of Austerlitz, or the peace of Presburgh: he there said to Austria, desert your allies, and I shall assist you in plundering them, to indemnify you for every thing but the loss of honour, independence, and the means of defence. The tattered rags of the self-named Roman purple submitted to be sullied by the compromise; it is hoped that England is not yet sunk so low as even to take it into consideration. If we had peace immediately, no man, who values the safety or independence of these islands, could lay his head down to rest in tranquillity, unless there was a fleet lying ready at a moment's warning to intercept his embarkations. If we had no allies, perhaps, even such an armed truce might be tried at the hazard of attempts upon our distant settlements; but while we have alliances, and at least as great as there could be any prospect of soon having again, it is not only most honourable, but likewise most prudent, to contribute as far as is in our power to assist their efforts or their defence against the common enemy. —From the time of his first campaign, Buonaparté seems to have directed his attentions to the East; the expedition to Egypt is said to have been his own choice. He is himself formed more on the manners of the eastern than the western nations. Instead of laying the foundation of solid power, with the simplicity of Augustus, he has taken the pompous despotism of Diocletian or Constantine for his model; he has even introduced the offices and the very names of the pageantry of the lower empire: his inflated reports, his bombastic expressions, his spending enormous sums in gaudy shew while his soldiers are

often in want of pay, and the ridiculous distinctions he has bestowed on the members of his own family, are all in the same stile. His character is that of the same age. Let not the unthinking suppose that like Alexander he would gild the disgrace of conquest by the grandeur of his views, or the grovelling expect, that, like Trajan, he would soften subjection by the benignity of his government. His desire of power is not that of pre-eminence among men, it is that of despotism among slaves; even his brother, to whose eloquence, conduct, and firmness, while he himself had lost his presence of mind, the success of the 18th Brumaire is said to be due, has been sent into exile, because he would not descend to all the servility he required. In him no trace of the hero is to be found, magnanimity kindles at a kindred spark, he extinguishes it, and it is said with a sarcastic smile, as if it was what he envied and detested. Ability, bravery, and fidelity have long been a claim in Europe to those who, by the fortune of war, have fallen into the hands of an enemy; he treats the meritorious with barbarity, while the incapable, the traitor, and the coward, he receives with distinction. In no part of Europe, except in his dungeons, are prisoners ever suspected of suffering an unfair death. Many anecdotes are before the public, that shew his character in a strong light. If the circumstances related of the death of the Duke d'Enghien are true, although from the violence of the deed, they have almost escaped attention, they mark his disposition in characters not to be mistaken: Nero or Caligula might have ordered him to be killed on the spot. Aurelian might have immolated him in his camp, but to drag him some hundred miles, to force him to a mock trial without rest, to refuse his simple dying requests, to order him to immediate execution, and coolly and calmly to receive petitions in his favour for several days after he was put to death, belongs to more degenerate times than even those he has taken for his model, and can only be found in the last ages of the lower empire. He has a passion for military fame and for conquest, so had Genghis and Tamerlane, and from the still greater weakness of their enemies their conquests were still greater and more rapid than his. Though, by his victories he contributed to the aggrandizement of France, he was not the founder, nor even the restorer of French greatness; when it was restored, he sent the man who restored it to retirement; he only makes use of the weapons that were forged by another, and I believe it is certain that they have not been improved in his hands. He is fortunately more intent on the splendid than the solid; he has already, in one of his demi-official bravados, told us that he is to march to the Ganges, and, his dispositions and motions shew an inclination, in addition to the crowns of Charlemagne and Theodoric, to join that of Arcadius by the way. The great force he is marching into Italy, and his farther reinforcing the army of Massena, almost prove to what he points, so positively insisting on the cession of Istria and Dalmatia, particularly specifying the islands of the Adriatic, and, above all, so carefully including the mouths of the Cataro, give strong reason to suspect that he intends to seize Albania, which has never been thoroughly subjected to the Turkish empire, and march an army into the east to the south of Mount Hæmus. If it should be confirmed that he is endeavouring to arm another fleet for the Mediterranean, it is likewise to be presumed, that he means to transport that army across the Adriatic; indeed, the communication by Istria and Dalmatia would be so circuitous and difficult that it would be almost impossible to convey regular supplies by that route, except such as he compelled Austria to furnish. It is not improbable, that the combined fleet, before the battle of Trafalgar, was destined for that purpose, upon a presumption of the success that has since attended him, and, it would not exceed the presumption he has shewn on former occasions, if he had, already, dispatched a squadron to the East, to co-operate with that beyond the Hellespont. Whether he will abandon the Turkish provinces to the north of Mount Hæmus to the Austrians alone, remains yet to be seen; if he should, there can be little doubt that it must be for the purpose of drawing upon them the vengeance of Russia, and, by that means, allow him to pursue his principal object in that quarter without opposition. If that is his scheme, or, even, if he should send an auxiliary army to assist or rather to dictate to them, it is to be hoped that Russia will not be duped by that artifice, but will direct and concentrate her whole force against the progress of the French. Austria is now so humbled, that any acquisition there, can be no object of jealousy; when French influence and French support are at an end, that power can easily be reduced within narrower limits. —If such should be his plan, there is an essential part reserved for Great-Britain to act in frustrating his schemes of ambition. The safety of this country is the first and primary object, to which every other ought to be subordinate; but, after fulfilling that

purpose, we ought to have a naval force competent to execute the other. To indifferent seamen, like the Turks and Russians, a trifling squadron of British vessels is probably necessary, as instructors, but their navies ought to be fully equal to preventing any embarkation of his from crossing the Adriatic, unless he can procure a naval force from the west of Europe, to oppose which is a charge that must fall upon England, and would require that we should preserve a decided superiority in the Mediterranean. Buonaparté's anxiety to get possession of Malta is, perhaps, now explained, and, the great value of it in our hands, not only to this country but to Europe, is now seen; for, supposing an enemy's fleet to have eluded ours, and stood up the Mediterranean, if a proper number of light cruizers are kept on the look out from that island, it is hardly possible, by our fleet running immediately for Malta, that they should not get certain intelligence of their course, and avoid a repetition of the escape they made from Lord Nelson on their expedition to Egypt. This is the principal part that Great-Britain could act on that occasion, but such an expedition opens a vast field for speculation in which though not immediately, we are ultimately concerned.—The political and military causes of the aggrandisement of France, require a connected induction, and, I do not mean even to touch upon them at present, but so much is to be learned for the future from the last campaign, that it cannot be passed over entirely, without observation. Since the end of the seventeenth century, when great armies began to be brought into action, experience has shewn that Austria, especially in a defensive war, should never have met the French armies in the field, till they had buried themselves in the heart of Germany; when the Austrians have been defeated on the frontiers, it has generally been decisive of the campaign, and, sometimes of the war. In the war of 1742 the French army which entered Germany under the most favourable circumstances, was ruined in Austria and Bohemia; it was the same in the first irruption of Jourdan and Moreau; in the war of the Spanish succession, the Austrians were defeated by Tallard, near Spires, and the Duke of Marlborough was obliged to march from the Netherlands to retrieve their affairs at Blenheim; in the campaign that preceded the peace of Luneville, the Austrian army received a blow near the sources of the Danube, which they never recovered. If Ulm, however, had been an inattainable position, with full magazines, and the French army had not so far outnumbered them as to bear to be divided, the Austrians might have maintained that position, and would, almost certainly, have stopped their progress, for, while their communications and supplies could have been cut off on one side, by detachments pushed into Franconia, which had a secure retreat, and their rear harrassed and infested from the Tyrol on the other, the French never could have dared to advance beyond it. The King of Prussia, in his intrenched camp near Scheiridnitz, covered Silesia against the whole force of the Austrians and an auxiliary army of Russians. It was evident that General Mack expected the French by the Forest Towns, as General Moreau had penetrated before when they had a large army in Switzerland; and some trifling demonstrations that Buonaparte made there, seem completely to have deceived him. But it cannot be conceived that he had not taken care to have information both of the very superior strength of the French army, and of the actual line of their march, in time to have changed his plan; against the former, he must have known that his position was untenable, and as to the latter, instead of losing his army, he might have given the French at least a check. If he had immediately descended the Danube, he had an opportunity of attacking their divisions single as they passed it with his whole army. It was thus that Buonaparté himself ruined the army that was sent to the relief of Mantua, as the divisions entered Italy; and it was by disregarding the intelligence that was sent him, and wandering away to Genoa, instead of attacking the different divisions of the French army that crossed the Alps, immediately on their issuing from the mountains, that Gen. Melas did not prevent the battle of Marengo, save Italy, and indeed the house of Austria. Had General Mack thus brought his own army safe to the Inn, or perhaps the Enns, been reinforced by the corps there and the first Russian army; while the French would have been weakened, not only by the losses they might have sustained, but by the numerous detachments they must have left, what might have been now the situation of Buonaparte? he might have shared the same fate with Moreau, who, I believe, was at least his equal in military talents, have collected the remains of his army on the Rhine. Let the fate of the Austrians likewise be a warning, never to trust an army to a nominal commander with a preceptor. The destruction of that army would hardly have been so complete, if a difference of opinion

had not arisen between the Archduke and his preceptor, which kept them undecided and motionless, when their fate depended upon promptitude and vigour of action. If I do not mistake, General Mack owed his rise to having the address at court to get the success of the allied armies on the frontiers of Poland placed chiefly to his account. In an evil hour, when the general in the Netherlands had given offence at Vienna, by acting too wisely, did the Emperor take the command there, that General Mack might command in his name; the disasters that followed are well known. Again, I think, for I speak from memory, he consented to let another prince, the Archduke John, receive the glory of his exploits, while he was satisfied to enjoy it only by reflection. The attack upon General Moreau, who had posted himself behind defiles, terminated in that part of the army which came into action being cut to pieces; for, as in the Netherlands, a part of it never reached the enemy. Not satisfied with these trials of his skill, he was still sent to crown the Archduke Ferdinand with laurels. For the loss of that army which was the hope of the House of Austria, and almost of Europe, he has been arrested as a traitor. It is an instructive lesson, both to those who are willing to become tools, and to those who are willing to employ them. We read of a Belisarius, but it is at least rare that merit is to be found the inmate of servility. The accounts of the battle of Austerlitz are so many and so various, that it is difficult to hazard a conjecture respecting it; but, from the official reports, it is evident, that from Buonaparté's retreating to take possession of that ground, he had chosen it for the field of battle, it then became the business of the allies, as they were determined to give battle, to compel him, if possible, to fight upon other ground. There may be sound reasons, but they do not appear on the face of the reports, why they did not march directly upon Nicolsburg, with so superior a force as to cut off the division there, before it could be reinforced, which would probably have rendered it necessary for Buonaparte to have changed his position, to open his communication with the Danube. If he had still advanced, Olmutz was not a place to be taken without a regular siege; and, as to farther reinforcements, they had already determined to come to action without them. It seems likewise clear, that Buonaparté's right was either not supported, or was at least attackable; and they appear to have failed in their attack from having clearly discovered their object by their motions the day before, and by having conducted that attack upon the supposition that his disposition was not to be changed in the night; whereas, as might have been expected, he had strengthened and extended his right by Davoust's division, which they unexpectedly encountered on their march to gain his flank. Had King William passed the Ghate in the night, after the approach of the first division of the French army, to the ground on which Dumourier attacked the Austrians, all the skilful manœuvres of the Duke of Luxemburg would have been ineffectual to bring on the battle of Neerwinden. After all, the battle of Austerlitz seems to have been only a repulse, and it is highly probable that Buonaparté had not made up his exaggerated report of it till after his conference with the Emperor of Germany, and that the armistice of Austerlitz, and the peace of Presburg were less the consequences of that battle, than of insidious proposals from him; this jesuitical minister which had been better received in that quarter than by the Emperor of Russia.—If Buonaparté should undertake such an eastern expedition, would his first step be to overwhelm the Russians in Corfu, with an immense force: to advance far into the Turkish provinces, while they were there would require two armies, one for that purpose, and another to be left on the Adriatic to cover his rear; they have there the same check upon him that General Mack would have had in an impregnable camp at Ulm, which from the insular situation, theirs is as long as the sea is well guarded. Will he trust to the half desert provinces of Turkey for subsistence? how an hundred and eighty thousand men were subsisted without magazines, is not easily accounted for, even if they have spread famine and desolation wherever they have been. Turenne whose whole army did not much exceed one of their divisions, had the plan of one of his campaigns entirely disconcerted by a connivance of the Bishop of Wurtzburg, where his bread was baked with the Imperialists. No resistance is to be expected from the Turkish troops; if left to themselves, their only means of defence is to lay the whole country waste before him. No effectual opposition can be expected except from Russia. Should the expedition be detained till a Russian army could be brought to their assistance, would it not still be wise to allow him to plunge himself deep into the Turkish provinces before they met him in the field? Would the Russian army at Corfou, be reinforced so as to take the field in his rear, or would a Russian army be

transported to Macedonia or Romania? Is there any strong position to cover Constantinople without hazarding the fate of a battle, or would the Russians not meet him, till he crossed the Bosphorus? Should he reach Constantinople, would the Turkish government remove to Asia, or would they rather descend into one of his federative kingdoms? If the latter, let it be remembered, that shattered as the Turkish empire is, it still extends to the Tigris, and we may then be able to form some conjecture how he cast his eyes on the Ganges from the banks of the Danube: but, in considering the consequences of such an event, it is necessary to withdraw our attention for a moment from the more important affairs of Europe, to the glittering scenes of Asia. Such wild projects may hasten the crash of his brittle empire; but their effects may be felt to the extremities of the globe.

CAMILLUS.

REPORT FROM THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO DRAW UP ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT AGAINST HENRY LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE. PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 4TH MARCH, 1806.

The Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment against Henry Lord Visc. Melville; and who were empowered to report such further Matters as shall have come to their Knowledge in the course of the Examinations taken before them, with respect to the Conduct of the said Lord Visc. Melville, during the time that he held the Office of Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy; Have agreed to the following REPORT.

Your committee have already reported to the House several Articles of Impeachment against Henry Lord Visc. Melville, which they considered it their duty to prepare without delay, upon the circumstances and transactions disclosed in the reports referred to them.—They have since applied themselves to the further investigation of the matters contained in those reports, and having obtained much new and material information which in the judgment of your committee will make it necessary to prefer an additional article or additional articles of impeachment against Lord Melville, they think it their duty previously to submit the same to the consideration of the House.—The attention of your committee has been particularly directed to a sum of £10,000 in which Lord Melville stated himself to be indebted to the Navy Pay Office, when Mr. Trotter was first appointed Paymaster in Jan. 1786. How, when, and for what purposes this sum of £10,000 originally came into the possession of Lord Melville, is left by the reports referred to your committee wholly uncertain. It was manifest that it must have been received by Lord Melville, prior to the appointment of Mr. Trotter; and as the former paymaster (the late Mr. Andrew Douglas) executed that office during the whole of Lord Melville's first Treasurership, and so much of the second as preceded Mr. Trotter's appointment; your committee thought it expedient to call for and inspect all such books, papers, and accounts, of the late Mr. Douglas, relating to the Navy Pay Office, as could be produced to them. Many of these were found in the possession of his widow, and the examination of them has, in the estimation of your committee, brought to light very important matter; the truth of which is confirmed by information derived from other sources.—It is already known to the House that Lord Melville was first appointed Treasurer of the Navy on the 19th of Aug. 1782, and that by a warrant dated the 23d of Oct. 1782, his salary was increased to the net sum of £4,000, "in full "of all wages and fees, and other profits and "emoluments theretofore enjoyed by other "Treasurers of the Navy."—It now appears that Lord Melville on the 20th of Aug. 1782, (the day after he first entered upon his office) constituted Mr. Andrew Douglas his paymaster; and that on the same day Mr. Douglas paid to the account of Lord Melville at his bankers, Messrs. Drummonds, the sum of 1,000l. But as this advance seems to have been made to Lord Melville from the private funds of Mr. Douglas, it is here noticed by your committee only to explain in part the subsequent transactions.——Your committee find, that until the 6th of Nov. 1782, all the money issued from the Exchequer to the Treasurer of the Navy for naval services, was regularly paid upon his account as Treasurer of the Navy to the Bank of England, whose clerks appear to have attended at the Exchequer to receive it. On the 6th of Nov. 1782, this course of proceeding seems to have been, for the first time, departed from, there having been on that day 45,000l. issued from the Exchequer to the Treasurer of the Navy for naval services, of which sum only 40,000l. was paid to his account at the Bank, the remaining 5,000l. being, by the treasurer's order, deposited by the paymaster in an iron chest, then kept in the office cash-room, and called by him the Treasurer's Iron Chest.——On the 22d of the same month the sum of 50,000l. was issued from the Exchequer to the Treasurer of the Navy; of which only 47,000l. was

paid to his account at the Bank, the remaining 3,000l. being placed as before in the iron chest.—On the 19th of Dec. 1782, a further issue of 93,830l. 6s. 10d. was made from the Exchequer to the Treasurer of the Navy; of which only 90,830l. 6s. 10d. was paid to his account at the Bank, the remaining 3,000l. being in like manner taken to the iron chest.—On the 2d of Jan. 1783, there was deposited in the iron chest the further sum of 5,000l. which was that day received from the then Mr. Welbore Ellis's ex-treasurership, in repayment of an advance to that amount which had been made to that ex-treasurership from Lord Melville's account at the Bank, in compliance with a minute of the Navy Board of the 30th of Nov. 1782.—The payments made into this iron chest on or before the 2d of Jan. 1783, stand therefore as follows; viz.

1782. Nov. 6.	From the Exchequ.	£	5,000
22.	From Do. - -		3,000
Dec. 19.	From Do. - -		3,000
1783. Jan. 2.	From Mr. Ellis's Treasurership -		5,000
	Making in the whole -	£	16,000

How this sum of 16,000l. so issued to the Treasurer of the Navy for naval services, and by his order placed in his iron chest instead of being lodged in the Bank, was, in the first instance, disposed of, is fully explained by the accounts and papers of Mr. Douglas.—By these it will appear, that on the 11th of Nov. 1782, five days after the first deposit in the iron chest, Mr. Douglas the Paymaster, delivered to Lord Melville, upon his receipt, 500l. and on the following day 2,000l. more. On the 22d of the same month 1,000l. more was in like manner delivered by him to Lord Melville, and on the 25th the further sum of 3,000l.—On the 19th of Dec. following, the additional sums of 1,000l. and of 3,000l. were also delivered by the paymaster, to or for the use of Lord Melville, upon his receipt; making, with the former sums, 10,500l.; respecting the particulars of which, Mr. Douglas appears to have at this time made a statement to, and come to a settlement upon, with Lord Melville.—On the 4th of Jan. 1783 there remained in the iron chest 5,500l.; from which the sum of 3 000l. was on that day taken and paid to Mr. Jellicoe (then deputy paymaster) towards his office payments, leaving in the chest a residue of only 2,500l.; the whole of which residue was, on the 5th of April, 1783, delivered by Mr. Douglas to Lord Melville, upon his receipt.—Of the 16,000l. that was so deposited in the iron chest, it appears therefore that only 3,000l. was afterwards paid out for naval services to sub-accountants, the remaining 13,000l. having been paid to Lord Melville, upon his receipt, as under; viz.

1782. Nov. 11.	From the chest to Lord Melville -		500
12.	Do. - - -		2,000
22.	Do. - - -		1,000
25.	Do. - - -		3,000
Dec. 19.	Do. - - -		1,000
—	Do. - - -		3,000
1783. Apr. 5.	Do. - - -		2,500
	Making in the whole	£	13,000

In which sum of 13,000l. Lord Melville thus stood indebted to the public on the 5th of April, 1783.—On the 10th of that month Lord Melville resigned his situation of Treasurer of the Navy, without having discharged any part of that debt, and leaving the balance of his treasurer's account at the Bank deficient to the amount of the aforesaid sum of 13,000l.—On the 14th of April, 1783, four days after his resignation, this deficiency was further increased by a draft drawn on that day by Mr. Douglas, upon the then ex-treasurership account at the Bank, for 10,000l. which, though made payable to Mr. Jellicoe or bearer, was not, as it appears, delivered to Mr. Jellicoe, but was paid to Lord Melville, upon his receipt; making the deficiency in his ex-treasurership account at the Bank, or, in other words, his debt to the public amount to 23,000l.—And accordingly it is found, at the end of the same month, viz. 30th April, 1783, the office balance against Lord Melville was £ 89,408 12 3 and the Bank balance in his favour only - - 66,408 12 3

being deficient by - - 23,000 0 0

The whole of this 23,000l. appears to have remained due from Lord Melville until the 24th of June, 1783, when the reduction of it was begun by a payment of 1,000l. made by Mr. A. Gray (a clerk in the Navy Pay Office) to Lord Melville's ex-treasurership account, at the Bank.——Between that time and the 31st of July, 1783 several similar payments were made by Mr. Gray, and by a commercial house then trading under the firm of Mure and Atkinson, amounting in the whole to 15,400l. and reducing the debt of Lord Melville from 23,000l. to 7,600l.—The dates and sums of these payments will be seen in the following account:

Dr. - - Lord Melville - - Cr.

1783:	£.	1783:	£.
April 14. To Bank Balance	23,000	June 24. By Gray	1,000
		July 7. By Atkinson . .	5,000
		11. By Gray	1,400
		12. By Atkinson . .	6,000
		31. By Do. .	2,000
			15,400
		By Balance .	7,600
	23,000		23,000

From the 31st July, 1783, until after Lord Melville's re-appointment to the office in Jan. 1784, he remained indebted to the account of his ex-treasurership at the Bank in the above sum of 7,600l. and no reduction of it took place until the 13th of March, 1784, when a sum of 2,000l. was drawn out from his then second treasurership account at the Bank, and placed to his credit there in the account of his first or ex-treasurership. On the 24th of April, 1784, the sum of 1,000l. on the 17th of June, 1784, the sum of 1,500l; and on the first of March 1785 another sum of 1,500l. were in like manner transferred at the Bank from the account of the second to that of the first treasurership of Lord Melville, making in the whole 6,000l; and reducing the deficiency in the Bank balance of his first treasurership to the sum of 1,600l. but at the same time creating one of 6,000l. in the Bank balance of his second treasurership; so that the gross amount of the public money withheld by Lord Melville from the Bank, in this respect, still remained the same; viz. 7,600l.——It appears, however, that in the mean time, on the 20th of Aug. 1784, Mr. Douglas, the paymaster, drew from the account of the second treasurership at the Bank the sum of 2,000l. for the use of Lord Melville; and on the 25th of May, 1785, a similar transaction took place to the same amount; by which means Lord Melville became on that day indebted to the account of his second treasurership at the Bank as well in the sum of 6,000l. before stated to have been transferred from it to the account of the first treasurership, as in the sum of 4,000 drawn from it for private use, making together the the sum of 10,000l.——The whole of this sum of 10,600l. and also the sum of 1,600l. due to the account of the first treasurership, continued unpaid by Lord Melville until the 6th of Oct. 1785, when the 10,000l. deficiency was reduced to 9,000l. by a payment of 1,000l. (then due to Lord Melville for a quarter's salary) being made to the account of the second treasurership at the Bank. From that time until after the death of Mr. Douglas, in Dec. 1785, and the appointment of Mr. Trotter to succeed him in Jan. 1786, the deficiency continued unaltered, and there was due from Lord Melville to the public 1,600l. in respect of his first or ex-treasurership, and 9,000l. in respect of his second treasurership, making together the sum of 10,600l. Upon this statement it is evident that Lord Melville had in his hands, when Mr. Trotter was appointed Paymaster, 10,600l. of the public money, which had been withdrawn from the Bank; and that the sum of 10,000l. which Lord Melville told Mr. Trotter was due from him to the account of the second treasurership, was not a debt arising from any specific sum taken from that or the former treasurership, but was, with the addition of 600l. the undischarged residue of 27,000l. taken by him at several times from the public money; 23,000l. of it being originally taken from the issues to the first treasurership, and the remaining 4,000l. being taken from those made to the second.——At what times, and under what circumstances, the sums composing this 27,000l. originally came into the possession of Lord Melville, your committee have thus been able to ascertain. For what further purposes they were withdrawn, and what uses Lord Melville afterwards made of them, they cannot in every particular at present fully state to the House. But a part is found to have been paid to Lord Melville's private account at his bankers, Messrs. Drummonds, and 1,000l. to have been applied on the 19th of Dec. 1782, in repayment of the sum before stated to have been advanced to his lordship by Mr. Douglas the day after his first appointment to the office. Other sums appear to have formed items of account between Lord Melville and Mr. Gray, who, as already observed, was a clerk in the Navy Pay Office, and was, as your committee are informed, in the frequent habit of making pecuniary advances to Lord Melville.—The application of the large sum of 10,000l. which was withdrawn on the 14th of April, 1783, by a draft in favour of Mr. Jellicoe, your committee have been able to trace; and it appears to have been used by Lord Melville as a loan to the House of Muir and Atkinson, with whom he kept an account, and who appear to have been at that time in need of assistance. This advance will be found to have been more than discharged before the end of three months, by the repayments made by that house on the 7th and 12th July, 1783, to Lord Melville's ex-treasurership account at the Bank.—The use made of some of the smaller sums withdrawn, your committee have not yet disco-

vered; but being strongly impressed with the importance of the facts now laid before the House, and apprehensive that the articles of impeachment, which were prepared before they were in possession of this information, are not so framed as to admit full evidence of all the circumstances herein detailed, they have endeavoured to discharge their duty by stating them to the House as the ground of a further article to be added to those already preferred.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—*Copy of an Account taken from a Book belonging to the late Andrew Douglas, Esq. Paymaster of the Navy during the 1st Treasurership of Lord Viscount Melville; and from the commencement of his second Treasurership to Mr. Douglas's decease in Dec.* 1785.

The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Lord Advocate, Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy. His account with And. Douglas.

1782.						
Aug. 10.	To cash paid Messrs. R. and H. Drummond, and Co. per Receipt - - -	1,000	0	0		
Sep. 23.	To Sol. Dyson's disbursements on the patent and entry at 5 offices, per acco.	123	3	3		
Nov. 6.	Fees, &c. on the King's Warrant for treasurer's salary to be made up nett 4,000l. a year	10	11	0		
	Entry of ditto at the 2 auditors of accounts and at the Navy Office, one guinea each	5	5	0		
Sep. 10.	Entry of letter of attorney at the Exch., the Pells, and the Treasury - - -	2	12	6		
Nov. 22.	2 warrants for 2 does at half a guinea each	1	1	0		
		1142	12	9		
Dec. 19.	Received pr. my rect. in consequence of his lordship rect. out of the office iron chest	1000	0	0		
	Remains pr. accot. delivered	142	12	9		

No. 2.—*Copy of another Account from the same Book.*

Rt. Hon. H. Dundas, Treasurer of the Navy, his iron chest in the office cash-room.

Nov. 6.	Lodged in the iron chest by the treasurer's order, part of this day's receipt in the Exchequer for the use of the navy - -				5000	0 0
Nov. 11.	Delivered to the tr. pr. his receipt	500	0	0		
12.	Delivered to the tr. pr. his receipt -	2000	0	0		
					2500	0 0
	Remain				2500	0 0
22.	Delivered to the treasurer per his receipt -				1000	0 0
					1500	0 0
25.	Lodged in the iron chest by the treasurer's order, part of this day's receipt for the use of the navy at the Exch.				3000	0 0
					4500	0 0
25.	Delivered to the treasurer per his receipt				3000	0 0
					1500	0 0
Dec 19.	Delivered to the treasurer per his receipt				1000	0 0
					500	0 0
	Lodged in the iron chest, part of this day's receipt at the Exchequer for the navy - -				3000	0 0
					3500	0 0
	Delivered to the treasurer per his receipt -				3000	0 0
20.	The above state was this day delivered, signed to the treasurer, the remaining balance agreed in - - -				500	0 0
1783.						
Jan. 2.	Lodged in the iron chest, received from trshp. of Mr. Ellis, for like sum transferred at Plymth				5000	0 0
					5500	0 0
4.	Delivered to Mr. Jellicoe towards his office payments, per his receipt - - -				3000	0 0
Apr. 5.	Delivered to the treasurer this remainder of per receipt - -				2500	0 0

5. Total as above delivered to the treasurer -	13000	0	0
14. Draft on the Bank to A. Jellicoe, Esq. and paid to the treasurer, per receipt - -	10000	0	0
Total borrowed from office cash	23000	0	0
June 24. Paid back by Mr. Grey -	1000	0	0
July 7. Paid back by Mr. Atkinson	5000	0	0
11. Paid back by Mr. Grey -	1400	0	0
12. Paid back by Mr. Atkinson	6000	0	0
31. Paid back by Mr. Atkinson	2000	0	0
		15400	0 0
Remains		7600	0 0

No. 3.—*Copy of another Account from the same Book.*

Abstract State, &c.

1783.			
April 14. Borrowed per accot. of this date -			
- - - - - - - - - -		23000	0 0
Of which, Repayments made to the Bank; viz.			
1783.			
June 24. By Mr. Grey	1000	0	0
July 7. By Mr. Atkinson -	5000	0	0
12. By Mr. Grey	1400	0	0
By Mr. Atkinson -	6000	0	0
31. By Mr. Atkinson -	2000	0	0
		15400	0 0
1784.			
June 30. Unpaid remainder -		7600	0 0
Balance per office cash book this day agreed			
1784.			
June 30. 1st treasurership -	3108	12	3
2d treasurership -	26343	7	5
	29451	19	8
Unpaid remainder as above	7600	0	0
In Bank, per bank book this day			
Agreed 1st treasurership -	8	12	3
2d treasurership -	21843	7	5
	£.29451	19	8

No. 4, 5, and 6. *Statements of the Monthly Balances remaining in the Hands of Lord Melville as Treasurer of the Navy, and accounting for the Deficiencies in the Cash at the Bank, and were found amongst Mr. Douglas's Papers.*

No. 4.—*State of the Balances in the Bank, in the second Treasurership of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, June* 30, 1784.

Paymaster's branch - - - -	4281	0	0
Cashier's do. - - - -	13414	0	9
Victualling do. - - - -	8648	6	8
	26343	7	5
Cash in Bank - -	21843	7	5
Transferred at sundry times to 1st trshp. - -	4500	0	0
	£26343	7	5

[*To be continued.*]

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX. No. 11.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" Upon this last score it is, that the people feel most sensibly; and, it must have been evident to every " tolerably accurate observer, that, by his tortuous measures to protect peculators, Mr. Pitt lost more of " the public confidence, than by all his other measures and tricks put together. If, therefore, the new " ministers shall set their faces against all measures of this sort; and if, as I trust will be the case, they " should resolve to institute an inquiry into the corruptions of the last twenty years; if they should do this, " they need fear neither the "blood suckers" voices nor the arms of the French. But, if they do not something, " at least, in this way, all their other measures will be useless. For they will inspire no public confidence; " and truth to say, no public confidence they ought to inspire."——POLITICAL REGISTER, Feb. 1. p. 143.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.——Much as I have, at different times, heard upon this subject; various and contradictory as have been the schemes for effecting, in the mode of electing members of parliament, such a change as should render the House of Commons the real representatives of the people, the real and efficient guardians of their properties and their personal rights; little room as was left us for surprise at any project of this sort that might now be broached, there are, I think, but few persons, who could have been entirely free from emotions of that sort upon listening to the speech of Mr. Tierney, made in the House of Commons on Monday last, the 10th instant. This gentleman, upon the occasion here referred to, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the purpose of altering and amending the act of the 7 and 8 of William III. chap. 4, commonly called the *Treating Act*. Leave was given; but not without some observations from Mr. Secretary Fox, which shall be noticed by-and-by; and, the bill will, accordingly, be presented to the House in the course of a few days.——As every one, who feels the least degree of interest in the preservation of the constitution, must necessarily regard this as a subject of great importance, I think no apology necessary by way of introduction to the remarks which I am about to submit thereon; and I am fully persuaded, that every reader, who has, in any way or degree, the power of preventing this bill from becoming a law, will, if he should not have already perceived the dangerous extent of it and of the principles upon which it is to be supported, thank me for my endeavours thereunto to draw his attention while yet there is time.——Mr. Tierney, whom I had never before heard, opened his subject with a statement as concise and as clear as his manner was unaffected and unembarrassed; the arguments by which his proposition was supported exhibited similar evidence of talent; his speech fully came up to what I had always considered as the perfection of parliamentary oratory; and the impression it left upon my mind was, that the speaker was a much greater man than I had ever before thought him. But, in spite of this impression, which, especially under such circumstances, was eminently calculated to produce acquiesence, the proposition appeared to me, even at the moment most favourable to it, to be grounded upon a partial and erroneous view of the great subject to which it related; and, as I am perfectly ready to ascribe to the proposer none but the most laudable of motives, I trust that, in endeavouring to maintain my opinion with respect to his proposition, I shall be regarded as acting from motives equally laudable.—— He stated, that, from the different constructions of the Treating Act, by different committees and even different benches of judges, it was become matter of uncertainty whether it was or was not lawful for candidates to pay for the conveyance of electors to and from the place of election. That no law of uncertain construction ought to exist was manifest; and, therefore, he concluded, that *something* ought to be done to remove the uncertainty; a conclusion, in which, of course, every one must be ready to concur. But, then, it remained to be considered, *what* ought to be done: whether the uncertainty should be removed, 1st, by enforcing the act according to its letter, and thereby prohibiting, in all cases whatsoever, the conveyance of electors to be defrayed by candidates; or, 2dly, by clearly distinguishing the cases, wherein candidates should be permitted to defray, from those wherein they should not be so permitted; or, 3diy, by giving the permission in all cases indiscriminately. He chose the first of these; and, accordingly, his bill, if it become a law, will contain an entire prohibition to defray the expenses of conveying electors to and from the place of polling for members to serve in parliament. ——When we consider the scattered situation of electors; when we reflect how large,

comparatively speaking, is the number of those who reside at such a distance from the place of polling as to render it improbable that they should, were they compelled to travel at their own expense, that they should, in any considerable proportion ever poll at all; when this is considered, every one will readily perceive, that a law, founded upon the proposition of Mr. Tierney, would virtually disfranchise one half, perhaps, of the present electors. An objection, at once so powerful and so obvious, was not to be overlooked, and, of course, not to be suffered to approach unanticipated, by such a person as Mr. Tierney, who met it in advance, therefore, by observations to the following purport. First, that the elector (in the case of boroughs and cities, leaving that of counties to be hereafter noticed), if he removed from the place where he inherited, or acquired, his franchise, did, as far as his distance therefrom operated against his exercise of it, voluntarily disfranchise himself; that, if in consequence of such distance, he was prevented from being able to give his vote, the prevention arose from his own choice, and that, therefore, he had no equitable claim to any indulgence or assistance, whereby to remove the inability; and, further, that by his removal, he, in all probability, acquired the right of voting elsewhere, and therein obtained a compensation for what he had lost, having, indeed, done nothing more than exchange his franchise of Guildford, for instance, for that of some other borough or city. These arguments are plausible, but are they not much more plausible than solid? For, who that contemplates, but for a moment, the state of society in this country, the never-ceasing, and, in most cases, the necessary, migration from place to place, will allow, that the removal of an elector from the place of polling is an act, which ought to be called voluntary? Since the times, to which Mr. Tierney reverted, and to which we shall by-and-by follow him back more closely; nay, since the time that the Treating Act was passed, has not the state of society in England undergone a total revolution? Have not the capital and its environs now become, in population, equal to one-eighth of the whole kingdom; and is not this population kept up and daily increased, in great part, by migrations from the several towns and cities of the country; a migration rendered absolutely necessary to the persons migrating, in order to their obtaining of bread from the hands of those, who, through the means of the taxing and funding system, draw the wealth of the country within the vortex of the Bank and the 'Change? And, with these facts before us, shall we tell the migrating electors, that, if they are unable to defray their own expenses to and from the place of polling, they must put up with a virtual disfranchisement, it having proceeded from an act of their own choice? Mr. Fox, who, in expressing his intention not to oppose the bringing in of the bill, could not help making an observation or two as to the difficulties that there would be to surmount in the adoption of it, pointed out, in adverting to this effect of disfranchisement, the case of soldiers, both of the regular army and militia, particularly the latter, who, he said, would, if such a bill were to pass, be virtually disfranchised, and that, too, not in consequence of any act of their own choice, but in consequence of having been actually by law, compelled to absent themselves from the place where they had acquired their franchise, and that, too, for the purpose of defending, probably at the hazard of their lives, the country together with all its franchises. This remark was very just and pertinent; and, I hope to live to see the day when the principle of it will be carried much further; for, as was long ago asked, in the Register, where is the reason for expecting men to fill the ranks of the army, to offer their lives for the service of their country, while to them, and to them alone, the hope of participating in the much valued franchises of that country, is for ever cut off by the very act of their enlistment? As the army now stands, this hope is very faint indeed; the soldiers are very nearly severed from the rest of their countrymen as to all common interest; and to pass an act that would sever them quite, and that, too, just at the moment when all men are wishing to see formed an army whose interests should be completely interwoven with those of the people, and who should feel, that, in fighting for England, they were fighting for their own rights and immunities, must, I think, be regarded as extremely impolitic as well as unjust.——But, to return to the latter part of the argument of Mr. Tierney; namely; that, by his removal, the elector does, in all probability, acquire the right of voting elsewhere, and does therein obtain a compensation for what he has lost: does Mr. Tierney, then, mean, that in every place, to which an elector can remove, he will have a vote for members of parliament? Surely he cannot mean this? If, from Guildford, for instance, where the right of voting is in the freeholders and the freemen, an elector removes to Southampton, indeed, where the right of voting extends to scot and lot, he acquires the right of voting again, but even here, he

must first be able to pay scot and lot, and he must have done it for some time too previous to the day of election; but, if he remove to Winchester, where the right of voting is confined to the Mayor and Corporation, he must spend many years, and those very fortunate ones, before he can have any thing to say in the choosing of members of parliament; and, if his removal be to Croyden, which sends no members to parliament, he cannot even by possibility, obtain a compensation for the loss of his franchise as an elector of burgesses to serve in parliament. But, the main tide of migration constantly sets towards the cities of London and Westminster. In the former, the migrating elector has to purchase his freedom before he can be entitled to a vote: in the latter, to pay scot and lot is sufficient, but, then, he must not only pay scot and lot first, but, after all, the city and liberties of Westminster, after having swallowed up country voters equal to those now found in forty or fifty restricted boroughs, afford but two members to represent the whole of them, together with all its own native population. When we take this view of the real state of the case, Mr. Tierney's theory of compensation does, I think, in a moment, melt into air. But, this is not all; for, it is quite impossible for any man, deriving his right of voting from his freedom, to find a compensation elsewhere; or, more properly speaking, it is impossible for the community to find a compensation in any right of voting that he may acquire elsewhere, unless, indeed, we are ready to allow (what Mr. Tierney afterwards seemed to be strongly disposed to assert), that a diminution in the number of votes would be a good, rather than an evil. In talking of a compensation for the loss of a freeman's vote in a borough like Guildford, Mr. Tierney appeared to suppose, that, in case of a removal to and residence at Westminster, the elector could vote, and ought to vote, at only one of the places; but, the fact certainly is, that his scot and lot vote at Westminster does not deprive him of his freeman's vote at Guildford, and it as certainly ought not so to deprive him, any more than his freeholder's vote at Guildford ought to deprive him of his freeholder's vote for the county of Surrey; or, than his liveryman's vote in London ought to deprive him of his freeholder's vote, if he has one, in the county of Middlesex, or in any other county.——With regard to freeholders, resident within the county to be polled for, but at a distance from the place of polling, Mr. Tierney, perceiving clearly that to them the theory of compensation elsewhere could not be applied, did, indeed, confess, that, in the minds of some persons there might be a difficulty in enforcing the Treating Act according to the rigorous construction contemplated by his bill; because, it was evident, that many freeholders, though resident within their county, must, from their utter inability to defray their own expenses to and from the place of polling, be virtually disfranchised by the operation of the Treating Act as altered and amended by him; and, therefore, he was ready to grant, that many persons, amongst whom he had been one, had thought, that, as to counties, some regulation should be adopted, such as appointing different places of polling in the same county, in order to prevent so serious a diminution being made in the number of those who now vote for county members. But, further reflection had, he said, convinced him, that no such measures of prevention were called for by the spirit of the constitution; and in order to show, that this his conviction was founded in reason, he reverted, and here I must beseech the reader to revert along with him, to the origin of the *forty shilling qualification* of freeholders. Let it be assumed, says he, for the sake of arguing upon the inability of the distant freeholder to defray his own expenses to and from the place of polling; let it, for this purpose, be assumed, that forty shillings a year is the utmost value of each freehold; and then let us see under what circumstances, compared with the present, this qualification was fixed as the suitable qualification for an elector of members to serve in parliament. He then proceeded to state, that the qualification was fixed in the 8th year of the reign of King Henry VI.; and the reader will find, that it was by the act chapter 7. Now, said he, whoever has paid attention to the subject will find, that, such has, since that time, been the *depreciation of money*, that *thirty pounds* of the present day is a sum not more than equal to *forty shillings* of that day; whence the House were left to infer, not, perhaps, that no man not having a freehold worth thirty pounds a year should now be permitted, as a freeholder, to vote for members of parliament; but, certainly (because there was no other practical or rational inference to be drawn), that there would be no departure from the spirit of the constitution in virtually disfranchising a considerable portion of the forty shilling freeholders.——To this doctrine, which I am persuaded I have stated with perfect fairness, I am very anxious to direct the reader's attention; because, if the time, which I have bestowed

upon matters connected herewith, has not been much worse than thrown away, the doctrine, so far from being consonant with the spirit of the constitution, tends to the utter destruction of whatever remains of that once noble and hallowed fabrick.——And, first of all, when Mr. Tierney was reverting to first principles, it behoved him to give the House some reason for stopping short at the reign of King Henry VI. It behoved him to say a word or two at least as to the justice, or, at least, as to the policy, of a measure, which began the abridgment of the liberties of the people of England, and which was adopted in the reign of a prince, whose councils were always distracted, whose life, from the interference of foreigners and of women, was a scene of alternate tyranny and imbecillity, terminating at last in the destruction of himself and of his house. It really did behove Mr. Tierney to say some little, in order to convince the House of Commons, that the act of 8 Henry VI. to which he was resorting, as the basis of his doctrine, was not itself a departure from the spirit of the English constitution, as it then stood; that it was not an act of disfranchisement; that it was not outrageously unjust; that it did not tend to degrade the people, to throw them back into a state of subjection to the nobles, to alienate them from the crown, and to render them the instruments in the hands of those by whom that crown was afterwards, with so much facility, shifted from head to head and from house to house. But, let us, for argument's sake (for as to the fact I shall always deny it), allow the act to have been both just and politic; and then let us, agreeably to Mr. Tierney's desire, compare the circumstances, under which that act was passed, with the circumstances of the present day. As Mr. Tierney chose to deal in theory whenever it suited him, and, where it suited him, to deal in practice, we will not stop to do any thing but smile at his assuming, that service in parliament must "still be considered a *burden*," just as much as it was in the reign of Henry VI. We will say nothing about the price of seats, nor about the emoluments frequently arising out of them. We will not dispute, that there might be, though we never read of it, a TREASURY BENCH in the House of Commons, during the wars of the red and white rose. Nor will we positively insist, though we have neither record nor tradition for the affirmative, that there were no Bank or East India directors and no loan or lottery contractors in the parliaments of the Edwards and the Henries. Upon none of these points will we dispute; but, when Mr. Tierney talks about the depreciation of money, and would fain have us infer, that, since the reign of Henry VI. a vast increase has, from that cause, arisen to the number of voters for members to serve in parliament, and, of course, a vast addition to the weight of the people in the legislature, we must be allowed to inquire a little into the state of the fact.——It would, perhaps, be very difficult to come at the bare fact of what was the number of persons, who actually voted for members of parliament immediately after the passing of the law, of which we have been speaking; and, if we could come at it and were to see how many members were then sent to parliament, we should, destitute as we are of all authentic information as to the then populousness of the kingdom, be as far as ever from the means of making a correct comparison in that way. But, we know, that previous to the passing of the forty-shilling act, *every man having a freehold had a vote;* and that, after the passing of that act, every man having a freehold of the value of forty shillings a year had a vote. Now, then, in applying this in a comparison with what exists in the present times, I beg Mr. Tierney not to overlook the important circumstance, that *all men*, who had real property of their own, were, in the times, to which he has thought proper to carry us back, *freeholders*, the property which is now called copy-hold, being then in reality the property of the lords, occupied by themselves, or let out on lease and at a rent quite or nearly in amount equal to its annual value, instead of being, as it now is, in reality the property of others, who are merely tenants in form, and whose rent, or fines, are, in point of property, in most cases, little more than a recognition of the feudality of the tenure, but, politically, they have the important effect of depriving the persons, by whom they are paid, of one of the most valuable and most valued rights of Englishmen. To bring us back, then, to the spirit of the English constitution, since Mr. Tierney is resolved upon the task, let him, without saying a word about the Treasury Bench, or about directors and loan-makers, they being too tender to be touched; let him, laying aside all trifles about Treating, which, in itself, is no bad thing; let him propose, since forty shillings has been (and I allow it has) turned into thirty pounds; let him, at once, propose, and he shall have my hearty assent to the proposition, to make the qualification thirty pounds a year instead of forty shillings; but, let him, in the name of the constitution of England I conjure him; let him include the copy-holders as well as

the freeholders; and let him, too, restore, by an extension of district, or by some other means, the ancient boroughs and cities to their former population and relative opulence: these things let him do, or, which may be full as well, let him, in the name of that same constitution, suffer every thing to remain quietly as it is, or, at least, let him forbear to remind us of the spirit of the English constitution.——Since, however, Mr. Tierney has forced the subject upon us, we must, lest our silence should be construed into acquiesence, go a little further in controverting his doctrine. He seems to have taken for granted the position, that, in consequence of the depreciation of money, the number of voters has increased. It would be very easy to shew, that no increase whatever in the number of voters would counterbalance the great, the irresistible, the terrible influence of the taxing and funding system, to which, almost entirely, the rapid depreciation of money is to be attributed. But, has the number of voters actually increased in consequence of the depreciation of money? I do not ask whether it has increased since the reign of Henry VI.; I do not ask whether it has increased at Old Sarum and many other boroughs that could be named; I do mean to ask, whether, relatively considered, the number of voters have not greatly decreased, taking as the points of comparison, the reigns of Henry VI. and of George III.; I ask only, whether the number, not of *voters* neither, but of *freeholders* merely, has actually increased since the rapid depreciation of money began; that is to say, since the commencement of the funding system? I am fully persuaded that it has greatly decreased; for, though, on the one hand, a piece of ground or a house, that was formerly worth less than forty shillings a year, is now worth forty shillings a year, and, of course, entitles the owner to vote now though it did not formerly give him such title; yet, on the other hand, how many hundreds and thousands of small freeholds have been swallowed up by the immense fortunes amassed through the very same means which have occasioned the depreciation of money? The taxing and funding, or, in other words, the *paper* system, has, and from its very nature, it must have, drawn the real property of the nation into fewer hands; it has made land and agriculture objects of speculation; it has, in every part of the kingdom, moulded many farms into one; it has almost entirely extinguished the race of small farms; from one end of England to the other, the houses which formerly contained little farms and their happy families, are now seen sinking into ruins, all the windows except one or two stopped up, leaving just light enough for some labourer, whose father was, perhaps, the small farmer, to look back upon his half-naked and half-famished children, while, from his door, he surveys all around him the land teeming with the means of luxury to his opulent and over-grown master. Is this not so? Will any man say that it is not? Will any man say that the picture is over-charged? And will Mr. Tierney, while he must see that the number of parish paupers has been nearly doubled in the last twenty years; while he must see that we are daily advancing to that state in which there are but two classes of men, *masters* and *abject dependents*; while he must see this, does he yet represent the number of freeholders as having been increased by these causes; and does he, indeed, hold a doctrine evidently tending to justify a virtual disfranchisement of a considerable part of those that still exercise the right of voting for members of parliament?——When Mr. Tierney touched upon the depreciation of money, as affecting the civil or political rights of the people, he was, as we shall, I think, easily convince him, touching a cord, which, for harmony's sake, might as well have remained untouched; and, as this conviction may possibly tend to render him more cautious for the future, it may not be amiss to endeavour to produce it. Numerous are the ways, in which the depreciation of money, especially when viewed in conjunction with the other effects of the taxing and funding system, have abridged the priviliges, the immunities, and the liberties of the people; but, at present, I shall, for the sake as well of brevity as of clearness, confine myself to one. In order to prove to us, that the depreciation of money had worked in favour of the lower classes of the people, a material change, and had caused, in this respect, a material deviation from the spirit of the constitution of England; in order to prove this, Mr. Tierney went back to the reign of Henry VI. For proof of a most striking instance of the contrary, I will go back no farther than the reign of Henry VII. In the 11th year of that reign was passed (chap. 12), the famous act of *Forma Pauperis*, and, under that law, the sum of qualification for demanding justice free of all cost was *five pounds*, which five pounds were equal to *fifty pounds*, at least, of the present day; and, therefore, in order to restore to the people of England the spirit of their ancient constitution, Mr. Tierney should

propose, that the act of *Forma Pauperis* should now be so altered and amended as to give to every man, not worth fifty pounds, the benefit of this just, this wise, this fostering, this truly paternal statute; this most effectual means of protecting the little against the oppressions of the great, of preserving to the poor man the fruit of his labour, of giving him a fair chance for rising in the scale of political importance, and, above all things, of preventing him from falling into that degredation of mind, and that indifference as to the good and the renown of his country, which must ever be inseparable from a state of habitual dependence and perpetual dread of petty tyranny. ——Of instances of this sort I could make a voluminous chapter; but, as this one may suffice to convince Mr. Tierney, that he has here touched upon a cord of more than one tone, it will, until a new necessity shall arise, be as well to spare the probably too far exhausted patience of the reader, and to hasten to a conclusion with a remark or two upon the objects, which, besides that of rendering the Treating Act no longer liable to misconstruction, Mr. Tierney appears to have in view. These objects, indeed, he stated; and, considering the admirable perspicuity of the statement, it would be a shame in me not to have clearly comprehended and remembered them. They were two: 1st, to prevent the bustle and noise and loss of labour arising from the conveying, at the charge of the candidate, non-resident voters to and from the place of polling; and, 2nd, to prevent the necessity of those enormous expenses of conveyance, which expenses now operate as an exclusion from the House of Commons, of men of moderate fortunes, who would otherwise, from the merited confidence acquired amongst their neighbours, be returned to parliament in preference to those persons that now are returned only because they have the money wherewith to defray those enormous expences, while men of moderate fortunes have not.——As to the first of these objects, though I perfectly agree with him, that men travel in a manner much more orderly, more silent, more expeditious perhaps, and less costly, when they travel at their own expence, than when they travel at the expense of another, I am by no means disposed to allow that this is an advantage, in the case of elections. An election ought to be a time of bustle and of noise (if noise it must be called); for, if we think the contrary, let us at once join in the cry of these pious and independent gentlemen, who so severely censured Sir Francis Burdett for "*disturbing the peace* of the "county of Middlesex;" and let us declare, that, as there will always be, while men are mortals, bustle and noise produced by drawing great numbers of them together, especially for the purpose of opposing one another; since such is the inevitable consequence of opposition at elections, let us, in the fullness of our hatred of bustle and of noise, frankly declare, that there ought never to be an opposition at elections; to which let us add, that, for the purpose of saving trouble to the electors, and of insuring wisdom and public virtue in the elected, that the nomination shall always be in the minister of the day. That this savours a little of the absurd I allow; but, I cannot help thinking, that it will be regarded as a fair and natural deduction ——With respect to the loss of labour; who, I would ask, is the object of Mr. Tierney's œconomical views; the elector himself, or the community? If the elector, let it be observed, that if, in losing labour, he loses money, he saves the labour itself; he spares himself all its exertions, its vexations, and its pains; and, though labour be necessary both to his sustenance and his public morals, continual, never-ceasing labour is not, or, at least, it ought not to be. It is, I am aware, becoming, amongst some persons, a favourite maxim, that the handicraftman, the mechanic, and the ploughman, ought to pass six days in constant labour, and the seventh in thanksgiving for all the good they enjoy. As to the latter, disapproving however, of any puritanical construction of the precept, it has my decided concurrence. But, as to the former; as to imposing the necessity of never-relaxing toil and care upon the lower classes of the people, in order, as the expression is, to keep them out of mischief, it is a maxim that never could have been engendered in any mind not by nature formed for the exercise of the worst of tyranny; whereunto may be added, that the acting upon such a maxim would not be less impolitic than unjust, the natural and inevitable consequence being, either that the lower classes of the people would become disaffected to the state, or would sink into total indifference as to its welfare and existence, and would, when the occasion served, contribute, by their activity on the one hand, or by their inertness on the other, to overthrow, instead of defending, that from the destruction of which they could not possibly apprehend any change for the worse. Besides, and to dismiss this point with a remark which seemed to have escaped the mind of Mr. Tierney, the loss of la-

bour, whether a voter travel at his own expense or at that of another, must be nearly the same; the loss of labour must bear an exact proportion to the loss of votes; and, therefore, any hope of producing, in this way, good to the community from his proposed alteration of the law, must necessarily be founded upon a diminution to be produced in the number of voters, which, as a project for effecting "a parliamentary reform," has, it must be confessed, all the attractions that perfect novelty can give.—There remains to be considered, if the reader be not too weary to follow me, the other object professed by Mr. Tierney; and in this there is much plausibility; but, I think, a very little reflection will convince us, that this is the very highest merit, to which it has any pretensions. We have seen, that the necessary effect of the proposed law would be to diminish the number of voters; but, where is the ground for hoping that the salutary consequences of which Mr. Tierney speaks, would follow? Where is the ground for hoping, that, while the paper system lasts, the good character and good will which the man of moderate fortune acquires amongst his neighbours will, except in some particular case, operate so much in his favour as to enable him to oppose, with success, the effect of the riches of the loan-jobber, the contractor, or the nabob? It will not be disputed; indeed, Mr. Tierney allows, that the operation of his proposed law would prevent from voting many of those persons who now vote; and, I think it is evident, that, upon an average, more than one half of those who vote at present would no longer vote. What, then, is the immediate consequence? The close boroughs would, indeed, remain as they are; those boroughs where the right of voting is confined to a dozen of persons could experience no change from the proposed law; but, the open boroughs would experience a material change, and which change, in a degree exactly proportioned to the effect of the proposed law, would bring the open boroughs down to the state of the two before-mentioned classes. In the counties, few, if any, of the small freeholders residing at more than six or seven miles from the place of election would vote; and thus, every county, large or small, would be reduced to a level with an open borough, and would, perhaps, poll a less number than a large open borough. That such would be the effects of the project cannot be denied; and, therefore, the only questions we have to ask of Mr. Tierney are these: Does he think, that the rendering of the open boroughs close boroughs, and the rendering of the counties open boroughs, would be likely to operate in favour of the object which he professes to have in view? Does he think, that lessening the number of the persons who are to decide an election will tend to insure the independence of those persons? Does he think, that the money of loan-jobbers and contractors would not be as likely to operate upon a small number as upon a large number? Does he think, that, if the voters of a county were reduced to so small a number as to be worth their weight in gold, the gold would not be forth-coming? In fine, does he really mean to say, that the county-members are now less respectable and less connected with the people than the borough-members, and that the boroughs, in proportion to the smallness of their number of voters, are now represented by men of moderate fortunes, who have acquired their seats through the confidence excited by their good character amongst their neighbours? No: none of this does Mr. Tierney believe; yet, all of it he must believe, before he can seriously hope to effect his professed object by the means which he has proposed to employ.—That Mr. Tierney does wish to carry his project into effect, it were uncandid to express a doubt; but, that he should really expect to be able to do it is quite incredible, especially when we consider what are the principles, which have, for twenty-six years past, been held and openly avowed by more than one half of the persons who compose the present ministry. Let the Treating Act be rendered plain; let its liability to misconstruction be removed; let it be rendered as fair and as certain in its operation as the nature of the case will permit; but, let it not be so altered as to have a necessary tendency to diminish the number of voters, to render opposition at elections less frequent and less obstinate, and to put an end to all that bustle and agitation, which, in some instances, at least, elections still give rise to, and which are so favourable to the preserving, amongst the people, a recollection of those rights, for which their fathers so often and so nobly struggled.——Of what has been denominated *Parliamentary Reform*, I have always disapproved; because I never could perceive, in any one of the projects that were broached, the least prospect of producing a *real reform*. Of universal suffrage I have witnessed the effects too attentively and with too much disgust ever to think of it with approbation. That the people of property; I mean *all* persons having real property, should have some weight in the election of members of parlia-

ment I allow; but, even if this were provided for by law, the funding and taxing and paper system still continuing in existence to its present extent, I should be glad to hear the reasons, whence any one is sanguine enough to conclude, that the evil complained of by Mr. Tierney, the evil of leaving the making of laws in the hands of men of mere money, who have little or no connection with or feeling for the people; I should be glad to hear the reasons, whence, the present money-system continuing in full force, any man can conclude, that this evil, as to the magnitude of which I agree in opinion with Mr. Tierney, is to be gotten rid of. To me, it appears, that, while the present means of acquiring such immense fortunes, at the expense of the people, remain, there can be found out no effectual cure for this evil; and this is, I think, fully proved by the uniformity in the parliamentary irresistance from the time the funding system began to the present hour. Without laying much weight upon the theories of Montesquieu, Delolme, Paley, and others, who have written in praise of the English constitution, we must allow, that the real protecting power of the House of Commons lies entirely in their being able to *refuse money*. There was a "pensioned parliament" in the reign of Charles II. But, in that reign, the most excellent of our modern statutes were passed; and, let it be remembered, too, that they were wrung from the throne solely by the power, the real and active and frequently exercised power of refusing money; not little paltry sums for this public purpose or for that private job; but of refusing *supplies*, and thereby checking the will of the king and his ministers, and effectually controuling their measures, with regard to foreign as well as domestic affairs. Since the establishment of the funding system, we have seen many just and virtuous measures originating in the House of Commons; we have seen kings thwarted and ministers turned out by that House; whether the main object of these struggles has generally been for public good, or party triumph; whether they have generally tended to the happiness and honour of the country, or merely to the emolument of the victors, are points that may admit of dispute; but, that no House of Commons, since the establishment of the funding system, has ever refused to grant supplies, however large and burthensome, and for whatever purpose wanted, is a fact which admits of no dispute; and, as to the present, we all know, that, when the minister now comes for money, the question for the consideration of the House of Commons, is not, in fact, whether it shall, or shall not, be raised upon the people, but, simply, in *what manner* it shall be raised. Viewing the House of Commons, therefore, as "the guardians of the property of the "people," as Mr. Pitt, in his better days, described them; and not as assembled merely to discuss, or, rather, to sanction executive measures, I cannot, with the above facts before my eyes, perceive any ground for hoping that any practical good would, while the funding system exists in its present extent, result from the adoption of any of those projects, which have professed to have in view what is called *Parliamentary Reform*; to which I must add, that, in my opinion, every such project would be found utterly impracticable; that it would, at once, drop lifeless from the hands of the projector, or, which is infinitely worse, would disseminate the seeds of a convulsion, to be freed from the numerous torments and horrors of which, the people would gladly resort to the at once protecting and deadly shield of a military despot. When the funding system, from whatever cause, shall cease to operate upon civil and political liberty, there will be no need of projects for parliamentary reform. The parliament will, as far as shall be necessary, then reform itself; and, until then, no attempt at alteration, in this respect, should, in my opinion, and for the reasons I have above-stated, be made, either in or out of the Houses of parliament.——For the length of these observations I have no other apology to offer than my persuasion of the vast importance of the subject; and, if my arguments should be regarded as imperfect, or my opinions as erroneous, my mind is, I trust, open to conviction, or, at any rate, my pages are open to those who may think it worth their while to produce conviction in the minds of my readers.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.—(Continued from pages, 171, 197, 237, 244, and 303). In the last of the articles here referred to, the parliamentary proceedings upon this very important subject were brought down to Tuesday the 25th of February. Since that time several motions for papers, relative to the measures and conduct of Lord Wellesley, have been made in the House of Commons, and, upon these occasions, some very interesting facts, such as that noticed in page 330, have leaked out; but, at present, it will be proper to confine ourselves to what passed in that House on Monday the 10th and on Wednesday the 12th, instant.—— On the former day, MR. GEORGE JOHN-

STONE moved for the production of copies of certain letters from Marquis Cornwallis to the Directors, giving an account of the deplorable state, in which he found the affairs of the Company in India; and, in which, he informs them, that, amongst other measures which necessity had compelled him to take, was that of applying their treasure sent out for the purchase of goods in China to the payment of part of the immense arrears due to their troops, arrears arising obviously from the embarrassments created by the wars lately carried on in that country. The motion was agreed to without a division, and with very little resistance on the part of ministers; but, some remarks, with which the mover accompanied his motion, drew forth declarations, which, to speak of them in the fairest way, we shall, for the present, describe merely as very interesting. This character is not given, indeed, to any thing that MR. JOHNSTONE said; but, as that which he said led to declarations from others, it may be worth while just to state the substance of it. He said, that, formerly (that is to say, while Marquis Wellesley was abroad), he had been one of the foremost; nay, almost the only one, openly and in parliament, to condemn the measures of that Marquis; and, this, to my clear remembrance, he said with perfect truth. He further declared, that he still retained all his former opinions with regard to those measures; that he still thought, that the measures, that the whole system of the Marquis was not less repugnant to the principles laid down and solemnly declared by parliament, than it was hostile to all the true interests of the Company and of the nation, as well as to every sentiment belonging to English justice and humanity; that, in spite of all this, however, he most distinctly disclaimed having any participation in the views of those, whose object appeared to be to institute an inquiry into the conduct, into the nature of the measures, and the probable motives, of the said Marquis, being, as he professed himself, decidedly adverse from any such retrospect, and wishing for nothing but an explicit declaration, on the part of his Majesty's ministers, that a system directly the reverse of that of the said Marquis was intended to be, and should be, in future pursued. Mr. JOHNSTONE was a long time in saying this; but, leaving out a detail of comparatively unimportant facts, this was all that he said. From Mr. Grant, Mr. Hudlestone, Mr. Francis, Mr. Hiley Addington, Lord Temple, and others, some observations were incidentally drawn; but, the object which attracted the greatest attention in the House, and which has since attracted so much and such merited attention out of the House, was the declaration, if it might be so called, which was made by Mr. SECRETARY FOX, in answer to the expressed anxious wish of Mr. JOHNSTONE; and, if I clearly understood and correctly remember, this declaration was to the following effect: that he, Mr. Fox, had, for himself, no objection to the producing of the papers moved for, though he did not clearly perceive the utility that could attend the production of them; that he could not perceive any necessity for the motions for papers that had been made relative to the affairs of India; that it appeared to him extraordinary, that, at a moment when the administration of government had been placed in the hands of men well known to have been, during their whole lives, decidedly opposed to a system of governing India such as that which had been described and complained of by Mr. Johnstone, any suspicions should be entertained with regard to their future intentions in that respect; and that, in regard to inquiries as to the state of the affairs of India, a suitable occasion would be offered in the production of the India Budget, and, of that occasion it would be perfectly proper for any member to avail himself: the impression of the whole of which upon my mind was, that Mr. Fox disapproved of every step that had been taken for the purpose of instituting a parliamentary inquiry into the measures and conduct of Marquis Wellesley, and into the consequences of that conduct and of those measures, as exemplified in the present deplorable state of the Company's affairs both abroad and at home. If this inference shall prove to have been erroneous, and I will not say that it was not, I shall most gladly proclaim my error; but, that which I heard, and which I think I understood, I am bound to communicate to my readers. Proceeding, however, as I must, upon the supposition that my ears did not deceive me, and that my inference is correct and fair, there are some observations which are demanded by the declaration of Mr. Fox, and which must not, because they ought not to be, withheld. ——The question put by Mr. JOHNSTONE to Mr. Fox, was obvious, proper, and parliamentary; though by no means enforced as it might have been. The answer to it was, I am sorry to say, very unsatisfactory. Mr. Fox was asked, whether the system pursued by Lord Wellesley, in the whole of his government of India, was to be adhered to and encouraged by the present administration, or whether they meant to resume and to act in future on the opposite system and

principles, attributed to Lord Cornwallis, declared by the House of Commons so long ago as 1782, but, in truth, originating in the recorded policy of Robert Lord Clive, in the year 1765, adopted by the Court of Directors, and really acted upon by Clavering, Monson, and Francis, long before Lord Cornwallis was thought of as to any connection with India. Mr. Fox said, that he could not but be surprised at the existence of a doubt in any man, whether the present administration would support the system of Lord Cornwallis in its utmost extent. He treated the question, not merely as superfluous, but as injurious to himself and his colleagues. For, what had they done that could authorise, or justify, a doubt on the subject? Mr. Johnstone might have told him in reply, that, though he confided in his present declaration, he had reason enough to call for it. Some persons, who supported Lord Wellesley's plans, and who *even now applauded his conduct*, were all-powerful in the present administration: and it was but a bad omen, with respect to the future government of India, that the man, who had uniformly maintained true Indian principles, through his whole life, was the first person discarded and extinguished.——Digressing, for a moment, from the main point, we may observe, with respect to the honours paid to the memory of Lord Cornwallis, it was unnecessary and unjust to applaud the dead at the expense of the living. From 1774 to 1781, Mr. Francis had really acted on the right principles of India, and had, in fact, set the example which his successors ought to have followed. Lord Minto, the present president of the Board of Controul, has declared in parliament, on the 12th December, 1787, "that, of all the great and considerable "men, whom this country possesses, there "is not one in the empire who has a claim "so much beyond all question, who can "show a title so thoroughly authenticated, "as this gentleman, to the admiration, the "thanks, the reward, the love of his coun-"try, and of the world." —— Mr. Fox very lately declared himself to the same effect and in terms equally strong. Yet now the name of this man and his merits are to be buried in oblivion! Be it so. But, have we all fallen into forgetfulness about Lord Cornwallis? Is it quite forgotten that, admitting his intentions to be good, the most questionable act of any Indian government was his war against Tippoo Sultaun, in the year 1790: at least, there never was a measure more questioned in parliament. The Parliamentary Registers, if they be consulted, will shew what Mr. Fox, Lord Porchester, the late Lord Loughborough, and many other persons thought of it. In the House of Lords, it was stated to be so manifestly unjust and impolitic, that they, who thought well of Lord Cornwallis, or wished to spare him, were obliged to shelter the war under supposed orders from the Board of Controul, for which he was not answerable, though he was compelled to carry them into execution. Let it suffice for Mr. Francis, and secure to him the gratitude of his country, that he wants no such shelter for any part of his public conduct.——But, in returning to the declaration of Mr. Fox, it appears to me, that he must have naturally expected such a question as that which was put to him by Mr. Johnstone; unless, indeed, he and his colleagues had given to the parliament some mark of their intention to act in future upon a system directly the opposite of that of Lord Wellesley; for, as to the reliance due to their past professions, that, supposing us to have overlooked the circumstance of there being in the ministry men always ready to stand forward not only to excuse but to justify and applaud the conduct and measures of Lord Wellesley; supposing us to have overlooked this important circumstance, what, in the first instance, let me ask, had we to expect as a proof of the sincerity, or, at least, of the practical effect, of those past professions? Was it the appointment of Sir George Barlow and of Lord Minto, to the exclusion of Mr. Francis; or, was it a silence, a dead silence, on their part, while some of their colleagues were endeavouring to shut the mouth of Mr. Paull, to whom some of them had promised support, and whose motions some of them had seconded, previous to their crossing the House? With this so recent instance before him of the power of this political Lethe, was it improper, was it ill-timed, was it unreasonable, in Mr. Johnstone to ask the ministers what, in future, it was their intention to do with regard to India? But, in truth, what security can we have for future good government, if we have not, from those at the head of it, a distinct condemnation of past bad government; and, if the case require it, an earnest endeavour to cause to be awarded, with respect to those who have had the principal concern in such bad government, that which their conduct merits? Where, then, is the reasonableness of calling on us to repose confidence in those, who will not stir one inch in the cause of promoting an *inquiry* as to the past; and that, too, at the very moment when its consequences are pressing upon us in every shape that is formidable? In the conduct of Lord Gren-

VILLE and Lord TEMPLE there is *consistency* at least: they never disapproved, either in principle or in detail, of the conduct or measures of Lord Wellesley; but, can the same be said of Mr. FOX, Mr. WINDHAM, Mr. GREY, or, indeed, of any of those of the new ministers, who are not of the Pitt school? To hear Lord TEMPLE *cheer* Mr. FOX, when he expressed his opinion that no motions for papers about India were necessary, was natural enough, whatever might be the feeling it was calculated to excite in the mind of the person so *cheared*; but, when, as Lord FOLKESTONE observed, every member that opened his lips upon the subject, Lord TEMPLE and Sir T. METCALF excepted, had, either expressly or by implication, passed the strongest possible censure upon the conduct and system of Lord Wellesley; when this was the case, where could men possibly look for the motives of those, who, having, during the whole of their political lives, reprobated the system that Lord Wellesley had acted on, did nevertheless shrink from the proposing, or the countenancing, but did, on the contrary, discountenance, a proposition for entering into an inquiry upon the subject?—— Though it is next to impossible for me to have misunderstood the *silence* of Mr. FOX and Mr. WINDHAM and others, upon the subject of Mr. PAULL's motions, very glad indeed shall I be to find that I have misunderstood the *speech* of Mr. FOX; for, if he and the rest of his part of the ministry do not, I will not say not oppose, I will not say vote for merely; but, I will say, that, if they do not support with all their talents and with all their means, the proposition for an *inquiry* into the conduct of Lord Wellesley, there will not be one single man of sense and of honour in the whole country, who will, for a moment, hesitate in coming to an unalterable decision as to their character and their views.——Besides, though no one calls for an immediate and total change in the mode of governing India; though no one expected to see Mr. FOX's India Bill immediately passed into a law; yet, there were some principles maintained during the struggle here referred to, which one cannot possibly reconcile with a quiet continuance in office under the known existence of several things connected with the government of India. The power, for instance, the absolute, the despotic power, of ordering any man that he pleases to be put on ship-board, at an hour's notice, and sent to Europe, severed, at once, without any trial or other formality, from property, friends, and family! To give the public some little idea of the effect of the existence of a power like this, I will insert here a copy of the *Regulations respecting the Press* in India. These regulations were, in the year 1800, sent officially, by the Secretaries of the different governments in India, to the Editors of newspapers at the respective Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; Lord Wellesley then being the Governer General, and this Sir George Barlow being the Secretary General. When the reader has cast his eye over them, he will not wonder much, that we have heretofore been so completely in the dark with regard to transactions in India; and that the embarrassments of the East India Company are now come upon us like a thief in the night.

REGULATIONS RESPECTING THE PUBLICATION OF NEWSPAPERS AT THIS PRESIDENCY: *viz:*

1.——Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.

2.——Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name, and place of abode, to the secretary to government.

3.—— No paper to be published on a Sunday.

4.——No paper to be published at all, until it shall have been *previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government*, or by a person authorised by him for that purpose.

5.——The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be *immediate embarkation for Europe.*

RULES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT IN REVISING THE NEWSPAPERS OF ————.

To prevent the publication of,

1.——All observations on the *state of public credit*, or the *revennes*, or the *finances*, of the Company.

2.——All observations respecting the embarkation of troops, stores, or specie; or respecting any naval or military preparations whatever.

3.——All intelligence respecting the destination of any ships, or the expectation of any, whether belonging to the Company or to individuals.

4.——All observations with respect to *the conduct of Government*, or *any of its officers, civil* or *military, marine, commercial*, or *judicial.*

5.——All private scandal, or libels on individuals.

6.——All statements with regard to the *probability of war or peace* between the Company and any of the native powers.

7.——All observations tending to convey

information to an enemy, or to excite alarm or commotion within the Company's territories.

8.——The republication of such passages from the *European newspapers*, as may tend to *affect* the *influence* and *credit* of *the British power with the native states.*

Now, let any one ask himself how the existence of a mode of rule, authorizing the exercise of a power like this, is consistent, not with the principles of freedom generally professed by Mr. Fox and his friends, and entertained, I hope, by a vast majority of the people of this country: this is not the question we have to ask; but, we are to ask how the existence of such a power is, or ever can be, consistent with the express and positive declarations and protests of Mr. Fox and his friends in 1784 and 1785, upon the subject of this very power.——It will not do! twist as men will, it will not do! Much may be said as to *time* and other circumstances; but, after all, *a change* was promised, a change was expected, and a change must take place, or confidence must and will be withdrawn.——

It was my intention now to have given a full account, of the proceedings on the 12th instant upon the motion made by Mr. Paull for papers relative to the conduct of Lord Wellesley towards the Rajah of Bhurtpore; but, want of time will compel me to postpone this part of the subject to my next Number, with this observation, however, that the speech of Mr. Paull has produced great impression upon the public, who begin, at last, to feel for the sufferings of the princes of India, because they feel that they have to *pay* for the wars by the means of which those sufferings are brought about. Mr. Wallace observed, in Tuesday's debate, that he was glad to perceive, that only *two members* in the House were endeavouring to cause an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley. Perhaps he was right; but, for my part, never, as long as I live, do I wish to see such a cause as this in the lands of *a party*. Two men; nay one man is enough. There wants only one man of inflexible integrity and perseverance not to be wearied. There wants only one such man to obtain justice in a cause like this; or, failing therein, to expose to public scorn those by whom that justice is denied. By the one or the other of these he is sure to render great service to the country; and, in one of the two he is sure to succeed.

Fate of the Funds.—In p. 380 of this sheet will be found another letter from A. Z. who has now given his real name to the public.——I have no desire to have the *last word;* but, I must just notice the several parts of the letter here; because there are two or three points upon which I have been misunderstood. The letter is by me divided into paragraphs, and marked with numerical figures. The first paragraph contains the reply called for by me in page 301. It makes not the least alteration in my opinion; but, I will say nothing in the way of controversy, and will only beg the reader first to re-perusè my argument, contained in part of page 299, in page 300, and about half of page 301, and then to say, whether to shake that argument, it does not require something much stronger than any thing that is to be found in the first paragraph of the letter we are now referring to.——The second paragraph proceeds altogether upon a mistake of my correspondent.——The third has I think, already been more than sufficiently provided for in the several essays referred to in pages 295, 296 and 297.——The last paragraph contains a sheer mistake on the part of the writer; for, though the fund-holder pays the poor rates, in the case supposed, he pays them only because he occupies the *house.* The poor rates are attached to the house, and not to his funds; and, in speaking of "*landed* property," this gentleman could hardly suppose, that I meant to make a distinction between land and house!

Military Affairs.——As there appears to be a generally-prevailing anxiety with regard to what is intended to be done upon the subject of the Army, I intend to occupy a considerable part of my next number with the description of what I think ought to be done for the purpose of giving to the country such an army as would enable it to continue the war without inconvenience, or to make peace without danger.

SINKING FUND.

To the Right Hon. Charles James Fox.

Sir,——In your generous remarks upon the merits of Mr. Pitt as a statesman, you allow his invention of the sinking fund to be a proof of his talents, which entitles him to public esteem; and the reason which you assign for this opinion is, that the application of the sinking fund is a measure of which you have uniformly approved. We are left, Sir, in the wide field of conjecture, to search for the cause of your approbation, but it must be of a double-fold nature, immediate and remote. The immediate, no doubt, is, the generally supposed efficacy of the sinking fund, in reducing the national debt; but, as to the remote, I can only sup-

pose it to be, a conceived analogy between the public debt, and that which one man owes to another. To prove the existence of this analogy, it is necessary to show that the creative circumstances of the one debt correspond exactly with those of the other, for a dissimilarity in any one particular circumstance necessarily destroys the analogy between the debts. We have, therefore, only to ascertain the similarity or dissimilarity of the circumstances of each debt, to prove or disprove the analogy between the debts themselves. He who owes a debt to another has nothing to do but to use the property lent him, as he would do a tool made ready to his hands, and create the interest with it: to do which, at 5 per cent. requires but a twentieth part of the labour that is necessary to create the principal or make the tool. Therefore, if there be an analogy between the national debt, and that which one man owes to another, the nation neither had or has any thing to do, but to employ the capital, as an individual would do a tool, and create the interest with it. Between black and white, however, there is not a greater difference than there is between these two cases. It is not the nation that is debtor, nor is it the nation that is creditor, one part of the nation is debtor and the other part is creditor, and the creditor in this case, no more creates the capital which he has lent, than debtor in the private created that which he has borrowed. This truth admits of the most convincing demonstration. The public creditors are the loan-mongers (if the term public can apply to a part of the public), and the rest of the public are the debtors. The loan-mongers are by profession dealers in money, and dealers of any description, we know, do not create or manufacture the articles in which they deal; their station in society is to run errands for the multitude, and carry the supply from the manufacturer to the consumer, or to forestal it until the consumer comes to them. But before they became dealers in money, they were dealers in any thing that came in their way, even in the skin, blood, flesh and bones of their African fellow creatures. In the price which they charge upon these, or, for running these errands, they do not only include the taxes they pay, the charities they give, the patriotic funds which they establish, (not to seduce from their allegiance to their government, but to secure the attachment of the naval and military force of their country to their own schemes of oppression and plunder), and the necessaries and luxuries which they so extravagantly consume; but also the surplus, over and above the value of these, which they lend to government; not to promote the interest of the debtor part of the public, but to enable themselves to monopolise the commerce and pack-horse drudgery of the whole world. Millions of the debtor part of the public have been reduced to a dependance upon parochial, and other public and private charities, by the means by which the creditor part have extorted the capital of the debt from them; it is impossible, therefore, to imagine that the debtor part of the community can have received any benefit from the use made by government of the money borrowed. On the other hand, the creditor part of the community have realised princely fortunes, because they have secured to themselves 27 millions a year *from the debtor part* in interest upon the 700 millions *which they have extorted from the debtor part*, exclusive of the incalculable advantages which they derive from the commerce and carrying trade of the world, as given to them by the application of the money which they have lent, if the term lending could apply to that which was employed for their own exclusive benefit. This, Sir, is a clear, just, and unexaggerated exposition of the action and reaction of the funding system, and the effect, upon the lives and comforts of the debtor part of the public. Admitting, then, *the absurdity* that the sinking fund or unfunding system, do possess the supernatural power of extorting from the debtor 700 millions, to extinguish the debt, in addition to the 700 millions which the creditor part have extorted from them to form the debt, on what principle of moral or political justice can you approve of its application? What object could you as a patriot, a minister, or a debtor gain from its success? Would not the creditors take interest upon their capital in some other way from the debtors, could the unfunding system miraculously put them in possession of it? In the event of the debt being discharged, would not the creditors bring their capital to market and invest it in land or trade? And if so invested, would not the depreciation on the medium of exchange be in the proportion *which 700 millions bear to the number of millions then in circulation?* A proportion which at present would amount to seven to one, taking the circulating specie, Bank of England, and country bank notes at 100 millions. If you cannot, Sir, answer these questions in negative, the only object which you can gain from the success of the sinking fund is as a minister, and that is *only* a mere relief from the trouble of extorting the interest from the

debtors, and handing it over to the creditors, except that, as a patriot and a debtor, you would have to lament the effect of the depreciation which 700 millions, added to the number of millions then in circulation would produce upon the circulating medium.* Seeing thus, Sir, on the clearest principles of reason, or rather, of mathematical calculation, that the inability of the debtors to pay the debt, stamps the attempt to make them pay it, with the marks of inconceivable ignorance and cruelty, and that if the attempt could succeed no relief could follow, but the contrary, as it inevitably arises from the consequent depreciation on the medium of exchange; can reason or ingenuity point out any other remedy to the evil than to stop the interest, and compel the creditors to rest satisfied with the princely incomes which derive from the debtors in the price which they lay upon the articles in which they deal, the commerce and carrying trade of the world? If this question lay between the debtors and the loan-mongers, it would decide itself; but they have slipt their heads out of the halter; they were satisfied with their bonusses and premiums, which they have invested in the land of those who could not make their rents keep pace with the depreciation of money; or, which is the same thing, the price which they were charged upon the article of their consumption, and yet the unwary stock-holders, those who by honest industry and economy saved a few pounds to keep themselves from the work-house in their old age, to step into their shoes. This being the case, the question is altogether changed, and therefore, the stoppage of the interest must be regulated by the circumstances of the individuals. Those who have not otherways sufficient to live upon, must be left enough to keep them from parochial charities, otherways the poors-rate must oppress the debtor part of the public in a considerable proportion to the relief which they would receive from the stoppage of the interest they pay. I do not say that moral justice points out this regard to the interest of any class of stock-holders, because it may be said that they have ruined themselves with their eyes open; but, I think I may insist upon its political justice, if the laws relative to the poor be founded on the principles of that justice. This, however, may be questioned, since it is not political justice, *the real necessities of the state*, that multiplies the poor, but the moral and political injustice of the creditor part of the public, who to secure to themselves more than the natural advantages of society, without contributing any thing towards its support, demands more labour for the wages they give, and a higher price on the articles in which they deal, than the debtor part of the community can give in the one case, or pay in the other. This evil, however, springs immediately out of another, "*the freedom of trade, the right of every man to do as he pleases with his own property.*" Therefore, till this evil is removed, till the powerful and the artful are prevented *by law* from seizing upon, and running away with, the comforts and necessaries of life from the weak and the artless, in the ways above described, its collaterals "will flourish like the green bay tree," in spite of all that human efforts can do to suppress them. And, when ought this first of all moral and political duties to be undertaken? Is it when war, bloodshed, and carnage secure the commerce of the world to the oppressors of the human race? Or is it when millions of the weak and artless, are wretchedly depending upon the cold hand of charity for subsistence, and ghastly pining away their lives in those monuments, I had almost said, of moral and political injustice, the work-house, the alms-house, and the hospital?——C. S.——*March* 3, 1806.

* On the literal sense of the word, the liquidation of the debt may be attended with little or no increase of the circulating medium, because the velocity with which a small sum may be circulated, answers all the purposes of a large sum moved slowly. For instance, ten pounds circulated ten times in a year, is attended with all the effects in the market, which might arise from the circulation of a hundred one in the same given time, whether as to profit, loss, quantity, or depreciation. Consequently, if a shilling were not added to the medium of exchange, the state of the depreciation would be the same as if 700 millions were added to it, if the debt could be discharged.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

SIR;——1.—Disposed as I am to pay the utmost deference to your reasoning upon most subjects, I must say that my argument as to the *right* of the stock-holder is not answered. Upon further reflection, I think you will allow that it is impossible to suppose a description of property, which could be made more *secure* than that of the funded proprietor, premising, however, that the nation retains the power of performing its voluntary engagements. Consider, Mr. Cobbett, what the security is: the people,

through their representatives, borrow money on certain terms; they solemnly pledge themselves to pay a certain interest for the money so borrowed; they appropriate funds for the payment, and add a collateral security. The stock thus created, is, by the consent of the *people*, transferable, and does not long continue the property of those who lent their money. It is the first principle of this constitution, which you, a true Englishman, will, I am sure, admit, that no money shall be raised, nor any taxes imposed, without the free consent of the people; nay, more; all grants of money, and all taxes must originate with the *people*, and so jealous are they on this subject, that bills are often lost, because amendments made by the lords are supposed to invade the undoubted privilege of the commons, constitutionally speaking, the people, who will not allow any interference in what relates to money grants, or taxes. In this view of the subject, which I hope is a fair one, I must contend that my right to my dividends is as valid a right as that which I have to my estate; and if the time should come, when a bankruptcy takes place, the bankrupts, that is, the people, will be to decide on their own cause. From their decision there can be no appeal. Neither individuals nor nations can be secure from private and public calamities. The honestest merchant may become a bankrupt; his creditors may get a trifling dividend, but it does not invalidate their *right* to a full payment were assets to be found. A national bankruptcy would be very different, and I am far from entertaining the ridiculous idea to which you allude, that every description of property is to be sold, even if purchasers could be found for it, in order to preserve the public faith.—The *right* will at all times continue, but it will be of no avail, when the power of the people to perform their engagements is at an end.—If such a period should arrive, the legislature must determine, whether it is most for the general safety to confiscate my landed property, or to stop the future payment of my dividend; but my *right* to both stands on an equally strong foundation.—You write with too much perspicuity and openness to be misunderstood, and I was induced to address you under the signature of A. Z. from expressions in one of your numbers, which struck me as unfair, and even dangerous. Because loan-jobbers, contractors, and blood-suckers, as you called them, had lent money to the nation, the obligation upon the people, to perform their engagements, was to cease, the moment the debt pressed too heavy upon them. Now, my idea of justice is, that if all the stockholders in Great Britain were cheats and swindlers, it does not alter the question of right. The people, through their representatives, have borrowed money on certain conditions, on a transferable security, are you then, Mr. Cobbett, to invalidate the security, by saying that it is now held by blood-suckers, pick-pockets, or highwaymen?——2. Another idea you threw out, which would indeed be attended with fatal consequences, if it were acted upon. That as so much of the debt has been contracted for, in support of measures, which those, or many of those now in power opposed, the obligation to pay the interest of that debt ought to cease. If I have misunderstood the sense of your observation, I sincerely beg your pardon; but so it struck me. When many of the present ministers came into power, in 1782, they expressed the strongest disapprobation of the measures which produced the American war, and added one hundred millions to the national debt. But neither then was it, nor will it now be argued by those ministers, that the pecuniary engagements which the people, through their representatives, entered into, ought to be disregarded, because former ministers, extravagantly or uselessly, expended the money which the people borrowed.——3. I am not at all disposed to controvert your assertion, that the man of funded property has many advantages which are not possessed by the man whose property is in land, or by him who lends his fortune on a mortgage, but if you will permit me, I will deviate as concisely however as I possibly can, from the main points, on which we differ, and to which you desired that my reply might be restricted, in order to reply to your own observations.—I did not select instances of money made by purchases on the sea side, to prove the general advance in the price of land, but to shew that there were land and house speculators, as well as speculators in the funds; the important fact which I stated was, that land, generally speaking, is now of treble the value that it was prior to the American war, occasioned by the material change which has taken place in the relative value of money in that period, owing to the great increase of the national debt, which has been an increase of *nominal*, if not of *real* wealth.—That with this increase in the value of land, the country gentleman labours under disadvantages, not felt by the mere stockholder, I fully agree with you. The for-

mer has a large mansion to keep up; he feels the consequences attached to the representative of an old family, and he sacrifices much to keep it up. He has farm-houses to repair, he experiences the failure of tenants occasionally, so that his receipts always fall short of his rental. He does not retrench in time, but has recourse to borrow on mortgage, which, when it presses heavily upon him, compels him to sell his estate, and then it is, that he benefits by the great change in the value of money, because he gets treble the sum that he would have got had he been reduced to the same necessity forty years ago.—The stock-holder's income is, as you truly say, subject to no deductions, and paid to an hour. He has no family consequence to support; if taxes press heavily upon him, he can move from a first to a second floor, without attracting observation, or diminishing the degree of importance which he before held in society. But suppose the stock-holder to live beyond his capital, and to break in upon it, then Mr. Cobbett, provided it was a capital of long standing in the funds, he will be a very considerable loser, though not in the proportion that the country gentleman, who sells his estate, will gain.—But a prudent country gentleman has many advantages, which the most prudent stock-holder does not possess. Few proprietors of land now let leases for more than seven years: many will not let a lease at all. The rents therefore are progressively *increasing*, in proportion to the change in the value of money. Where long leases still remain, the country gentleman most severely feels the impolicy of his predecessor. I have at this moment fourteen acres of meadow land, close to a populous town, on the high road to Holyhead, which was let on lease sixty years ago, for fourteen pounds a year, a fair rent at that time. I pay all taxes, and they absorb the whole rent. When the life drops, this land will let for twenty guineas a year. This is not a singular instance, but it is by no means a common one, and which has been the consequence of long leases; not to lower the markets, but to put that money into the hands of farmers, which, otherwise, would have been in the pockets of country gentlemen. In most of the counties in England, where estates have latterly been sold in lots, the farmers who held long leases have been the purchasers.—The fact, Mr. Cobbett, is this, that if you will take a country gentleman, and, a man of funded property, both prudent men, and both living only up to their income, then, I say, that the income arising from land will increase, while that from funded property must remain stationary.——4. A careless reader must conceive what I am sure you do not mean, that the poor rates are all paid from *land*. Without going into an accurate calculation, I think that the greater proportion of the poor rates is paid by the metropolis and the various cities and towns in the kingdom. A man of funded property only, residing in a large house at the west end of the town; pays *more* to the poor rates than a landed estate of 600l. a year, unless the estate is situated in a parish of a manufacturing town, like Manchester or Birmingham; and, after all, the poor rates are paid by those who consume the produce of the soil. If there were no poor rates and no taxes, the produce of the soil would be cheaper to the consumer; but, in the same proportion, the rents of the country gentleman would diminish.——5. The mechanic, the tradesman, and the landed proprietor, have a deep interest in the support of public credit, as long as it is possible to support it.—The consequences of an extinction of the interest on the national debt, appear to me to be so dreadful, as applied to all descriptions of persons, that I am afraid to deliver my opinion on the subject. Even a diminution of the interest during war, would be attended with very serious effects, as applied to the loans to which the nation must have recourse, while the war continues. My understanding, I confess, is too limited to enable me to discover the means by which a sum, necessary for the public service, could be raised within the year in war, even were the national debt to be extinguished to-morrow morning.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient

humble servant,

Reddish's Hotel, 4th March, 1806. } J. Scott Waring.

No. 132 of Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, being the Fifth Number of the Sixth Volume, is ready for delivery, and may be had of the publishers, Mr. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden; or Mr. Budd, Pall Mall: of whom may also be had complete sets of this work.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" Whilst we describe, however, the advantages of standing armies, we must not conceal the danger. " These properties of their constitution—the soldiery being separated, in a great degree, from the rest of " the community, their being closely linked amongst themselves by habits of society and subordination, " and the dependency of the whole chain upon the will and favour of the prince—however essential they " may be to the purposes for which armies are kept up, give them an aspect in nowise favourable to public " liberty. The danger, however, is diminished by maintaining, upon all occasions, as much alliance of " interest, and as much intercourse of sentiment, between the military part of the nation and the other " people, as are consistent with the union and discipline of an army."——PALEY: Moral and Political Philosophy; Book VI. Chap. 12.

A PLAN

FOR THE FORMING AN EFFICIENT AND PERMANENT ARMY.

INTRODUCTION.——Many have been the occasions upon which, from different motives perhaps, different persons have endeavoured to throw blame upon me for having, in a manner so unqualified, condemned the present military system (if, indeed, it be worthy of that name, or of any other conveying the idea of something resulting from fixed principles), without having proposed any other system as a substitute for it; and, upon this ground, a correspondent, in page 412 of the present Number, who is, I think, more kind in his manner than in his matter, revives this subject of censure, for the effect of which censure he appears to consider the present time peculiarly favourable. But, as the " heaven-born minister" used to say with respect to *his* audience, I am in the hearing of my readers when I say, without fear of contradiction, that I have, upon scarcely any one occasion, ever condemned the constitution of our present military force, without, at the same time, pointing out what appeared to me to be proper to be adopted in its place. In doing this, I have, indeed, confined myself, in most cases, to general terms; to the statement of principles; but, with those who read the Register, that must, I think, be regarded as quite sufficient to protect me against the blame of which we have been speaking; for, the principles being once laid down, the detail is a mere matter of professional arrangement. Now, however, when every man in the kingdom is so anxiously waiting to hear *precisely what is to be done* for the purpose of obtaining an efficient and permanent army; now, when the minister at the head of the war-department is so keenly pursued and so hardly pressed for an explicit declaration of his intentions relative thereto; at such a moment, though I think the impatience of some impertinent, and, of all, unreasonable in the extreme, especially when the shortness of the time be compared with the magnitude of the subject; though I think it perfectly justifiable and proper in him to refuse to gratify such impertinence, and such childish impatience; yet, with respect to myself, I have no desire, and ought to have no desire, to suspend an ample declaration of my opinions, which, compared to his, are of trifling importance.——As, from the Plan which I am about to submit to the public, being in the form of a letter, addressed to a friend, it might, were I to observe a silence upon the subject, be concluded, that this is the Plan that MR. WINDHAM intends, or wishes, or has intended, or wished, to put in execution, it is proper that I should, before I proceed any further, explicitly declare, that there is not, that I know of, and that there never has been, any intention or wish, on the part of that gentleman, to adopt this plan, or to see it adopted; and, that, if he has, as it is probable he has, been induced to take the trouble to read it, I am almost (and I might spare even the *almost*) entirely ignorant with regard to his opinion thereof. The advantage to have been derived from leaving this fact as a matter of doubt, will, when the weight justly attached to a supposed approbation from such a person be considered, be evident to everyone; but, it is an advantage which justice to Mr. Windham commands me to forego, and of which, I am, besides, desirous not to avail myself; because I wish the Plan to come before the public without any other recommendation than that of its own bare merits, however small they may appear to be.——In speaking to the person, to whom the following Letter was (more than a month ago) addressed, it was unnecessary, in the preliminary observations, to express myself in a manner quite so full as I should have expressed myself had I been speaking to the public; and, therefore, I must beg leave to supply the deficiency by adding to the length of this INTRODUCTION.

——The reader will not have forgotten, that, in speaking of what ought to be done for the purpose of effecting the great object in view, I have always given it as my decided opinion, 1st, that, there ought to be, as far as related to the nature of the engagement of the soldier, but *one sort of army*; 2dly, that that army should be of an *efficient and permanent* description; and, 3dly, that it should be constituted upon principles that would render it efficient and permanent, thereunto adding the important and most desirable property of being *necessarily innoxious as to the liberties of the people*; that, to express myself in the words of the admired writer, from whom I have borrowed my motto, its constitution should be such as "to maintain, "upon all occasions, as much alliance of "interest, and as much intercourse of sen- "timent, between the military part of the "nation and the other orders of the people, "as are consistent with the union and dis- "cipline of an army." Upon the two first heads I have nothing now to add; and, as to the third, a few remarks upon the opinions of the enlightened, the scandalously neglected, and the now lamented PALEY may suffice.——After describing, in the former part of the chapter referred to, the many great advantages which a standing army has over a temporary military force, he comes to speak, in the words chosen for my motto, of the single disadvantage, namely, the possible danger to public liberty; but this danger, he says, is diminished by the means described in the passage just quoted. *How these means are to be obtained*; how that alliance of interest and that intercourse of sentiment, which he justly represents as so essential to the great purpose in view; how these are to be obtained and insured he does not state, in a manner, at least, so full and satisfactory as one could have wished. "For which pur- "pose" (the purpose of maintaining an alliance of interest between the military and the rest of the people) "*officers* of the ar- "my, upon whose disposition towards the "common-wealth a great deal may depend, "should be taken from the principal fami- "lies of the country, and at the same time "also be encouraged to establish in it fami- "lies of their own, as well as be admitted "to seats in the senate, to hereditary dis- "tinctions, and to all the civil honours and "privileges that are compatible with their "profession: which circumstances of con- "nection and situation will give them such "a share in the general rights of the peo- "ple, and so engage their inclinations on "the side of public liberty, as to afford a "reasonable security, that they cannot be "bought by any promises of personal ag- "grandizement, to assist in the execution "of measures, which might enslave their "posterity, their kindred and their coun- "try." When the Letter, which I am now introducing to the reader, was written, I had in my mind no recollection of this passage of PALEY; and, I was not a little pleased upon discovering the perfect coincidence, as to principle, between him and myself, upon this very interesting subject. But, if this reasoning be sound, and that it is I think no one will deny, with respect to the *officers* of the army, is it not equally sound with respect to the *men*? PALEY wrote at a time very different indeed from the present; his opinions applied to a state of Europe and of England when a comparatively small military force was necessary in this country; if he had written with the present awful scene before him, with the present difficulties of collecting together men to serve in the army, I leave the reader to determine, whether the principles he has laid down would not have carried him much further. He would now have perceived, that, from the great number of officers necessary to command the army, the tie growing out of mere family connection would have been of little avail; that, as to the admission of officers to seats in the parliament and to hereditary honours, it could not have been rendered sufficiently extensive to make it a motive powerful enough for the purpose he had in view; and, that, in short, new rewards, a new set of motives, not only of attachment to public liberty, but of love for the military service, must have been created in order to obtain an army of the description of that which he wished to obtain. For my part, I am of opinion, that, if the other motives which I should propose, were created, it would be quite unnecessary to admit, during their actual service, military officers into parliament, where, to say nothing of several other weighty objections, they cannot possibly attend, without a neglect of that duty for the performance of which they become military officers. The members of parliament are chosen for the purpose of assisting at the making of laws and at inquiries relative to the disposition of the public money; therefore, to pass over the constitutional view of the matter, how can one reconcile to reason the choosing of men who are, at any moment, liable to be sent out of the kingdom, and who, in all probability, must pass, or ought to pass, more than one half of their time, beyond the seas? Yet, in the present state of things, in the present want of motives to a military life, in the present predominance of trade, in the

present preponderance of every other profession over that of the military, in point of civil and political advantages, it would be hard indeed to shut the doors of parliament against military men.——I have now before me the plans of two writers, which plans have been recently published, for the forming of a complete system of military defence: the first, who puts no name to his work, addresses himself to Mr. Windham, in a pamphlet "ON THE PUBLIC DEFENCE," published for the author by SKELTON at Southampton; the other is MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, who, after a dedicatory address to Mr. Fox, proceeds, in a very elaborate and ingenious performance, entitled "ENGLAND'S ÆGIS, "OR THE MILITARY ENERGIES OF THE "CONSTITUTION," calls upon us, to awaken the spirit of ancient times, and to depend for our defence upon those exertions, which a love of the country ought to inspire, and which, were his plan adopted, he expresses his confidence it would inspire. The former of these writers strongly and ably represents the magnitude of our danger; he describes the nature and amount of the enemy's force; he contends that no force but that of a regular one is at all competent to our defence; he shows by an argument of experience the utter impracticability of raising a sufficient force by the means hitherto employed; and, the only means, that, in his opinion, remain are those of mere compulsion, as far, at least, as relates to the *raising* of men. "The legislature," says he, "must "*lay its hand upon the people;* and, the levy must be immediate, *personal*, and *compulsory*." To attempt, in the short compass that I have before me, to present the reader with an analysis of a work so full of information and of thought as that of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, would be to deceive the reader and to do great injustice to the laborious, the ingenious, and public-spirited writer. He does not exclude the establishment of a *regular* military force; but, his reliance for efficient, permanent and *safe* defence, is upon the hearts and the arms of the people, animated by a love of their country, a love founded in their feeling of the super-excellence of its constitution, insuring to them the enjoyment of that freedom, and of all those blessings attendant upon freedom, which no other country enjoys. "Without freedom," says he, "complete military defence is only "the evidence of complete subjugation; and, "as the Batavians can tell you, my countrymen, the more triumphant the success, "the more hopeless the condition of the defended. But, would we know how freedom and defence are to go hand in hand, "and how civil liberty is ever to gain "strength with the increase of military "power, then that constitution, which is "the table of our duties, the record of our "rights, and the depository of our liberties, "must be the object of our study and the "guide of our steps."——Upon a proposition for the government's "*laying its hand* "*upon the people*" it must, surely, be unnecessary to say any thing; or, if it be at all necessary, one may content oneself with asking the author of the proposition, what could be the *object* of a *defence* to be effected by such means? *What* he thinks that a people, so "*laid hands on*," would have *to defend?* Whether, in speaking of the defence of *the nation*, we are to consider the *people* as not at all interested in the result? In short, and to make but one question of it, what, in his opinion, Buonaparté could do to the people *more* than "*lay his hand*" upon them? Until this question be answered, it would be loss of time to attempt to reason with this writer, to whose motives, however, I am inclined to attach nothing calling for blame. As to the principles, generally speaking, upon which the plan of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT is founded, they are such as every man, who wishes to see the energies of the constitution exerted to the best of all ends, must agree in. But, though the Major has evidently bestowed much time and thought upon the subject, has he duly considered the great change which has now taken place in this country as well as in Europe? Has he duly considered what is that species of force which we shall have to resist? Has he duly considered how much depends upon celerity in preparing our means of resistance? Has he duly considered what are the real causes of the state of decline in which he finds the constitutional energies of England? Has he duly reflected upon the *where-about*, if we would obtain success, we must *begin* in effecting the restoration of those energies? And, which is, perhaps, all I am entitled to ask of him, does he, upon a calm view of all the circumstances of our situation, not think that some such plan as that now proposed by me, would, under these circumstances, be likely to render the defence of the country efficient, without endangering the liberties of the people or the constitutional prerogatives of the crown? I ask him, and not by way of rhetorical figure, but really with a view of obtaining an answer, whether he does not think, that, while my plan would not fail "to give strength to "civil liberty at the same time that it in-"creased military power," it would not be more likely to be attended with immediate

effect, than the plan which he has proposed? He will observe, that I take the state of things as it *now is*; I view the nation loaded with a debt demanding 27 millions annually to pay the interest; I see 2 or 3 millions annually raised for the purpose of paying tax-gatherers and other dependents upon the ministry of the day; I perceive the existence of a trading and fiscal influence overshadowing and over bearing every thing; and, my object is to aid in the cure of these evils, by the very means that I provide for an efficient defence of the country and of the throne.——I am not so wedded to this or to any other project as to be deaf to the voice of reason; and, if objections are made to it, I shall give them my attention and shall not fail to communicate them to my readers. But, of one thing all reasonable men seem to be throroughly convinced, namely that some change is absolutely necessary; some great change; something new and something great; something capable of producing a powerful effect upon the minds of the people; something even, that shall produce a renovation in the public mind with regard to military service and national defence. *Money* has been tried in all the shapes that it can be presented; and, I am, for my part, perfectly satisfied, that *compulsory enrolment*, supposing it to succeed, would, if the day of trial came, prove to be much worse than nothing. We are now arrived at that point, when a mere hired army will no longer suffice; when we want the hearts of the people wherewith to preserve the independence of the country; and, to make a successful appeal to this excellent and never-failing mass of means, what can be better calculated than the plan I propose? England, fortunate in her local situation, in the form and natural tendency of her constitution of government, in the industry, the honesty, the bodily and mental capacities, the hardihood, and the bravery of her sons, has, notwithstanding the present unfavourable and even ominous appearances, many solid advantages over her enemy, all covered as he is with the brilliancy of war and of triumph. She has as I have recently heard it well remarked, a settled government; he has none. She has laws and institutions which, at the most, want only amendment, or reform; he has neither laws nor institutions that are as yet held in habitual reverence. She has an order of things that depends not for existence upon the life, or the lives of any man, or any number of men; the order of things which he has founded hangs, perhaps, upon a single life. If she be cut off from the continent of Europe, she is, by the same means, relieved from all the burden of dependence upon foreign aid; while he, in proportion as he extends the arm of his power, multiplies the object of his attention and the chances of demolishing the rampart, by which he is surrounding himself. The world has never yet witnessed a long duration of harmony amongst numerous contiguous states, more especially when held by sovereigns connected by ties of consangunity; and, therefore, even from the recent disasters, even from the general overthrow of Europe, there breaks forth a prospect of future hope to England. But, to be able to profit from the events that time may bring with him, we must have the wisdom and the virtue to put ourselves in a condition to wait for his arrival. We must now place no dependence on the immediate success either of war or of peace. Whether at war or peace, the enemy will seek our subjugation; and, therefore, to meet this his settled purpose, we must be equally steady, persevering, and patient, in our plans and our execution. No man should now throw away his time in devising any means, whether for external or internal effect, which are not, in their very nature durable, which have not in them consequences of twenty years or of fifty years to come. The man, whose mind stretches not forward beyond the days of his probable life, is now fit neither for statesman nor legislator. Before the preservation of the liberties and of the renown of England all views of personal agrandizement, of family interest, and of party triumph, must now vanish like the pleasures of the world before the awful approach of eternity, or, we may indeed anticipate the disgraceful hour when we shall be numbered amongst the slaves of France, having, for our sole privilege, the conferring upon our children the infamous entail. With such reflections in his mind (and what mind is there unvisited by some such reflections?), where is the man that can hesitate to make sacrifices for his country's defence? And, where, then, is the man who can grudge to its defenders a share in its privileges, its immunities, and its marks of distinction, especially when the request comes so strongly supported by the reason and the justice of the case?——With an anxiety proportioned to the apprehensions whence it has arisen, I now commit my Plan to the cool and impartial consideration of the public, beseeching them to try it upon its own merits, and to discard from their minds, during the perusal at least, whatever degree

of error they may, as to other matters, be disposed to attribute to the opinions of its author.

Parson's Green, Fulham, 20th Feb. 1806.

SIR;——The attention with which you have, upon different occasions, listened to my representations upon the subject of the regular army, encourages me to submit to you, in a more methodical way, my opinions as to what ought now to be done, in order to obtain an efficient, safe, and permanent military force, for offensive as well as for defensive operations. As to the Volunteers and the Militia, as I cannot bring myself to regard either of them as being of any thing more than a mere temporary nature, I shall trouble you with nothing respecting them, except with an expression of my earnest hope, that, at all events, the ballot, the terrific, the disgust-creating ballot, will be, at once, gotten rid of; for, until this be done, the military life must always be looked upon with hatred.

The measures, which I am about to propose, would certainly cause a great change, not only in the character of the army, but also in that of the whole nation. But is not a great change necessary, absolutely necessary, to the efficiency of the former and to the safety and honour of the latter? Is not this the very thing we want? Have not little temporary expedients been long enough upon trial? In short, if we do not come to the consideration of this subject with minds deeply penetrated with the truths, that the state of Europe has undergone a great change; that our enemy must, in the common course of things, subdue all that is not military; and that England must become a really military nation, or must become, at no distant day, a dependance of France: if we do not come to the consideration with minds thus penetrated, we shall, I am fully convinced, act wisely to keep aloof from it altogether. But, if such be the impression upon our minds, the only question, left for us to decide, appears to be this: *How is the nation to be rendered military?* How is it to be rendered truly military; military, not in shew, not in the abundance of red coats; not from terror and merely upon the spur of the occasion: but, military in spirit, a spirit arising out of a permanent system, founded on principles of sound philosophy, interwoven with the civil and political institutions of the country, and, from its very nature, obviously tending to support, from all internal as well as external dangers, the just prerogatives of the king and the due rights and privileges of the people?

That this most desirable object is not to be accomplished by any of those means, which have heretofore been employed, no man will now venture to deny. These means have been of three descriptions: *fraud, money,* and *compulsion.* The plan, which I am about to submit to you, has in it nothing of either. Its main principle is, the exaltation of the profession of arms; the raising of that profession to a level, at least, with trade and agriculture, in point of respectability in society. I am aware, that, with those whose minds are filled with the notion, that national power is only another term for national wealth, that this wealth is to be obtained and secured only by a continued extension of trade and a continued improvement in agriculture, and that these, again, are to be secured only by the rights, immunities, and advantages, which await, now almost exclusively, the successful exertion of trading and agricultural ingenuity and industry; with all those whose minds are thus filled, I am aware, that there will be much to overcome. But, to all such persons the answer is: will you not let the profession of arms share with you in the privileges and immunities which the nation has to bestow? If you will not, you will have no army, wherewith to protect you in the enjoyment of your own; you will have no permanent force, a consciousness of the existence of which will enable you to lay your heads down in safety. Long enough have you been tendering your money; in all manner of ways you have found it to fail; and, now, after the expenditure of millions upon millions for the avowed purpose of providing for your safety, you proclaim from your palace of commerce, that the question at issue is, whether you shall remain as you are, or become the slaves of Frenchmen. Another set of objectors will, perhaps, still reason upon the old ground of prejudice against a standing army. But, not to dilate upon the absurdity of applying the maxims of a century and a half ago to the totally-altered circumstances of the present day; not to dilate upon the greater absurdity of objections to a standing army (upon the score of danger to public liberty) from those who approve of the present system, according to which the soldier is cut off for life from civil society, and is rendered perfectly hopeless, except solely as to what he may be able to obtain from the crown; not to dilate upon the absurdity of these objections, it will soon appear, from the bare statement of my plan, that it would be to suppose an utter perversion of nature in the soldier, to fear, that, in consequence

of his enlistment into the army, his attachment to the rights and liberties of the people should not be, I will not say not diminished, but that it should not be increased. The army, as it at present stands, is made up of persons entirely divested of all those prospects, all those hopes, all those fellings, which bind men to their country. "*The "Liberties of England,*" which, in every battle, ought to be the signal for the onset, is an empty sound, nay a galling insult, to those, and to those only, who have abandoned their homes, and who are destined to spend their days and to shed their blood for the preservation of those liberties.

In addition to these preliminary observations, some others will be made with reference to particular parts of the plan. You will perceive, that, for the sake of avoiding complication, I have spoken only of the army; but, there can be no doubt, that the navy must also feel the cherishing hand of the government. You will also perceive, that, as to the Commissioned Officers I have said but little. But, the *principles* once established, the application of them in detail will be matter of very easy accomplishment.

I. AS TO PAY, that of the soldiers and non-commissioned officers is quite high enough; and, in case of a great advance in prices, arising either from the depreciation of money, or from scarcity of produce, a specific additional grant, for a limited time only, should be made. And, with regard to men, thereafter enlisted, a diminution might at any time, be made, if rendered politic either by the abundance of recruits, or by a rise in the value of money.

II. TERM OF YEARS to be the condition of enlistment; each term of five years, and three terms in the whole. The service of fifteen years will, in general, be found quite as long as is useful; and, by ending at fifteen years, you will throw back into society a much greater number of men accustomed to the use of arms, and, upon occasions of emergency, able to be eminently useful, than could be so thrown back, if the service were continued to twenty years. The force embodied would, also, be much more efficient; for, if we take the average age of enlistment at 25 years, we shall find, that the age of forty is the time, especially after hard military duty, when a man becomes unfit for the endurance of great bodily fatigue, and particularly for very rapid movements; and, besides, the other parts of the plan will render a very long service unnecessary, as it will ensure you an ever-teeming source of young men.

III. PARENTS of Soldiers. As one great obstacle to the entrance of men into a military life arises from the remonstrances and lamentations of parents, about to be bereft of the probable aid of their children; as this is generally a powerful tie, and is always strong in proportion to the goodness of the heart upon which it operates, it should be a main object with us, not to weaken the tie, not to enfeeble the filial feelings of the soldier, but, to enable him to gratify those feelings, and that, too, by the very act which severs him, though for ever, from his parents and his home. To this end, and for the purpose of establishing the principle, that, to every mother who has borne and to every father who has reared a son ready to venture his life in the service of his country, some mark of that country's gratitude is due: for the establishing of this just, this high, this valour-inspiring principle, as well as for the purpose of removing a great obstacle to enlistment, I would allow to the parents, or the survivor of them, whatever might be their pecuniary circumstances, 3 pounds a year for each son that they, or either of them, might have serving in the army, to be paid out of the king's exchequer, without deduction of any sort, or upon any account whatever, taking care that it should be duly paid to them at their homes. In case of the son being of illegitimate birth, the mother should have the allowance; but, if no mother alive, there should be no allowance to the father. These allowances I would not suffer to work a diminution of the claim which the parties might otherwise have to parish or other relief; and a heavy penalty should be imposed upon all attempts of parish-officers or others to thwart, in this respect, the intentions of the law. The allowance to parents should continue during the actual service of the son. If the son die, or be killed, in the service, or, if he serve out the three terms, the allowance should then be settled on them for their lives, or for the life of the longest liver. But, if the son desert, or be dismissed for bad behaviour, or quit the service before the

expiration of the third term, then the allowance to the parents should cease, the reasonableness of which will be seen, when we come to contemplate the advantages with which, in case of good behaviour, the son is restored to them, in prime of life, at the end of his first or his second term. But, as a further mark of distinction, and more firmly to establish the great principle upon which I proceed, that the mother who has borne and the father who has reared a son for the service of the country is entitled to its especial indulgence and protection, I would give to the parent or parents of every soldier the faculty of becoming, in virtue solely of their son's service, a parishioner or parishioners in any parish immediately adjoining that to which they may belong at the time of his enlistment; and this right they should enjoy thereafter for their whole lives. I would, besides, restore, with respect to them, and for their whole lives, the spirit of the famous and cherishing act of *Forma Pauperis*, making the sum of qualification 50 pounds instead of five, which, when the depreciation of money is considered, is much about what it ought to be, in order to place these meritorious persons upon the same footing that all the people of England were placed upon in the reign of Henry the Seventh. The cost of this allowance to parents will hardly be objected to by those who reflect, that, supposing the army to consist of 200,000 men, every individual of whom has a father or a mother alive, the amount would be only 600,000 annually; a sum which is a mere trifle when compared with the annual charge on account of apprehending deserters, on account of depots for lodging and guarding recruits, and on account of remuneration to crimps and others belonging to the odious establishment for the entrapping of men, and, as if it were expressly, for the exciting of a hatred and a loathing of the military service. Think, too, of the effect of having, scattered over the country 200.000 fathers and mothers, deriving, and known to be deriving, benefit and honour for the faithful military services of their sons! Proud of this honour; boasting, instead of lamenting, that their sons are soldiers; while those sons, at whatever distance from their homes, and even in the hour of death, would have the grateful recollection, that, by their services, they had added to the comforts and had exalted the character of the parents from whom they sprang. As things now stand, the common saying of parents, even in the most wretched state of existence is, that they "would rather see their son clad in a shrond than in a red coat;" and the son, if, perchance, he be suffered ever to see their face again, sneaks home and away again in the dark, unless he be able to procure a dress, wherewith to disguise the unfortunate fact, that he is a soldier, which fact is sure to make him an object either of compassion or of scorn. This is the primary cause why we have not such an army as we can at all times safely rely upon; and, never shall we, never can we, have such an army, while the same engagement that binds the son breaks the heart of the mother.

IV. REWARDS. Proceeding always upon that principle so congenial to honourable minds, that distinctions in society, and not mere money, is the motive that is wanted to fill the ranks of the army, I would propose the following rewards for faithful military services.—For the Ist. Term, duly completed, the man should have a right of settlement, merely as a parishioner, in any parish in the United Kingdom, without a single exception. In the like extent, he should have a right of pursuing any trade or calling, whether as journeyman or master. He should (subject to the local laws and customs as to degree) have a right of common and forest, in any parish where he may be settled, though the nature of his tenure would, according to the existing laws and customs, give him no such right. He should be exempted from serving on juries, from the services of all civil and parish-offices, and from all offices growing out of the revenue, unless he chose to perform any such duties, in which case, as well as in all others, his military service should work no injury to the claim thereunto which he would otherwise have. For his whole life he should have the benefit of the act of *Forma Pauperis* as revived in spirit for the protection of his parents. And, finally, he should have a right to kill game (subject to the laws upon that head), or, in other words, should be placed upon the footing of a mere "qualified man," within the limits only

of the parish where he was born. Of the reasonableness, of the justice, of granting this privilege, more will be said hereafter, when it will have been seen that the men born in towns will have an equivalent for it, and, the force of example being duly considered, the policy of sending men, as far as may be, back to enjoy their privileges in the places where they were born will not need to be dwelt upon.——For the 2D. TERM the man should acquire all the rights and immunities, before mentioned, with the following additions; to wit: all the privileges and capacities of whatsoever nature or degree appertaining to the corporation of any town or place wherein he may have been born. A right of common and of forest within the limits of the parish, the church of which shall be nearest to that of the parish in which he may, at any time, reside. If born in a place which sends burgesses or citizens to parliament, he should have a vote in their election; and, if not born in any such place, he should have a vote for the Knight of the Shire in which he was born; so that every man, having duly completed his military service of ten years, should, after his return to civil life, have a claim to and enjoy the elective franchise. And, lastly, his right of killing game (under the laws as aforesaid) should extend as far, and in like manner, as his right of common and forest, with this difference, that the latter applies to the parish of his settlement, whereas the former applies to the parish in which he was born.——For the 3D. TERM the man should acquire all the rights and immunities given to the second term, and with this extension and addition, that he should have a right of common and of forest in any parish, and in all the parishes, immediately adjoining that in which he may be settled; that, to the other exemptions, should be added that of an exemption from the operation of impressments of waggons, carts and horses, for the public military service, except in cases of invasion; that, as to his corporate rights and capacities, they should extend to any corporation in the kingdom where he may have been a year settled; that, as to the elective franchise, he should be put upon the footing of a territorial freeholder, and, if born in an election borough or city, should, of course, have a vote for the county where he was born also; and, that, as to his right of killing game, it should (subject as aforesaid) extend to the utmost limits of all the parishes immediately adjoining that in which he was born.

V. RELIGION. There should be no distinction as to religious creeds, except that it should be provided that none but Christians, in the common acceptation of the word, should be admitted. An oath, merely of fidelity to the King, should be taken upon the Holy Evangelists.

VI. ALL ALIENS, having faithfully completed one Term, should be considered as being, to all intents and purposes, subjects of the King, and should be rewarded accordingly. Having no birth-place in the realm, they should be allowed to fix upon a place for the enjoyment of privileges arising from birth. No allowance should be made to the parents of Aliens; and all Blacks and Mulattoes should be carefully shut out of the army.

VII. INVALIDS. For men disabled or worn out in the service, an annual provision should be made, and punctually paid, without bringing them from their homes, equal in amount to the annual full pay and clothing of the private soldier upon actual service; and such men should, besides, enjoy the several rights and exemptions allotted to the several terms, during, or at the end of either of which, their disability longer to serve may have produced their discharge from the service. In case of discharge on account of disability in the son, the parents, of course, would be entitled to the allowance for life.

VIII. SOLDIERS KILLED in battle, or dying, from whatever cause, while in actual service abroad, should have, in the Church or Church-yard (the latter if possible) of the parish where they were born, a stone erected to their memory; stating the names of their parents, the time of their birth, the length of their service, and the time and place of their death; and the change in this case, as well as in all others arising out of this code, should be defrayed out of the King's Exchequer.

IX. FORFEITURES. A soldier who deserted should (besides being subject to banishment, or other lighter punishment, but never to whipping), from the day of his return, begin his terms anew; and, after his quitting the army, a conviction of treason, misprision of

treason, or of felony, should work, for ever, a forfeiture of all the rights and immunities acquired by his military services. And, in the parents of soldiers, a like conviction, for crimes committed by themselves or either of them, should, for ever, work a forfeiture of all their claims, arising from the military services of their children. But this forfeiture would take place, of course, only on account of conviction in consequence of crimes committed after the entrance of their sons into the army, the provision, in no case, being made to have a retrospective effect.

Such are the principal parts of the Plan, which I have long had in contemplation for the forming of an efficient, cheap, honourable, and perfectly safe military force for this kingdom. Much would, of course, require to be said with regard to rewards and distinctions for the commissioned officers. It is easy to conceive, that, with an army like this in existence, loan-jobbers, Jew-brokers, whether native or alien, that contractors and pursers, would stand a very poor chance of becoming lords or baronets; and, that barkers of Moorfields, though with millions of money in their pockets, would not easily become knights. But, this is all a matter of degree and of detail; and, if the principles, as embraced in the above-proposed part of the plan, be rejected, it will be useless to take up your time with any thing naturally growing out of them. There are, however, some things, which, as it is possible that they may be regarded as omissions, I shall, for the purpose chiefly of saving you trouble, here notice.

And, first, you will perceive, that I contemplate no sort of provision for the wives or the children or the widows of soldiers. This, at the first glance, appears hard, if not unjust. But, we are here proposing a permanent system; we are considering what is the most likely to ensure the safety and the greatness of the nation; and, though a natural feeling of compassion may arise in behalf of soldiers' wives and children, we shall, upon due reflection, find, that in whatever way a provision for them may be made to arise out of military services, such provision must necessarily operate as a premium for marriage and for population, than which, independent of the military consideration, which is, however, very important, nothing can be more contrary to all sound principles of political œconomy. The institution at Chelsea, ascribed to Mr. Windham and the Duke of York, and, in itself considered, so amiable, and discovering so tender a regard for the army, I must, nevertheless, regard as having been determined on without due reflection as to the probable, nay the inevitable, consequences. It must operate as an encouragement for the breeding of beggars, just as the Foundling Hospital, and all the fine sermons preached there, operate as an encouragement for the begetting of bastards. How great is the nuisance of women and children in the army, how miserable the life of those women and children, may be asked of those who have been upon service abroad, or who have even seen a regiment in camp, or moving from place to place, at home; and, we may rest assured, that if our men of war were but tolerably well furnished with women and children, we never should have heard of battles like those of Copenhagen and Trafalgar. Besides, there is nothing unjust in the omission. The soldier will see that no provision is made for wife, child, or widow; no man will be forced from his home; and, the parishes will not have to accuse the military code of inviting husbands to leave them burdened with starving families.

Another omission will, perhaps, appear in the not having made provision for the advance of pay, in the second and third terms of service. But, after full consideration, I have been induced to reject all distinctions of this sort; first, because money, in the hands of a soldier, beyond what is absolutely necessary for his subsistence, is not only unnecessary to his good, but is really mischievous; and secondly, because such distinctions must give rise to invidious feelings amongst men, whose rank and whose duties are exactly the same.

As to a distinction in the rewards bestowed, after service, I once thought, that a man who had served a certain time as a serjeant, for instance, might, with propriety, be rewarded with privileges and immunities somewhat higher than those allotted to men, who had never attained that rank; but, upon further reflection, this does not appear either just or politic. Not just, because the promotion to the rank of either corporal or serjeant, though, generally speaking, it argues superior capacity, is, of itself, during the time of service, attended with a competent reward, in ease, comfort, respectability and emolument. Not politic, because promotion arises, in many, not to say in all cases, from the circumstances of advantageous figure, engaging address, good voice, or an understanding in reading, writing, and arithmetic; all of them, in their different degrees, estimable, but none of

them proofs of intrinsic merit, and not all of them together, to be, for one moment, placed in competition with the great virtue which we are seeking to inculcate, to encourage, and to cherish; namely, a *disposition to serve;* which, upon reflection, I am sure you will be convinced is not to be cherished by holding out a premium for scholarship. A disposition to serve, is what we want; and to obtain it, there is no other rational scheme than for the nation to measure its rewards by the length of service, and by no other standard whatever.

After what has been said, I really do flatter myself, that no solid ground of objection can be made to the principles of this plan; nevertheless, my anxiety for its adoption will not permit me to close this letter without offering a few additional observations. Upon the doing away of all distinctions as to religious sects, for which distinctions we have paid and are paying so dearly; upon the admission of aliens, when we see so many Jews and jobbers daily naturalized in order to enable them to retain the blood they have sucked from our veins; upon the making of a competent provision for invalids, instead of suffering them to starve in the streets, a shocking disgrace to the nation, and a most awful warning for men to shun those ranks wherein the privilege to beg has been earned: upon these parts of the plan I shall add nothing, because, where any serious objection can be raised to them there cannot be the most distant hope of accomplishing any change worthy of the attention of a cabinet for a single hour. The privilege of voting for members of parliament and that of killing game, are all, for the granting of which, I think it necessary to offer any thing in the shape of an argument. As to the former, the addition which this plan would make to the number of persons exercising the elective franchise, will not be very great, and, whatever it may be, it will certainly not be urged as an objection by those who still feel an alarm at a standing army, as the means of destroying the liberties of the people, by giving to the monarchical and aristocratical branches, too much power over that of the democracy. Indeed, to give the soldiers this privilege appears to be absolutely necessary, in order to make them feel, that they have rights in common with their fellow subjects; in order to make them feel, that that country which they have to fight for, is theirs as well as others; in order to make them feel, that they are not mere mercenaries, that they are not selling their blood for the protection of more happy and more highly priviledged mortals. And, in itself, what can be more just or more reasonable? for, what can be more unjust, or more unreasonable, than that the elective franchise should be acquired by seven years appreticeship to the hammering of a lap-stone or the driving of a needle, or by the gaining in trade wherewith to purchase a cottage of 40 shillings a year, while, to the service of ten years in a military capacity, venturing health and life in a thousand ways, such acquirement is denied? It is not merely a privation to the soldier; it is a punishment for his service; for, as in the case of free-boroughs, he is deprived of the privilege which he would have had, if he had remained at home and served an apprenticeship. And, while this continues, while there is a bounty, the most tempting of all bounties too, held out for staying at home, and plodding along, in peace and safety, in pursuit of pelf, is it not madness to think that, generally speaking, any but the profligate, or the miserable will enter the army? And, is it not still greater madness to hope, that they will be faithful and zealous soldiers? Am I told, that the armies of France are formed without the granting of any such privileges? I answer, that, in France, there are no such privileges to grant; there are no privileges or immunities whereof a military life can deprive a man; every man, soldier or not, is, in these respects, upon a footing; but, great care is taken to give the soldier, and the parents of soldiers too, favours and marks of distinction; and, without this, we may be well assured, that the military power of France would not, at this hour, have been an object of terror to England. In France, the soldiers are at the absolute command of the Sovereign; but, they themselves are the masters of every body else. All that I wish to see in England, is, to place the soldier upon the same footing, in point of rights and immunities, with his fellow subjects in general.

With respect to the right, or rather the permission, to kill game, a privilege of little value in itself, but become most highly esteemed by all the people of this country, it arose, you must well remember, not out of success in trade, not out of acquisitions of wealth, not out of the inheritance or the occupancy of lands, but, out of military services, performed by the Nobles, the Knights and Esquires, to whom the King granted permission to kill part of his game. That this assumption, on the part of the monarch, of the sole proprietorship of wild animals, might be too great a stretch of the

kingly power, too bold a deviation from the law of nature, which gives to every man as free an use of wild animals as it does of the air and of the water, may be a question; but, there can be no question, that, when the Sovereign's permission, granted in consequence of services, for the defence and honour of the realm, has degenerated into a right to be claimed, exclusively or almost exclusively, by those, who have been able, no matter how, to obtain a certain portion of wealth deposited in house or in land; when this is become the state of the case, there can be no question as to the justice, not to say the policy, of restoring a part, at least, of the much esteemed privilege to that service, as a reward to which alone, it was, at first, most justly and most wisely confined. Every vender of ribbons or of pins, who has accumulated the sum of about two or three thousand pounds, and who feels a disposition for the chase, lays out his money in a box and a few acres, and thereupon he swaggers about with his gun and his dogs, in any and every parish and county in the kingdom: and, in the name of justice, of reason, of common sense, I ask, shall not the man who has served his country, who has ventured his life for the safety of this same esquire and haberdasher, have a right to kill a hare within the narrow precincts of the parish, or the neighbouring parishes, where he was born? Yet, little as it is in itself, perfectly costless as it is to the nation, its value in the eyes of the common people is beyond all estimation; and, I have no scruple in saying, that the prospect of enjoying it, and the examples of its enjoyment, would send more countrymen into the army, than any other, and than all the other, inducements, that the most eloquent description could present to their views.

Now, in closing the letter, I shall only say, that, with respect to the practicability, the easy execution of the whole of this plan, after a due consideration of every difficulty that my mind can conceive, after, asking myself how all this is to be done without confusion, without bustle, without clashing, without embarrassments either at the seat of government, or in the parishes, or in the army itself, I am fully convinced, that a new office, consisting of a superintendant of the civil and political concerns of the soldiers and their parents, aided by a secretary and about six clerks, the whole establishment costing about ten thousand pounds a year, would completely manage the business, leaving all the other departments connected with the army precisely as they are, and without one additional object to divide their attention. If this be too much, nothing can be too little; and it were better that nothing at all should be done.——I am, &c. &c.—Wm. Cobbett.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Affairs of India (continued from pages, 171, 197, 237, 303, and 368).——The last page here referred to, with the seven pages immediately following, the history of Mr. Paull's laudable endeavours to bring about an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley, was brought down to the 12th instant. On Monday, the 17th instant, the same gentleman made a motion for papers relative to the transactions in Surat. The former part of the evening was, to the great disadvantage of the discussion of this important question, occupied with a debate, if one may call it by that name, upon the Ordnance Estimates; but, the whole of this debate was so much in the manner of battling-barristers, that it would be useless to take up the time of the reader with any remarks upon it. Before we come to the debate of the 17th, we must revert, for a moment, to that of the 12th upon the subject of the transactions in Bhurtpore. It was contended by Lord Temple (one of the Paymasters General and a nephew of Lord Grenville), and by Mr. Hiley Addington (one of the *paid* members of the present Board of Controul,) that Lord Wellesley was fully justified in his severe measures against the Rajah of Bhurtpore, because the said Rajah had been guilty of the most abominable *breach of faith* with regard to the East India Company. But, Mr. Paull, after shewing, that the Rajah had been *compelled* to enter into the treaty, which, it is said, and, perhaps, truly, he afterwards violated; that, allowing him to have aided the open enemies of the Company after the signature of this treaty, allowing him to have been preparing means for the overthrow of the English power in his neighbourhood at the very moment that he was plying Lord Wellesley with professions of the sincerest friendship; allowing all this to the utmost extent of expression or of imagination, the circumstances of the case fully warranted his conduct, he having been most unjustly and most tyrannically compelled to agree to the treaty by which he had been rendered subservient to the English in the subjugation of India. That this doctrine is perfectly sound every one at all acquainted with the writers upon public law, and, indeed, every one who appeals to reason or to natural justice, must be satisfied; and, the doctrine was most happily illustrated by Mr. Paull in an appeal to the feelings of the

House with regard to the recent conduct of France towards our unfortunate friend and ally, the *King of Naples*. "Holkar," said Mr. Paull, "to whom the Rajah of Bhurtpore "had been ready to give assistance against "us, was defeated by the English army; "and, instantly, with feelings, resembling "those of the kite, when he pounces down "upon the defenceless lark, Lord Welles-"ley resolved upon an act of vengeance, "severe beyond example, either in ancient "or modern times, except, perhaps, in the "recent conduct of Buonaparté towards "the ill-fated King of Naples, who, too, "was, as a pretence for his dethronement "and for a seizure upon his kingdom, ac-"cused of *treachery!* He had, under the "awe of French bayonets, made a treaty "with France; those bayonets removed "from before his breast, the French drawn "off by the allies in Germany, he invites "the Russians and the English into his do-"minions, in order, no doubt, to assist "thereby in overthrowing the power of "France in Italy; but, will these English say, "that, for this act, this pretended breach "of treaty and of faith; will these English "now say, that the king of Naples deserved, "to be dethroned; that his race deserved "to be exterminated; that he deserved, in "short, that weight of wrath, with which "he has been visited, and the like of which "would have fallen upon the Rajah of "Bhurtpore, if the orders of Lord Wel-"lesley had been carried into execution, "and which execution failed only from a "want of power, though, in the sanguinary "attempt, 4,000 of British soldiers and 110 "British officers lost their lives?" This question may be safely left with the public, who may, at the same time, recollect, that *they* it is who will have to *pay* for this measure against the Rajah of Bhurtpore, as well as for all the other expensive expeditions of this war-making governor. And, shall we not *inquire* into his conduct? Shall not those who are to be called upon to grant our money, ask how the grant came to be necessary? And, are we, indeed, to witness, in scenes like these, a dead and doleful silence in those, who, in all the ways in which men can pledge themselves, stand pledged, not to suffer to pass unmolested; that is nothing; but to aid, to assist, to support with all their individual talents and all their collective means, the man, be he who he may, that first stands forward in the demanding of such an inquiry?—— The effect which our wars, our invasions, our dethronings, and our distribution of territory in India, must have upon the minds of the nations of Europe, has frequently been the subject of remark, and, as frequently the subject of deep regret; and, it will be seen, by a reference to the French manifestoes at the outset of the last campaign, that our conduct in India formed a copious subject, not of mere invective, but of fair recrimination. And, here, though some apology may be necessary for once more troubling the public with any thing about this gentleman, one cannot refrain from observing, that Mr. George Johnstone, who is now the first to disclaim all intention of aiding the efforts of Mr. Paull, and who has gratuitously come forward to declare in open parliament, that, from the first, he endeavoured to dissuade that gentleman from his intention of obtaining an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley; one cannot refrain from observing, that, in the year 1803 (while Lord Wellesley was safe in India), Mr. George Johnstone did, as appears from the parliamentary debates, most decidedly condemn that conduct, representing the measures of Lord Wellesley even as more unjust and more tyrannical than the measures of Buonaparté towards the states and the princes of Europe. And, with this, I shall take leave of Mr. George Johnstone for the present. —— Since the debate upon the subject of Bhurtpore two debates have taken place upon India affairs: the first, on the 17th inst. upon Mr. Paull's motion relative to the transactions in Surat; the second, on the 19th inst. upon a motion of Mr. Hiley Addington for authorizing the Board of Controul, of which he is a *paid* member, to *withhold*, at their *discretion*, any part of the papers ordered by a vote or votes of the House, to be produced for the inspection of the members. ——In the first of these debates we find two circumstances worthy of particular attention; the first is a declaration of Mr. Fox, who said, that he defied any one to prove, that he had, either in or out of parliament, either directly or indirectly, given encouragement to Mr. Paull to proceed in his present endeavours to obtain a parliamentary inquiry; that he took some share of blame to himself for having, of late years, paid too little attention to India affairs; that, with regard to inquiries, tending to crimination, he thought it, generally speaking, better for the ministry to abstain from interfering, and to leave the task to other members of the House; that, as to the conduct of Lord Wellesley, he had, as yet, no opinion; and, that, when the time came, he should act as the case seemed to

require. Nobody ever said, or insinuated, that I know of, that Mr. Fox had given encouragement to Mr. PAULL; but, on the other hand, I cannot perceive why he did not do it; and, as to Mr. WINDHAM, he, previous to the change of ministry, seconded the motions of Mr. PAULL, and, as far as one can possibly judge from appearances in parliament, gave him every sort of encouragement that it was in his power to give. But, what I am disposed so maintain, is, that Mr. Fox and Mr. WINDHAM and Mr. SHERIDAN and every man of the ministry, the GRENVILLES excepted, are, in every way that men can be pledged, firmly pledged to support every motion for an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley, whose system of government has been the exact reverse of what they have always held forth as the proper one for India; and, as to the doctrine of ministers leaving such inquiries to other members of the House, to say nothing of the unreasonableness of supposing that they, who have all the information in their hands, are the most unfit persons for such undertakings, it happens, unfortunately for the consistency of this system of *neutrality*, that one part of the present ministry, and that part, too, which Mr. CANNING, (not without a motive) denominated "the "*great presiding soul*," miss no opportunity of defending and even of applauding the conduct of Lord Wellesley.——The other striking circumstance in this debate, was, the opinion declared by Sir T. METCALF (a Director) as contrasted with the declaration of Mr. ROBERT THORNTON, another Director. The former, at the close of a speech, in which he most earnestly besought Mr. PAULL not to continue his pursuit any further, and, in case of this advice proving useless, he besought the House not to grant the production of any more papers; at the close of this speech the eloquent Sir. T. pronounced a most flattering eulogium upon the conduct and the measures of Lord Wellesley, and begged the House to consider, that it was impossible for any man long to remain governor of India. This eulogium, especially when it was considered, that Sir T. from having a son in a very high, lucrative, and confidential office under Lord Wellesley, was likely to be well-informed upon the subject, appeared to Mr. THORNTON to call for something to counteract it; wherefore Mr. THORNTON declared, that Sir T. did *not* speak the sentiments of the court of directors; and, he begged Sir T. to recollect, that, upon this subject, he, Sir T., stood *singly* against the other *twenty*-three of his brother directors!——Mr. HILEY ADDINGTON's motion had for its object to authorize the Board of Controul (of which Mr. Hiley is one of the *paid* members observe) to *withhold, at their discretion any of the papers ordered by the House.* This motion was most strenuously resisted by Mr. FRANCIS, and, after a determination to adhere, had been expressed by Mr. Hiley, Lord FOLKESTONE, at the close of a speech replete with sound argument and constitutional sentiments, declared that he would not suffer such a motion to pass without dividing the House. Mr. Fox was undecided. He found that there were two precedents for the motion; he said, that, if there had been no precedent, he should have been decidedly against it; but, there being these precedents, he was in doubt what course to pursue. Whereupon Mr. BANKS rose to oppose the motion; and was followed by Lord HENRY PETTY, who, though his mind was in the same state, with respect to the matter, as Mr. Fox's was, recommended to his "Right Hon. friend to "*withdraw his motion.*" Mr. WILBERFORCE highly disapproved of the motion. Lord MORPETH, though another member of the Board of Controul, utterly disclaimed having ever approved of it. Many other persons spoke; and, through the whole debate, there was no one who expressed an approbation of Mr Hiley's motion, except Lord TEMPLE, who (I beseech the reader to observe it and to remember it well) had, in the debate of the 17th, concluded his speech in the following words: "if the "honourable gentleman (Mr. PAULL) has "any regard for, and wishes to serve and "oblige, my noble friend (Lord Wellesley) "I advise him *to pursue his inquiry*; and, "if he has any regard for himself, I advise "him to put his motions in his pocket;" of the sincerity of which advice, and of the confidence of the noble lord in his noble friend's innocence, it would, after the debate of the 19th, be a sort of infidelity to doubt!——The attention of the House of Commons is, then, at last, seriously turned to this important inquiry; and, in spite of the smothering quality which appears to have been communicated to all the newspapers except the MORNING HERALD, the attention of the whole country will, and must, be turned to the same object.——As very closely connected with these matters, I shall here insert an account of a dinner, given, on the 20th instant to Lord Wellesley at Willis's Rooms, and which, without hinting who are to *pay* for it, is said to have cost a *thousand* pounds. The account is taken from the now leading

ministerial paper, the MORNING CHRONICLE, which, for the sake of its own character, does, however, think it necessary to premise, that the account was "*sent for insertion.*" —— Here it is: "the entertainment given to Marquis "Wellesley yesterday, at Willis's Rooms, "was the best conducted and most expres- "sive mark of respect and attention which "we remember to have been evinced by in- "dividuals, as a testimony of their esteem "for an illustrious public character. Party "and politics were on this occasion entirely "forgotten, whilst a spirit of harmony, and "attachment to their noble guest, seemed "to be the predominant sentiment that per- "vaded this festive meeting. The gentle- "men who thus manifested their personal "regard for the Marquis, were among the "most distinguished civil and military offi- "cers of his Majesty and the East India "Company who served in India during the "Marquis Wellesley's administration, also "the principal private gentlemen who re- "sided there at the same period, these, al- "together, formed a numerous and most "respectable body, composed of persons "from each of the several presidencies of "India. The style of the entertainment "was in every respect worthy of the occa- "sion; the choicest wines, and all the de- "licacies of the season were provided, and "the guests who partook were, for the most "part, of the highest rank and distinction. "Among the company we noticed the fol "lowing personages.—Duke—Montrose. "Marquisses—Buckingham, Thomond and "Blandford.—Earls. Westmoreland, Win- "chelsea, Sandwich, Dartmouth, Bucking- "hamshire, Chatham, Bathurst, Camden, "Fortescue, Malmsbury, Westmeath, Carys- "fort, and Limerick.—Viscounts. Lowther "and Sidmouth.—Lords. Hawkesbury, "Braybrooke, Auckland, Mulgrave, Car- "rington, Bayning, Glastonbury, Henley, "Glenbervie, Clancarty, and Castlereagh. "—The Speaker of the House of Com- "mons.—Sirs. E. Nepean, W. Farquhar, "T. Metcalfe, W. Grant, A. Wellesley, "A. Clarke, and J. Newport.—Generals. "Phipps, Forbes, and Balfour.—Colonels. "Leslie, Blair, Wood, Shaw, and Welker- "stone.—Messrs. Vansittart, C. Greville, "Canning, J. Sullivan, Wallace, Steel, "Holford, Hobhouse, H. Addington, W. "Lake, Wellesley Pole, H. Wellesley, "Willis, Dundas, S. Bernard, Hastings, R. "Johnson, Baber, Mouckton, Golding, "Russel, &c. The musick was excellent; "the most celebrated vocal performers gave "delightful specimens of their professional "abilities. General Harris, the Victor of "Seringapatam, proposed several loyal and "patriotic toasts, "The King," "The "Queen and Royal Family," "The Prince "of Wales," "The Duke of Clarence and "the Navy," "The Duke of York and "the Army," "The India Company," "The India Directors," and "The Me- "mory of Lord Cornwallis."—Also each of "the leading Members of the present Ad- "ministration. The health of the Marquis "Wellesley was drank with sincere fervour, "which drew from his lordship an acknow- "ledgement expressed in the most animated "and grateful terms; the scene altogether "was extremely interesting and brilliant, "nor should it pass unnoticed, that those "gentlemen who offered so pleasing a tri- "bute of their applause, were all locally "acquainted with Marquis Wellesley's ad- "ministration in that country, which has "been the theatre of his lordship's impor- "tant and splendid services"——Of the canvassing for this dinner, in which respect it bears no faint resemblance to that of the supper in the parable; of the persons who, at last condescended to assist at it; of those who positively refused to assist; of those who took their names out after they had been entered upon the list; of these we will not, at present, speak in detail; but will content ourselves with two short observations; 1st that, of all the East-India Directors, 24 in number, Sir T. METCALF only could be prevailed on to attend; and, 2nd, with respect to the most probable object of the dinner, it may not be amiss to remind MR. HILEY and LORD TEMPLE, who seem to lay so much stress upon precedents, of the curious fact, that a grand dinner was given to MR. HASTINGS, the 24 East-India Directors making part of the guests, and that, in a very few months afterwards, that gentleman was, for high crimes and misdemeanours, impeached by the House of Commons at the bar of the House of Lords!—— With this hint respecting *precedents*, we will, for this week, dismiss our remarks upon the Affairs of India.

Several other subjects press forward for discussion, and particularly some of those agitated by my correspondents; but, want of time will, I hope, be accepted as an apology.

THE ARMY.

DEAR SIR,—About a month ago I was introduced to an acquaintance with you, through the medium of your Weekly Register, and have since acknowledged myself obliged to a reverend friend for the intro-

duction, for I am pleased with your manners, because they appear independent, although I cannot subscribe to some of your opinions. Your high commendations of Mr. Windham, your unqualified censures of the late ministry, your wish for something *quite* new, and your downright abuse of the volunteer system, have led me into a labyrinth, from which I am unable to extricate myself without your assistance. In your Register (speaking of Mr. Windham and the army, you say, "Most sincerely do I declare, that I am convinced, that no man in the kingdom is to be compared with him in point of knowledge and wisdom, as far as it is connected with subjects of this sort." What, Sir, is it that has convinced you of this? Is it his having conversed with you on the subject, and fallen in with your opinions? Or, is it because the country was successful during the period that he superintended the war-department? I should expect it was the latter, for the former could be matter of speculative opinion only, and ought not to convince, although it might encourage a hope. And, what advantages did the army or the country receive from his exalted abilities? Did they not appear because he was controled by Mr. Pitt? If so, why did he continue so long in office, with salutary measures in his heart and baneful ones in his hands? Was it from love of office, or a love of emolument? But we are now to have something "*Quite* new, and any thing that is not so will be useless!" This, indeed, is charming; but the Parish-recruiting Bill was *quite* new, and proves that measures ought to have something more than being *quite* new, to recommend them. We are, however, to expect better things from Mr. Windham than we received from the late ministry; and for your sake, Mr. Cobbett, for my own sake, and for the sake of my country, I hope we shall not be disappointed. I hope he will adopt measures that will ensure our safety: but you say, that "To suppose any other than regular soldiers are fit to be opposed in battle to the armies of France, is a mark of as perfect insanity as ever was a passport to Bedlam." So said Mr. Pitt, when the sans-culottes of France talked of opposing the combined armies. But how many regulars must we have to oppose them? How are they to be raised, and where are experienced officers to command them? These are serious questions, and I expect that you have a serious answer ready for me, "In Mr. Windham's *quite* new plan." His plan, then, must be very prolific, and you must excuse me if I have my doubts about it; for we have had so many mountains in labour to bring forth a mouse, that I cannot dismiss my fears. Nay, if I had not these, I should have others. Must an alarm be again rung, and must we resign the liberties we have protected from the licentiousness of France, to Mr. Windham and a large standing army, merely because he thinks the volunteers cannot be made an efficient force, and you can abuse them? Because he has a military bantling that he wants the country to nurse, and you sicken at the "Predominance of trade and commerce?" Pardon me, Sir, if I am wrong, but I cannot subscribe to the whole of your creed. I cannot say that the volunteers have "Degraded the military character of the country, that they are capable of producing nothing but mischief, and that the country would be safer without them." What, Sir, is this language the poor return you owe them? And would you have his Majesty, the parliament, the country, after encouraging them to assemble, dismiss them in disgrace? This, Sir, is a measure above my comprehension. At least, it is so, if it must be classed with those that are esteemed, either wise or honourable. The volunteer system is, certainly, not perfect; but wherein has it tended to "Degrade, nay, totally to extinguish, the military character of the nation." Has it degraded the very few military characters that had arrived at an enviable eminence, previous to the war with France? Has it degraded the character of Lord Hutchinson, Gen. Moore, and others who have gained a reputation during the war, notwithstanding the volunteers were in arms? Or has it not rather obliged the *gentlemen officers* that were above learning the drudgery of their profession, to learn their a, b, c? The military character of the country has certainly been in a degraded situation, but the volunteer system did not produce, it only exposed it; or, rather, threw it into the foreground by becoming itself the foil, and thereby shewing its tattered drapery. By this I would not be understood to insinuate, that there was no abilities, no science, in the army; for there certainly were men of abilities, and men of science, but they were not to be found in every battalion. There were some *good* soldiers, there were many fine gentlemen. Do you believe the assertion of your correspondent from Huntsmoore, that "There are not ten regiments in his Majesty's service, in which there are *two* captains who could command a battalion through the evolutions of the nineteen manœuvres, &c.?" Perhaps you do not believe him, and I should be sorry to be enabled to prove it; but I

have *seen* captains, previous to their being degraded by the volunteer system, superior to the mean art of recollecting, or attempting to recollect, the words of command; and I have heard them say to their serjeants, "Well, what next, &c." The drudgery of the battalion was beneath them, it was unfashionable to appear as if they had risen from the ranks. And this is the military character, the volunteer system has degraded! This is the system of *real* splendour! Surely, Mr. Cobbett, this is a labyrinth! This is inexplicable! Do let us go back, for the further we proceed the more intricate appears the way. Let us return to Mr. Windham. Must none of his officers, in his *quite* new phalanx, be men of business, i. e. "Mercantile red-coats?" Must none of the inspectors, reviewers, &c. be "Flatterers or toad-eaters?" This will be very fine indeed! and we may never again find ourselves obliged to use such strange epithets; but often recur to the more pleasing language used by you, in page 205, where you say, "I was second to no man in urging the necessity of exalting the military profession." But to urge the necessity, without pointing out some of the means, is only trifling with the subject. And what means have you pointed out? Have you recommended an attention to the moral conduct of the army, to its physical powers, to its mechanical strength, to its existing abuses, and to its theoretical, as well as its practical information? If you have recommended an attention to these, you have done well; but, instead of these, what have you done? You have undertaken a petty warfare, and attempted to *exalt* the regulars by *degrading* the volunteers. This, Sir, is much beneath you, and I have no doubt but you will soon perceive your error, and make some atonement. Indeed, I am ready to confess, that your strictures on Lord Grenville's Auditorship, and Lord Ellenborough's place in the Cabinet, have nearly balanced your account with me, and I as sincerely commend you for them, as I discommend you for the other. I would, however, recommend a rather more temperate language; for you have so blackened the characters of the late ministry, that I begin to feel for them a little, though I much disliked them before, and am ready to conclude, they were not so bad as you represent them. This effect may be produced, by the same kind of language, in other cases; and when it is used, on almost every occasion, it becomes habitual, and, like common swearing, is but little regarded.—I have not introduced into this letter, arguments to prove the utility of the volunteer corps, pointed out the advantages that have been already derived from them, or given you hints for their improvements; but if you will do me the favour to insert this letter in your Register, I shall not hesitate to make them the subject of another.—I remain, Sir, &c. RICHARD.—*Cotswold Hills, March* 10, 1806.

MILITARY PENSIONS.

SIR;——Possessing as I do an enthusiastic veneration for every thing that comes from your pen, I have read with no common interest, what you have mentioned in the two last numbers of your invaluable Political Register, on the formation of an army. At present we have a profusion of red coats, but certainly few soldiers; and, if any man in the United Kingdom is at all equal to the Herculean task, it certainly is Mr. Windham. I have no hesitation in saying, that high bounties, so disgraceful to the nation, and ever prejudicial to the individual, might be done away, by enlisting soldiers for seven years; a re-engagement for a like period in his own regiment should entitle the soldier to a certain pension, and when disposed to a third enlistment for a like period, (making in all 21 years) the soldier should be entitled to an increase of pension, with the privileges of a freeholder in the county he came from; and an increased pension where the soldier was willing, and *capable*, of making a fourth engagement. This would do away the necessity of having men held in bondage for life, in veteran battalions, the establishment of which, I have no hesitation in saying, is *prejudicial* to the service. And, I believe, in the British service only, is the feather of rank rudely wrested from the veterans brow, when tottering on the brink of the grave. A civilian who has lived upon the fat of the land, turned from his office, obtains a pension. An officer who has served half a century, and braved the field, and foreign climates, is turned into a veteran battalion; and has to regret, his friends had not made him a chimney sweep.——BELISARIUS.

COUNTRY BANKS.

Thou art a bold writer, friend Cobbett. Thou utterest many wholesome truths in plain language; the language, indeed, of asperity; but, the subjects of thy animadversion may render such language expedient. Thou hast said a great deal about the paper-money-makers, and blood-suckers, who inhabit the *town*. What are thy thoughts of this description of the community who dwell in the *country*? Their paper commodity, in

the neighbourhood of my residence, " has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." Their *ten* and *five* pound notes have forced the *Bank of England* nearly out of circulation, and a late inundation of *one* pound notes threatens the exclusion of all the precious metal. The consequence to the shopkeeper, who should refuse these notes, would be the loss of his trade, and eventual ruin. Canst thou suggest a remedy for this evil, friend Cobbett? And what will be the issue to the holders of these notes, if the evil be not speedily removed?——A COUNTRY TRADESMAN.

COUNTRY BANKS.

SIR;——I have frequently been surprised, when reading your Register, that one of the greatest evils existing in this kingdom, has not been exposed to the public, and in your masterly way laid open to your readers. I mean the Country Banks, which in every country town have been set up by adventurers; such as drapers, grocers, attorneys, &c. &c. &c., without any authority whatever, to supply the whole kingdom with paper currency of their own coining, the magnitude of which is beyond calculation. Those bankers being under no restrictions in regard to quantity, take every opportunity of circulating their trash, by loans, to yeomen and tradesmen, by entering into all sorts of jobs and speculations, which paper, when out of their hands, cannot be redeemed by them but by the same coinage; for they issue no specie. Their constant answer is, the Bank of England issue no money, therefore we cannot. But the most alarming of all is, the holders of this paper having no security but the issuers, what will be the consequence to them, in case of a crash amongst those coiners? which must inevitably happen should ever specie come again into circulation, as their issues exceed perhaps twenty times their property, and every one would run for gold in lieu of their trash. The holders of this paper are from necessity obliged to take it, there being no other currency; not a Bank of England note is ever seen at any distance from London, nor will any country people take them, because the cry from the paper coiners is, those of the Bank of England circulating in the country are all forged notes. Surely it is not, it cannot, be legal, for those persons to set up mints and supply the whole kingdom with a currency of paper of no value (and there is no other) without the authority of parliament. The Bank of England cannot do it; the directors are authorised under restrictions, and are frequently called upon by parliament, to shew their issues do not exceed their real property in specie, or the worth of it. Then why shall those country paper-mongers be permitted to plunder the country, make princely fortunes, so much so, that whenever an estate (no matter what magnitude) is to be sold, it is a banker in general who is the purchaser, and pays for it with his own paper; this inundation of paper must also enhance the price of every necessary of life, as, at all times, according to the quantity of currency in circulation, provisions have borne a proportionable price; we have heard of a peck of wheat for a penny and an ox for 5s. This paper also gives an undue influence to the issuers at all elections for county and borough members, as all the yeomen and tradesmen to whom they lend their paper (and they press it upon them) are entirely under their controul, and very soon we shall see one partner at least in every one of those shops, in parliament (many are at present) in that case uniting with their brother bankers in London, stock-jobbers and underwriters, who are most of them members, they will have such a powerful weight in parliament that we shall never see the King's gold coin in circulation again. In short, there are so many evils arising from country banks, one is astonished at the mischievous tendency being connived at so long. I have no doubt, were a tax laid upon every individual banking shop in the country at £1000 per annum, two at least in every great town would pay it rather than give up so enriching a situation, and in the smaller towns one would pay it. I know in one country town two shops, whose average paper amounts to nearly £300,000 each, that they have in circulation; and, by this at least they profit 5 per cent. Or those who are desirous to continue bankers to be called upon for a loan to the public of £40,000 at £2. 10s. per cent. or not be allowed to issue any paper, which would in some measure be a security to the holders of their paper, as well as letting the public share in the profits gained by the bankers from the people taking the paper. At all events, something should be done to stop the present practice, or eventually the country must be ruined by it.—I have just given you these hints, which put into proper shape and good language, will do some good towards putting a stop to the mischief.

—I have another case to mention, which is a very serious hardship upon the poor labourer and mechanic: when they receive their week's wages they are paid by their employers in country bank paper in one pound notes, according to the number of men to be paid: they take them to the banker, who will give them others in lieu of them, but will not give them silver or copper for them: they then run from house to house trying to get them changed; no: at last they are compelled either to spend a part of them at an ale-house, or buy some goods at a shop (and, probably, what is not immediately wanted) otherwise they cannot obtain change for the paper, to lay out in provisions for their family; if they do not buy any thing, the alehouse man or shopkeeper (if they change it) demands a shilling for breaking each note as it is called. The poor man has no other alternative, he must do this or keep the paper. The person who pays his men can do no otherwise, as he cannot obtain specie, none being in circulation.—— Your constant reader.——A FARMER.

LORD MELVILLE.

SIR,—In the Register in April or May last, a letter was inserted containing insinuations, that if an investigation were made into the disposal of the King's revenue in Scotland, and the payment of pensions and bounties, there abuses would be discovered. Subsequently, a motion was made in parliament by Lord Henry Petty, for several accounts upon this subject; and from those produced and now printed, (though by no means complete) all that the writer of the letter alluded to, said, is proved. It appears, in the first place, that his Majesty's Scot's revenue is frittered away by grants, (which are really pensions, though they do not enter the pension list) so that it never reaches the Exchequer. For example, 600l. a year to the Right Honourable William Dundas, out of the rents of the lordship of Ross; the late grant of the lordship of Fife to Lady Melville, &c. &c. 2dly. That the pension list has been regularly increasing since 1798. When the accounts produced close in May, 1805, the amount was 12,000l. a year more than in 1798, and, if the account had been carried on, the increase would have been much more, as it stops precisely when the pension of 1500l. to Lord Melville and some others were about to be added. 3dly. It appears, that the King's hereditary and reserved revenue not being sufficient to pay the pensions and usual bounties, the deficiency is from time to time made up by issues from the *public revenue*, upon orders from the Treasury, backed by the warrants of the Barons of the Exchequer. The sums so issued are not great, but the principle is the same, and one would wish to know how such an application of the public revenue can be justified. And, lastly, there appears various large sums issued to persons who hold no official situations, upon warrants from the Treasury, *without account*. It is grievously suspected in Scotland, that these are ministerial jobs, and not improbably for money spent in elections, or supporting the ministerial candidates.—Surely it is impossible to contend that the public money, or even the King's own money, when the public is called on to make up deficiencies, should be given in this way, the purpose kept secret, and all account dispensed with.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

SIR,——Viewing as I do the subject of the funds in much the same way with yourself, and being anxious to be persuaded, if I could reasonably and honestly feel so, of the justice of ceasing to pay interest on them; yet, I cannot without stronger argument bring myself to consider it would be just to destroy them entirely; and as to the expediency of it likewise, one of your suggestions makes me doubt more than I had before done; that is, your conceiving it was necessary that loans should still be made; now, I cannot comprehend how the ministry now in power could hope to make a loan, if they do not continue to pay interest for all hitherto made.—With regard too, to the justice of ceasing to pay interest, or taxes, for the sums hitherto borrowed, I am very well aware that it is the duty, the paramount duty, of those in power to take care that the nation does not sink under its debts, from a false sense of its honour; I am likewise aware, that it ought to regard in a much more favourable view the landed, mercantile, (properly so called) and all the trading interests dependant upon labour, or upon capital, so far as the capital is necessary to call forth the labour, and to enable it to be productive; and, as generally speaking, there is less of gambling sort of speculation, less of mere money making speculation, in the above description of persons, than in funded proprietors, I conceive from their character they do deserve very superior consideration: inasmuch too, as they form the strength of the nation, and the fund owners consume that strength, the claim to favour unquestionably is all on one side: but, when we recollect the motives for which the debt was contracted, which was to prevent the

then present accumulation of taxes crowding the landed, trading, mercantile, and laborious descriptions of persons, when we consider too, that to lend money to the public in its wants is no wise blameable, and moreover, when one calls to mind that those very descriptions, will be generally speaking, the most benefited by the annihilation of the debt, I cannot reconcile it with justice, that the fund-owners should be the sole sufferers, unless I was convinced it was impossible that all descriptions could bear a part, and the country not be undone. Supposing, for instance, the income tax was to be very highly raised; supposing, making a more liberal allowance to land-owners for repairs, outgoings, improvements, &c. than our late minister (who seemed always utterly ignorant of country life, and the needs of country gentlemen) ever proposed; 1-third of the present rents of estates was to be taken as an annual and perpetual land tax; supposing the like rate was to be taken from all properties as a like perpetual tax; and that the funds were in exactly the same manner to be reduced; this would at one blow take off, to speak in round numbers 200,000,000 of debt; for as to the claim to be paid the principal again, I for one can never subscribe to its having an existence. At the above proposed increase of perpetual tax, I have no doubt you yourself, and every one at first, will cry out most furiously; as reducing so very much more, the already miserably reduced, landed interest. I do not, however, think it would have the effect to bear so extensive a degree as at first appears. If it should keep many more in the country than are there now, it would be no great harm to them, nor the public; it would not take off from their consequence nor their independence; and all being reduced together, for I could wish taxes to begin in a more reduced scale, or rather with abatements for specific reasons, with almost the lowest independent order of subjects: the land owners too, would be able soon to raise their land; at any rate they certainly would from all late experience, be able to do so before very long, and as the tax would never increase in amount to them, it would soon diminish in proportion. From the tax on the funds too, I would by no means exempt foreigners, as Mr. Pitt succeeded in doing; I can see no well weighed reason for that, (though at the first view it seemed plausible and reasonable;) for all foreigners chuse our funds either for their convenience, from its supposed security, (and that quality I conceive would be increased no little for the residue of it;) or from the pecuniary advantage they might gain; now, that we should be made to suffer almost beyond endurance, that foreigners may fatten upon our distresses, I cannot think is requisite. I will not intrude many words more; I am a land-owner myself, from interest it will be thought I am necessarily; from conviction, however, of its superior importance for the public benefit, I am still more highly attached to it; but I cannot think the proprietors of it are men of that character which deserve to be saved from pecuniary ruin; or, which is of more importance far, are of characters such as to serve their King and country in the present crisis; if they would not, I will not say chearfully, (for I fear dissipation, pleasure, and effeminacy of mind is too prevalent among all descriptions, to hope for that;) but without resistance submit it to sacrifices to the above extent, if they could but feel secure that the affairs of the nation would be conducted with a constant and zealous attention to its honour and independence; a hope which from the gracious accordance of our Sovereign, with the desires of his people in the formation of his ministry, the country begins to indulge with confidence.——I am, Sir, your very sincere admirer, and constant reader—BRITANNUS.

March 3, 1806.

CLERGY RESIDENCE ACT.

To the Right Hon. W. Windham.

SIR,—From the liberal ideas expressed in your speeches against the act for enforcing the clergy to residence, I will cherish the hope, that you will still support their cause, by moving for a repeal of that act. The Act of Henry VIIIth, harsh and unjust as it was, did not oppress the clergy so much as the present law; for by this the common informer, in some instances, can recover five times as much as he could by the Act of Henry VIIIth.—That residence is a moral duty is not denied; it is also a moral duty for all gentlemen to reside part of the year on their estates; but the law has made provision for the duties of the clergy, by allowing curates, who must be approved of by the Bishops. These resident curates, being generally young and respectable men, perform the parochial duties better than the old or infirm incumbents. This may be easily conceived, when it is remembered, that most of our Bishops and superior clergy were curates in their younger days. It is certainly to the credit of the clergy, that no complaint has ever been brought against them in parliament for non-residence; for, it is well known, that they generally did reside, where residence was tolerable and practicable, they

were invited to residence by interest, by inclination, and duty; these are better motives than what are enforced by an act, degrading and afflicting them with heavy pains and penalties. But when men were verging to the decline of life, after having spent their best days in the duties of their parish, they naturally hoped to have the privilege to live where they pleased, for they then wanted the aid and comfort of society in towns, or among their friends and relations; but for such purposes as these, and many others of great importance to clergymen, the act does not allow absence, so very hard does this law, which is also an *ex post facto* law, operate against the elder clergy, though they had dedicated the best period of their lives to their parochial duties; to them, at least, might be granted the indulgence of that liberty, which all other classes of men enjoy in this free country.—In acts of reform it is generally provided, that the present possessors should not be injured or distressed, but that the reform should be gradual and prospective, then no one could complain of either partial or public injury. It is melancholy to reflect, that the clergy of the church of England are, at this day, subject to greater hardships than any other class of men in the kingdom; we see with what malevolence they are attacked by the hypocrite, the enthusiast, and the infidel; we see what difficulties they have to encounter, to receive their lawful property, which in general is little more than half of what is their just due. Many others might be enumerated, and yet, at the same time, we observe them in the most critical and trying times of public danger, doing their duty with zeal and ability. Surely, then, the clergy deserve the good will of the public, and the protection of the state.—I have the honour to be, Sir, &c. SENEX.—*Feb.* 1806.

PUBLIC PAPER.

PRUSSIA.——*Memorial of Baron Von Hardenberg, Minister of State to the King of Prussia, to Lord Harrowby. Dated Berlin, Dec* 22, 1805.

MY LORD;——Conformably to the answer I have already had the honour to transmit to your Excellency, to the question which you addressed to me, relative to the security of the troops of his Britannic Maj. in the North of Germany, I hasten to lay before you the positive assurances which I have the pleasure to be able to communicate to you.—Your Exc. is acquainted with the present state of affairs. You will first perceive that, at the point to which matters have now come, since the unfortunate battle of Austerlitz, between Austria and France, in consequence of the return of the great Russian army, and the total uncertainty in which we are with regard to the intentions of Napoleon towards Prussia, the utmost caution is absolutely necessary. The bravest army cannot always reckon upon success; and it is, undoubtedly, the interest of Prussia, and the interest of the whole world, to prevent any attack upon her at the present moment, when she would have to bear the whole burden of the war; and no confederacy adapted to circumstances has been formed; for, in case her armies should prove unsuccessful, the last ray of hope, to maintain the security and independence of the Continent, would be extinguished.——The King still animated by the same wish to establish a general peace on a permanent footing, and, if possible, to the satisfaction of all parties, must consequently have been ardently desirous that his mediation, stipulated in the convention signed on the 3d of Nov. at Potsdam, should have been accepted by France. In an interview which Count Von Haugwitz had with Napoleon on the 28th Nov that Monarch manifested a disposition to accept of this mediation, on the two following conditions:—1. That during the negociation no troops of his Britannic Maj. nor any Russians or Swedes should advance into Holland to commence warlike operations there, after their departure from the North of Germany. 2. That a more extensive circuit should be allowed to the fortress of Hameln, in order to relieve the distress of the garrison for provisions.——The King could not accept these propositions under the circumstances of the moment in which they were made: but these have totally changed, and in the present conjuncture his Maj. has not only judged them admissible—upon condition that the Emperor Napoleon engages, on his side, not to send any troops into the North of Germany, as long as the negociations shall continue, and that he shall not undertake any thing against Hanover during the same interval; but even favourable, as time will thus be gained to take more deliberate measures, and to prepare for every contingency; either in case a war should break out, or this intermediate state of things should lead to a definitive negociation.——That no time may be lost, his Maj. has sent Major Von Pfuhl to the French head-quarters, that this arrangement may be carried into effect. At the same time, Count Haugwitz has received the necessary instructions, bearing date the 19th inst. and the King has given France to understand, that he shall consider the occupation of Hanover by

French troops, as an act of hostility.—Agreeably to what I have just stated, his Maj. has authorised me to inform your lordship, that, in conformity with the assurances already given, in case the troops of his Britannic Maj. and the Russians should prove unfortunate, the King engages for the security of the troops of his Britannic Maj. in Hanover, and grants them perfect liberty, in case of necessity, to retreat to the Prussian army, and to the states of the King, but with the following modifications, which circumstances render necessary:—1. That they take their positions in the rear of the Prussian troops, and abstain, during the period of the intermediate negociation, from every movement and step of a provoking nature towards Holland. 2. That in case the Prussian troops shall be attacked by the French, his Maj. may rely with perfect confidence on the support and co-operation of the troops of his Britannic Maj. as long as they shall continue in the North of Germany. His Maj. has given orders for a respectable corps to advance into Westphalia, and will adopt every necessary measure for security and defence. The Russian troops, under the command of Gen. Count Tolstoy, are already at the entire disposal of his Maj., as the Emperor Alexander has fully authorised him to dispose of them at pleasure; and likewise of those which are under Gen. Bennigsen, in Silesia.—I therefore request your Exc. to write as speedily as possible to Lord Cathcart, the Commander-in-Chief of the troops of his Britannic Maj., and to prevail upon him to take, without delay, such steps as are necessary for these different purposes, and in particular to comply with the invitation which will be transmitted to him by the order of the King, through Count Kalreuth, to consult personnally with him and Count Tolstoy, on the positions which the troops of his Britannic Maj., the Russians, and Pussians, will have to take, in consequence of the above-mentioned arrangements.——As the Swedish troops are in the same predicament with the troops of his Britannic Maj. and the Russians, it would be extremely desirable to prevail upon his Swedish Maj. to conform to this arrangement.—I hope that, to this end, your lordship will act in concert with Prince Dolgorucky, whom his Imperial Maj. of all the Russias has charged with every thing relative to the destination of the Russian army. In case his Swedish Maj. will resign the conduct of his troops to Count Tolstoy, the King is ready to give them the same guarantee which he offers to the troops of his Britannic Maj., during their continuance in the North of Germany. 3. With regard to the provisioning of the fortress of Hameln, it is conceived that the grant of a certain district, from which the garrison might themselves procure provisions, would be attended with great inconveniencies, both in respect to the subjects of his Britannic Maj., and on account of the collisions which might thence ensue between the troops. It, therefore, appears preferable, to furnish necessaries from the Hanoverian territory, through an intermediate person, to whom Gen. Barbou must send a statement of what he wants for daily consumption, and on whose requisition the Hanoverian ministry will take care that it be delivered at the places appointed for that purpose. But Gen. Barbou must, on his side, engage to remain quiet within the town of Hameln.—Conformably to these ideas, the King has sent M. Von Krusemark, Lieut. Col. of the *Garde du Corps*, and Adjutant to Field Marshal Von Mollendorf, to Hanover. I have given him, for my part, a letter to the ministers of his Britannic Maj., at Hanover, and another for Gen. Barbou, that the necessary arrangements for providing, instantaneously, for the subsistence of the garrison of Hameln, may be made, and put into execution without delay.——I have now nothing left, my lord, but to refer to the verbal communication I had the honour to make to you, and to intreat you to take in general such steps as you shall think expedient for carrying into execution the whole arrangement which I have had the honour to submit to you. I request you to have the goodness to inform the Commander-in-Chief of the troops of his Britannic Maj., that it is only in case he shall think proper to accede to this arrangement, and to adopt such measures as shall depend upon him for carrying it into execution, his Prussian Maj. can positively engage to guarantee the security of the troops of his Britannic Maj. In case of attack on the part of the French, it will, however, be necessary, that the conduct of the whole should centre in one point, and it appears natural that the oldest in rank should then assume the chief command. It would consequently devolve upon Gen. Count Kalkreuth, both for the above reason, and likewise because he, being in the vicinity of the enemy, would be best able to judge what measures to adopt.——I repeat to your Exc. the assurance of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Excellency's, &c. (Signed) HARDENBERG.

REPORT *from the Committee Appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment against Henry Lord Viscount Melville. (Continued from p. 352.)*

No. 7.——*The following Account is extracted from the Books of Mure and Atkinson.*

Dr. Lord Advocate of Scotland, in Accot. Currt. with Mure and Co. Cr.

1780. Apr.	To Balce. of Col. Dundas's acct.	634	18	0	1782. Sept. 10.	By cash recd. from R. Atkinson	3900	0	0
1781, May 31.	To cash paid his dft. dated 22d inst.	300	0	0	Nov. 16.	By do. recd. from R. A's. dft. on Smith and Co.	2002	11	8
Aug. 20.	To do. pd. his dft. to Mr. Spottiswood	300	0	0	1783. Apr. 17.	By do recd. from him	10000	0	0
Dec. 3.	To do. pd. do. to Jas. Newbigging	300	0	0	19.	By do. recd. from A. Gray	936	0	0
1782. Jan. 28.	To do. pd. do. to do.	500	0	0	May 16.	By do. recd. from Col. Dundas	600	0	0
June 15.	To do. pd. Mr. Bell dft. dated 11th inst.	1200	0	0	June 12.	By bills recd. from him on Coutts and Co. viz.			
July 30.	To do. pd. Ph. Dundas's bill to G. Urquhart	113	18	9	Due 20 July	2000 0 0			
Aug. 5.	To do. pd. his dft. to W. Bell	100	0	0	30 —	2000 0 0			
12.	To do. pd. him	100	0	0	9 Aug.	2840 0 0			
21.	To do. pd. Ph. Dundas's dft.	30	0	0			6840	0	0
31.	To do. pd. do. bill to J. and D. Webster	182	0	0					
Sep. 17.	To do. pd. his order to W. Bell	200	0	0					
26.	To do. pd. do. dft. to Bell and Rannie	500	0	0					
28.	To do. pd. do. bill to W. Bell	300	0	0					
Oct. 15.	To do. pd. do. dft. to Sir W. Forbes and Co.	500	0	0					
19.	To do. pd. do. to W. Bell	500	0	0					
Nov. 29.	To int. on Col. Dundas's acct. to 11th Sept. last	130	14	4					
	To cash for balance pd. him	11	0	7					
1783. Jan. 27.	To do. pd. him	400	0	0					
Apr. 30.	To do. pd. Capt. Dundas dft. dated 19th inst.	600	0	0					
May 21.	To do. pd. him the sum recd. 19 April	936	0	0					
June 30.	To do. pd. do. dft. dated 5th inst.	400	0	0					
July 2.	To do. pd. the Bank on his acct.	5000	0	0					
11.	To do. pd. do.	6000	0	0					
31.	To do. pd. do.	2000	0	0					
Dec. 31.	To do. pd. dft. to Mr. Bell	300	0	0					
1784. July 12.	To do. pd. him	2000	0	0					
1785. Feb. 15.	To bills payable for H. Dundas's bill	600	0	0					
	To balance	140	0	0					
		£.24278	11	8			£.24278	11	8

Henry Callender

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN FINANCE.

Official Report of the Revenue of the United States for the Year ending Sept. 30, 1805; together with the Estimates for the Year 1806. *(Continued from p. 249.)*

MEDITERRANEAN FUND.

It appears by the statement (B) that the additional duty of two and a half per cent. on goods paying duties *ad valorem*, which constitutes the "Mediterranean fund," amounted, during the six last months of 1804, to 563,038 dollars. And it is ascertained that the amount of the duty accrued during the year, ending on the 30th day of June, 1805, was 990,000. This apparent product will, it is true, be diminished by subsequent exportations; but it is believed, from a view of the value of the goods imported in 1803 and 1804, which are charged with that duty, that the fund may be estimated as producing nearly 900,000 dollars a-year. If that estimate be correct, the fund will ultimately produce, during the one year and nine months, commencing on the 1st day of July, 1804, and ending on the 31st day of March, 1806, one million five hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars - - - 1,375,000

The expenses heretofore charged on that fund have been, viz.

Paid, in 1804, to the navy department, under the act constituting the fund	525,000	
Paid, in 1805, to the said department, by virtue of the 2d session of the act of the 25th January, 1805 - - -	590,000	
		1,115,000

Making altogether one million one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, and leaving an unappropriated surplus, estimated at four hundred and sixty thousand dollars, but which will be more than absorbed by the navy deficiencies above-mentioned. The monies actually received, or to be received into the treasury on account of that fund, prior to the first day of January, 1806, are estimated at about 600,000 dollars. The residue will be received between that day and the 31st day of March, 1807; and credit has been taken for a sum of 900,000 dollars, on that account, in the preceding estimate of the receipts of the year 1806.

PUBLIC DEBT.

The payments on account of the principal of the public debt have, during the year ending on the 30th day of September, 1805, exceeded four millions three hundred and seventy-seven thousand dollars, as appears by estimate - - - - 4,377,898 63

The two last instalments due to Great Britain, and amounting to one million seven hundred and seventy-six thousand dollars, have also been discharged during the same period - - 1,776,000

Making in the whole a reimbursement of more than six millions one hundred and fifty thousand dollars - - 6,153,893 63

As the exportation of the specie necessary to discharge the last-mentioned instalment would have been sensibly felt, it was found eligible to pay it in London, in conformity with the authority given by the act of the 3d of March, 1805, and the operation was effected, at par, by the bank of the United States.

It appears by the same statement (D) that the payments on account of the public debt, from the 1st April, 1801, to the 30th September, 1805, have amounted to almost eighteen millions of dollars, 17,954,790 49

During the same period there have been paid to Great Britain, in satisfaction and discharge of the money which the United States might have been liable to pay, in pursuance of the provisions of the 6th article of the treaty of 1794, 2,664,000

The balance in the treasury amounted on the 1st of Apr. 1801, to	1,794,052 59	
And on the 30th day of Sept. 1805, to	4,575,654 37	
Making an increase of		2,781,601 78

From which, deducting the proceeds of the sales of bank shares	1,287,600	
Leaves for the increase arising from the ordinary revenue, - - -		1,494,001 78
Making, in the whole, a difference of more than twenty-two millions of dollars in favour of the United States, during that period of four years and a half -		22,112,792 27

In order to give a more general and concise view of the receipts and expenditures of the United States, during the four years, commencing on the 1st day of April, 1801, and ending on the 31st day of March, 1805, than can be derived from the annual printed accounts, a statement marked (H), and several explanatory statements marked (H. 1 to H. 8), have been added to those which usually accompany this report.—From those it appears, that a sum of fifty millions six hundred and sixty-seven thousand four hundred and sixty-seven dollars and four cents has been paid into the treasury during that period, viz.

From duties on tonnage and on the importation of foreign merchandize - -		45,174,837 22
From all other sources (including 1,596,171 dollars and 43 cents, arising from the sales of bank shares and of public vessels,) -		5,492,629 82
		50,667,467 04

And that the expenditures during the same period, have amounted to forty-nine millions six hundred and sixty-five thousand five hundred and twenty-seven dollars and fifty-six cents, which have been disbursed for the following purposes:—1. Less than one-third of the whole has been sufficient to defray all the current expenses of the United States, viz.

For the civil list and all domestic expenses of a civil nature	3,786,114 79	
For the military establishment and Indian department - -	4,405,192 20	
For the naval establishmt	4,842,635 15	
For the expenses attending the intercourse with foreign nations - -	1,071,433 84	
Amounting altogether to -		14,105,380 04
2. Near one-third was necessary to pay the interest on the public debt, viz. -		16,278,700 95

On which subject it may not be improper to observe, that a part of that sum, amounting to 3,160,000 dollars, was paid on account of the interest on the deferred stock; a charge which commenced only in the year 1801, and was therefore in addition to the annual sum wanted before that year, for the payment of interest on the public debt.

3. More than one-third, and which may be considered as the surplus revenue of the United States, during that period, has been applied towards the reimbursement and extinguishment of the debt, viz.

On account of the principal of the public debt proper	16,317,663 92	
In payment of debts contracted before the 1st. day of April, 1801, arising under the Br. treaty, and under the Fr. convention of 30th Sep. 1800 - -	2,963,782 65	
		19,281,446 57
		49,665,527 56

It is sufficiently evident, that, whilst one-third of the national revenue is necessarily absorbed by the payment of interest, a persevering application of the resources, afforded by seasons of peace and prosperity, to the discharge of the principal, in the manner directed by the legislature, is the only effectual mode by which the United States can ultimately obtain the full command of their revenue, and the full disposal of all their resources. Every year produces a diminution of interest, and a positive increase of revenue. Four years more will be sufficient to discharge (in addition to the annual reimbursements on the six per cent. and deferred

stocks) the remainder of the Dutch debt, and the whole of the 8 per cent. navy; six per cent. five and a half per cent. and four and a half per cent. stocks. As the portion of the public debt which shall then remain unpaid will consist of the six per cent. deferred and Louisiana stocks, neither of which can be reimbursed, except at the periods and in the proportions fixed by contract, and of the three per cent. stock, which its low rate of interest will render ineligible to discharge at its nominal value; the rapidity of the reduction of the debt, beyond the annual reimbursements permitted by the contracts, will, after the year 1809, depend on the price at which purchases may be effected. And, should circumstances render it eligible, a considerable portion of the revenue now appropriated for that purpose, may then, in conformity with existing provisions, be applied to other objects.

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.——*Message from the President of the United States to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, dated January 17th, 1806.*

In my message to both Houses of Congress, at the opening of the present session, I submitted to their attention, among other subjects, the oppression of our commerce and navigation, by the irregular practices of armed vessels, public and private, and by the introduction of new principles, derogatory of the rights of neutrals, and unacknowledged by the usage of nations.—The memorials of several bodies of merchants of the United States are now communicated, and will develope these principles and practices, which are producing the most ruinous effects on our lawful commerce and navigation.—The right of a neutral to carry on commercial intercourse with every part of the dominions of a belligerent, permitted by the laws of the country (with the exception of blockaded ports, and contraband of war) was believed to have been decided between Great Britain and the United States, by the sentence of their commissioners, mutually appointed to decide on that and other questions of difference between the two nations; and by the actual payment of the damages awarded by them against Great Britain, for the infractions of that right. When, therefore, it was perceived that the same principles were revived, with others more novel, and extending the injury, instructions were given to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of London, and remonstrances duly made by him, on this subject, as will appear by documents transmitted herewith. These were followed by a partial and temporary suspension only, without any disavowal of the principle. He has, therefore, been instructed to urge this subject anew, to bring it more fully to the bar of reason, and to insist on rights too evident, and too important to be surrendered. In the mean time, the evil is proceeding under adjudications founded on the principle which is denied. Under these circumstances the subject presents itself for the consideration of Congress.—On the impressment of our seamen, our remonstrances have never been intermitted. A hope existed, at one moment, of an arrangement which might have been submitted to; but it soon passed away, and the practice, though relaxed at times in the distant seas, has been constantly pursued in those of our neighbourhood. The grounds on which the reclamations on this subject have been urged, will appear in an extract from instructions to our Minister at London, now communicated.—TH. JEFFERSON.

BRUNSWICK.——*Petition of the Brunswickers to their Duke, dated Brunswick, Feb. 14, 1806.*

Most Illustrious Duke, Most Gracious Prince and Lord,——To your children, and all good Brunswickers, a most unaccountable rumour is in circulation. It is said——but may the all-bountiful Providence prevent its ever being realized; that the destiny which is now spreading over Europe, threatens us also! They say, what none of us can hear without trembling, and what none of us can express without turning pale, that the threatening destiny we alluded to before, is seeking to separate the happiest people on earth from its all-honoured, all-admired, and all-beloved Father; that it would give him other subjects who are not his children, and give us another prince who is not our father. They say too, that we shall cease to be the favourites of fortune, and the happiest of all people, governed with wisdom, mildness, and rectitude.—If this dreadful fate could be bought off with our blood, oh! how willingly, how joyfully, would we shed it to the last drop, to ensure to our children that enviable situation which we have hitherto enjoyed! But alone, what can our small number effect against the iron hand of that destiny, which has subjugated people an hundred times greater than ourselves, and which seems to threaten as if it would toss about all states like a shuttlecock? We can effect nothing by our arms; but only through God and your grace, our great and good father, can we possibly be saved. Before God,

therefore, we shall prostrate ourselves, anxiously crying, Preserve! Oh, preserve! what thou hast given us; the best, the most gracious, the wisest of all princes. To you we stretch our trembling arms and pray. Have mercy upon your children! Preserve yourself for them as long as Providence, moved by our prayers, shall prolong a life so valuable to the world and us. You can do it, great and good father! for where is the country where the fame and high reputation of your governing virtues has not extended? Who is insensible to the very superior qualifications of your person, united with all the rare properties of your heart and mind? Who does not love and admire them? Where is it that the mere expressions of your will would not be received with that esteem and obsequiousness due to the very oracle of wisdom itself? One word from you, and even that fate which now decides upon the lot of nations shall pay homage to your will! One word from you, and your children, your happy, grateful children, shall be saved! Oh, speak this word, and speak it so clearly and intelligibly, that even the threatening destiny itself shall hear, and the world and posterity pay you that deference already due to the many rare examples you have shewn, to which you will add the most precious of all others; that of a prince who has no wish to extend his territory or increase his external greatness, but only desires to preserve the happiness of his legitimate subjects.—These traits of true princely greatness, history will preserve for you, as the most beautiful and costly of all diadems. Adorned by your virtues, history will represent these to posterity as a source of admiration, and an example, which wise legislators and tutors will anxiously recommend to their pupils, and by virtue of which, they may, like your highness, attain to the highest degree of magnanimity. You, they will be emulous to imitate. Humanity, which owes you so many thanks, will be laid under peculiar obligations, for an example so necessary to our times; and your reign will, by these means, become the fairest, the most efficacious, and enviable of all others; being the dominion of the mind, the heart, and the moral world: not merely immortal in itself: but it will disseminate, all over the habitable globe, the genuine, though unobtrusive, reputation of a prince, in opposition to the childish and contemptible sing-song of flattery; and shew how to distinguish true greatness from the vanity of mere ambition. To us, to whom Providence has been so gracious as to give such a prince, may our great and good father still remain our all; our just pride; our benefactor; the beautifier and the augmenter of our ameliorating situation, and flourishing commerce; our increasing intelligence; our emulative arts and sciences; our improved system of infantine education; our well-regulated public seminaries; our religious belief, and the freedom of the press; our wise laws, and their fatherly application. All these are thy works, dear father of the country! And for their preservation for our children, we shall again thank you, while intoxicated with delight, and with weeping eyes, thanking God also from the bottom of our hearts, with our uplifted arm, trembling with joy, we offer you the most free and unsullied homage ever yet offered by man; that of hearts deeply affected and scarcely able to contain their happiness. For it is our highest pride, our most anxious wish, that so long as we live; yes, and if possible, beyond the grave, in our children and their latest descendants, to pay no allegiance but to you and your princely posterity, and most sensibly to continue to subscribe ourselves, with the most unfeigned devotion, the most happy, grateful, and obedient children of our great and good father. (Signed) ALL THE BRUNSWICKERS.

VIENNA.——*Proclamation of the Emperor of Austria, dated Vienna, Feb* 1, 1806.

I have given peace to my good and faithful people. My resolutions have united with their wishes. I renounced all hopes of a change in the fortune of war, to banish with promptitude all the dangers and sufferings to which my flourishing country, and even the heart of the monarchy, my capital, and residence were exposed. The sacrifices are great, and they were with difficulty wrung from my heart; but they could not stand in competition with the welfare, the domestic and civil welfare, of millions. For these I made the sacrifice; and I expect my indemnification in the blessings which are promised to my people by the return of peace. I know no other happiness than that of my people; and no glory superior to that of the father of those people, who in loyalty, unshaken fidelity, and disinterested love to their sovereign and their country, give place to no nation in Europe. The fair fame of their national character has exacted an unwilling tribute of esteem, even from the enemy; but in my heart they have fixed a monument which time itself will not be able to destroy. Under these emotions, I returned to my residence, in the circle of my loyal and estimable citizens and inhabitants, and to the resumption of the direction

of my affairs. The wounds inflicted by the war are deep: several years may be necessary to heal them, and to obliterate the impressions inflicted by the sufferings of this unfortunate period. The administration of the state has greater, and duties more difficult than ever to fulfil: and they will fulfil them: but they have at the same time stronger claims than ever upon the co-operation of all classes, for the laudable purpose of restoring the vigour of the interior, by disseminating the true culture of the mind, and animating the national industry in all its branches, through the restoration and increase of the national credit; and by these means to establish the monarchy upon that basis which the variable fate of the states of Europe has rendered necessary. Every moment of my life will be directed to this object, and devoted to the improvement of the welfare of the noble and good people who are dear to me as the children of my affection. United by the mutual obligations of reciprocal confidence, and the cordial love of my subjects, I shall only believe I have done enough for Austria, as a prince and a father, when its prosperity is again secured; when the sufferings of the citizens are forgotten, and nothing remains alive but the remembrance of my sacrifices, your fidelity, and your exalted and unshaken patriotism.—— FRANCIS.

CONTINENTAL WAR.—*Russian official Account of the Battle of Austerlitz, from the Petersburg Journal of Feb.* 2, 1806.

Troppau, Jan. 25.—The issue of the battle of Austerlitz has been so well confirmed by its consequences, that it is almost incredible how France could publish such extravagant and untrue relations of that affair. All Europe, and the Russian nation in particular, justly expect a relation on our part. The love of truth alone, and the wish to adduce none but well-authenticated facts, have hitherto prevented the appearance of this relation. In the mean while, it is necessary to correct some of the statements of the French bulletins, particularly the 30th, and to lay them before the public.—General Savary spoke with two persons only belonging to the Emperor's suite; and, excepting these, he only saw some Field Adjutants, who had brought dispatches from their chiefs, or were in waiting to transmit orders to them.—The Chief of the French nation might not have derived any pleasure from the conversation of Prince Dolgorucky; but he at the same time forgot that the Russians did not belong to those nations who sought his protection.—The number of the Allied Army, as stated in the Bulletins, "was "105,000 men, viz. 80,000 Russians and "25,000 Austrians, and the French much "inferior."—But why were their numbers not given?—Besides the Reserve, which alone was said to be equal to an army, the enemy's force consisted of four large divisions of 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry each, commanded by a Marshal and two Generals of Division. The Combined Army, on the other hand, consisted of 52,000 Russians and 17,000 Austrians.—But this inferiority in number was the least misfortune in the Russian army: the scarcity of provisions was so great, that for nearly two days preceding the battle, they had nothing to eat. The horses were famished to such a degree, that those belonging to the artillery could no longer draw. Of course, in the battle, the artillery was of little use, excepting in those stations where it was at first planted. The total failure of provisions and forage was alone sufficient to prevent our maintaining our post any longer at Olmutz, or to take another station further in the rear. These circumstances urged the necessity of the battle, the happy result of which could only be expected from the valour of the troops.—The Imperial Guard, of which it is said in a Bulletin, that it lost all its colours, are still in possession of them, and have taken one pair from the enemy. The Combined Army, it is said, lost 15,000 killed and 20,000 prisoners. Do they include among these the 20,000 said to have been drowned?—After so many forced marches, and so much fatigue and hunger as had been sustained, with the sickness consequent thereunto; after the affairs upon the Danube and in Moravia; of the whole Russian army there is not a deficiency of more than seventeen thousand men. But, were the loss as considerable as the Bulletin has pretended, why was not the Russian army pursued, as that Bulletin falsely asserts? On the contrary, the Russian army kept the field till the next morning. The armistice was not concluded, but with the Emperor of Germany, at whose particular desire the Russians first commenced their retreat, and which was also effected in good order and without loss, notwithstanding the French partly assert, that during the negociations with Austria, the French army prosecuted its victories. To enhance the glory of this day, the French Bulletin says, that the French Guard (the reserve corps) took no part in the battle. The same Bulletin however afterwards asserts, that when one French battalion was broken by the Russian Guard, Buonaparte ordered Marshal Bes-

sieres to advance, and that the Imperial Guards on both sides immediately came to action.—The French Bulletins abound with false statements, over which the pretended noise and distraction, occasioned by the discharge of 200 pieces of cannon, and a conflict between 200,000 men, throw but a flimsy covering. Can it possibly serve the interests of a great general to sanction such reports? Can he really stand in need of such means as these to increase that military glory, which is not denied him? Posterity will do justice to the truth.

France.——*Speech of the Emperor Napoleon, on the opening of the Legislative Body. March* 3, 1806.

Gentlemen, the deputies from the departments to the legislative body; gentlemen, the tribunes, and the members of my council of state.—Since your last session, the greatest part of Europe has entered into a coalition with England. My armies have never ceased to conquer, excepting when I ordered them to combat no longer. I have avenged the rights of the feeble states, oppressed by the strong. My allies have increased in power, and in consequence. My enemies have been humbled and confounded; the House of Naples has irrecoverably lost its crown; the whole of the Peninsula of Italy forms a part of the Great Empire. I, as supreme head, have guaranteed the sovereign, and the constitutions that govern the different departments.——Russia only owes the return of the wreck of her army to the advantages of the capitulation which I granted it. Able to have overturned the Imperial Throne of Austria, I have confirmed it. The conduct of the Cabinet of Vienna will be such as will prevent posterity from reproaching me for any want of foresight. I have yielded an entire confidence to the protestations which have been made to me by its Sovereign. Besides, the high destinies of my crown do not depend upon the sentiments and dispositions of foreign courts. My people will always support my throne against all the efforts of hatred or jealousy; no sacrifice will be painful to them to secure that first interest of the country.—Bred in camps, and in camps that have always been triumphant, I ought to acknowledge that, in the late events, my soldiers have exceeded my expectations. It is pleasing also to me to declare, that my people have also fulfilled the extent of their duties. In the heart of Moravia, I never ceased for an instant to experience the effect of their love and enthusiasm. Never have they given me any marks of their attachment, which have penetrated my heart with sweeter emotions.—Frenchmen! I have not been deceived in my hopes. Your love, more than the extent and the riches of your territory, constitute my glory. Magistrates, clergy, citizens, all have shewn themselves worthy of the high destinies of that admirable France, which, for two ages past, has been the object of the leagues and the jealousies of its neighbours. My minister of the interior will inform you of the events which have taken place in the course of the year. My council of state will lay before you plans of laws to ameliorate the different branches of the administration. My ministers of finance, and of the public treasury, will lay before you the accounts which they have presented to me. You will perceive by them the prosperous state of our finances. Since my return, I have been incessantly occupied in giving to the administration that spring and activity which give life to the extremities of this vast empire. My people will have no new burdens to bear, but new plans will be proposed to you, respecting the system of the finances, the bases of which were established last year. I intend to diminish the immediate impositions which bear upon the land alone, and to replace a part of these charges by indirect duties.——Through the elements we have lost some ships, after an engagement imprudently commenced. I cannot too much praise the greatness of soul, and the attachment which the King of Spain has shewn in these circumstances for the common cause. I am desirous of peace with England. On my part, I shall never retard that moment. I shall be always ready to conclude it in adopting, for its bases, the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens.—Gentlemen, deputies to the legislative body, the attachment you have shewn to me, the manner in which you have seconded me in the late sitting, leave me no doubt of your assistance. Nothing shall be proposed to you, but that which is necessary to guarantee the glory and safety of my people.

French Annual Exposé, *at the Opening of the Session of the Legislative Body at Paris, March* 3, 1806.

Messieurs the Deputies of the Legislative Body, I am charged by his Majesty the Emperor to give you an account of the state of the empire during the past year.—Its destinies had just been fixed on an immoveable basis; a ceremony, the recollection of which will form an epoch in its annals, had raised the Chief of the State, and his august family, to the dignity which the wishes and the wants of France required, when you last year met in this

place, which was consecrated by his presence. In the midst of you shone the first rays of that immortal lustre, with which the homage of the people, and the benediction of Heaven, have invested him, a happy omen for the labours you were about to undertake. Accordingly, your operations have answered his expectation, for they have all been useful. Love for the public weal, and the inspiration of genius, have guided your steps, and the unity established in the empire, and so solemnly proclaimed, has appeared to infuse still more harmony into your sentiments and your deliberations.—The Emperor, in his turn, had announced to you, that he looked upon his new honours as a great debt. To acquit himself of this debt, every moment of his life has been devoted. You know whether he has fulfilled his promises, and how far he has surpassed your expectations; you know with what events, perhaps you will say with what prodigies, a year, scarcely elapsed, has teemed. These I will recapitulate, without pretending to give a complete account of them, or to describe their immense results. Europe, still motionless with astonishment and terror, and France, transported with admiration and love, render it unnecessary for me to say what I should in vain attempt to express.—Scarcely were your labours concluded, when the Emperor resolved to visit a part of France. If he were every where greeted with the most lively and the most unanimous testimonies of public affection, if the inhabitants of the city and of the country, ran to meet him, offering the homage of their gratitude and of their love, he has not experienced a pleasure less grateful to his heart, in beholding, with his own eyes, the results of an Administration, incessantly animated, for the last six years, by the most generous solicitude for the welfare of the people, and the restoration of public order. He has seen the traces of our misery effaced, and their memory of them almost extinguished; the laws respected, the Magistrates zealously devoted to their duty, morals improved, religious ideas honoured, French urbanity restored to its former delicacy. If some ameliorations still remain to be effected, they were not such reparations as succeed great disasters, but improvements which belong to a period of tranquillity and of prosperity; yet the Emperor wished to be made acquainted with them, and to accomplish them. He sent for all those who, by their functions, or their intelligence, were capable of seconding his views; admitted all those who had favours to solicit; gave a favourable reception to their demands; provoked and listened to their observations; rewarded services; inspected, in person, the minutest details; and, wherever he went, he left, in the measures of his sublime wisdom, durable monuments of his passage.—Troyes was first honoured with his presence, and obtained his first bounty; this bounty promises an existence worthy of its ancient celebrity. The project of a navigation of the Seine, by the same vessels, from Paris to Chatillon, not far from its source, is conceived; the details of it are completed. The improvement of that of the Saone is projected; the towns which it bathes are receiving embellishments; the quays of Chalons, Tournus, and Macon, are to be improved and enlarged. Macon will have a cathedral erected within its walls, more beautiful than that whose destruction it regrets; the Emperor contributes to this edifice a considerable sum from his private revenues. The Seine, rendered navigable, will be a new benefit for the Department of the Saone and Loire; the Department of L'Ain awakes at the sight of its Sovereign, who vivifies every thing, and who manifests an ardent desire to increase its industry, and to correct the insalubrity of a portion of its territory.—Lyons, already loaded with the bounties of him who rebuilt its edifices, and re-peopled its manufactories, has no further wishes to form, and is anxious only to pour forth its just transports to the deliverer whom it loves. But the solicitude of the Emperor, for this capital of French industry, is not exhausted; and when his subjects are filled only with gratitude, his eye discovers farther means of accelerating the progress of a prosperity continually increasing since the commencement of his reign. The southern provinces of the city will be rendered salubrious; the Rhone will be restrained within its banks, and brought nearer to the city, which it seems inclined to abandon; wise regulations secure fidelity in the manufactories, and the confidence of the foreign consumer, without injuring the liberty of industry; rewards, decreed by the Emperor himself, redouble the emulation of the workman; a drawing-school will insure the improvement of the art. Lyons, communicating with the sea towards the South, very soon with the Rhine by the Canal Napoleon; with the Ocean and the Channel by the Saone, the Loire, and the Seine; with Switzerland and with Piedmont, will become a mart, the happy situation of which cannot fail to render it the centre of a widely-extended commerce.—The ancient Savoy, long oppressed by the politics of its sovereigns, happy in being united by its laws to a country to which it always belonged by its manners, presents to the Emperor, hearts, whose fide-

lity has already been tried. Every thing is in motion in its vallies, formerly almost inaccessible, and which will speedily be opened to the most productive communications; but the great operations, of which it is the theatre, do not cause its minutest interests to be neglected. The palace of Chambery is rising again from its ashes; deserted edifices are restored to public utility; asylums are opened for indigence; resting-places are afforded to the traveller; the seeds of industry are scattered over a soil to which they appeared to be strangers.—The Emperor crossed the Alps, by the route which his genius had planned, and which his power has executed. Here a new scene presented itself to his view; Piedmont still exhibits some vestiges of a revolution, less terrible, but more recent than ours. It appears not to be entirely French, either by the sentiments which prevail in it, or by the advantages it enjoys. The Emperor, who had twice appeared under the walls of Turin, at the head of a victorious army, but did not enter that city, from respect for misfortune, or weakness, entered it for the first time; he there appeared as the father of his new children, without soldiers, without guards; attended only by the benefits he brought with him, greater and more powerful for this noble security. The affection to which he confided was displayed on every side. The Piedmontese shewed themselves worthy of the confidence with which he honours them. The public homage supplied him with a retinue; the wealthy individuals, in a separate body, pressed around him; unsteady administrations, borrowing light from his genius, proceeded with a more firm and more regular step; abuses are reformed, languishing commerce is revived, new markets are promised it; uncertainty is fixed; opinions are reconciled; those who, in difficult times, devoted themselves to the interests of France, are assured that faithful France will not forget their services; those who, impressed with the bounty of their former masters, thought that misfortune added to the duties of gratitude, learn that their new sovereign is too generous, to remember any thing, but that zeal, of which they have shewn themselves capable; services are rewarded, be their date what it may, and the new country to which it is annexed, acquits debts of the old. The principal families admitted to the Imperial Throne, diffuse around them the lustre of the honours they have received; the great land-owners, without hoping for the restoration of any privilege, have no exclusion to fear; every thing assumes the place assigned to it by wisdom and justice; Piedmont, formerly conquered by arms, is now naturalised by bounty.—Every part of Piedmont will owe to this period important institutions. Turin, Casal, Alexandria; Turin, formerly the residence of a court; Casal, the ancient capital of Montsurat, long naturalised by affections and by manners; Alexandria, around which, as on their pivot, have revolved great military operations. Turin, widowed of her kings, is consoled by an august promise; a brother of the Emperor will govern that beautiful country, and his well-known character guarantees the happiness which he will cause it to enjoy; he will reside at Turin; an amiable and brilliant court will restore to that city much more than it has lost; its magnificent palace will be the abode of beneficence and of the Graces. Formerly, a gloomy fortress, surrounded by enemies; now opened to France and Italy, of which it seems to be the bond, it is encircled only by amicable nations, and commerce and the arts hastening to resort to it, will lavish upon it their blessings. Casal, forgotten to this day, but zealously devoted to the chief of the empire, has greeted him with acclamations, and not uttered a single complaint. The Emperor has anticipated all its wishes, a lyceum, a bishop's see, and tribunals, restore life to that handsome city; concessions enrich it. These benefits will give a rapid development to the advantages it derived from its happy situation, from a favourable climate, and all the gifts of nature. Alexandria, proud of receiving within its walls the same brave men whose victory it beheld, and by whom it was conquered, celebrated their arrival as a triumphant festival; they were assembled within its walls. The Conqueror of Marengo was surrounded by the companions of his glory, in that plain which was the illustrious theatre of it. The prizes of valour were distributed by the same hands that directed their exploits; a monument is consecrated to the manes of those who sacrificed themselves for their country. The people of Italy, assembling to this spectacle, celebrated, with the French soldiers, the anniversary of a day which fixed their destinies, by confirming those of France. In such places the French will always be sure to conquer; there will be established the bulwark of the empire, there will rise the first fortified town in Europe. The rivers are turned to protect its circumference; the most profound combinations of art direct immense operations, on which more than twelve millions of francs have been expended. The Emperor has traced the plan, and followed all the details; it renders Alexandria the seat of all the great

military establishments; but, by assigning to it such high importance in war, he will confer upon it all the blessings of peace; he establishes its internal administration; he creates for it a commerce of staple and transit, destined for it by the rivers that bathe it, and the communications of which it is the centre; its plains, formerly desolated by banditti, are delivered from the scourge, by which, for ages, they have been devastated. The blessings which accompany the Emperor have been heard along the whole chain of the Apennines. Genoa has heard them—she has hastened to present to the Emperor her homage and her wishes—her wishes are to be French—she is half so already, by her affections, by her habits. The interest of her own existence commands her to be so entirely. Inclosed between the sea, which formerly nourished her and of which our enemies, who are her enemies, have shut the passages, and those mountains, of which our laws, wisely prohibitory, make a barrier for her, Genoa, in want of every thing, without troops, without laws, almost without government, solicited the honour of an adoption, which has united her to a great people, and admitted her to a share of the blessings which they enjoy, and, of the first of all, their government. This wish has been accomplished. It was that of all classes of citizens, and the union has been, to all, a benefit. The Emperor has consecrated it by his presence. It has been received with the transports which a deliverer has excited. Genoa, French, receives the commodities of Piedmont; furnishes France with the produce of its industry; lives and enriches itself by her; and promises her, in her turn, an increase of maritime force, and of commercial riches. Several of her citizens, already known to the Emperor, have received from him flattering distinctions. The French laws are introduced there, without hurting any of the interests which formerly flourished there. The public debt is consolidated; its territory aggrandized. It is divided into departments, and the department nearest to France has received a name which recals to the memory one of the first victories of the hero of France; one of the first crowns with which victory adorned that forehead, since so covered with laurels. The land on which this first laurel, the presage of so many immortal successes, was gathered, well deserved to be *French*. The benefit of this organisation is secured to Genoa by the choice of a grand dignitary, nominated to establish it.—Parma and Plaisance, long uncertain of their destinies, still subjected to Gothic institutions, have also possessed the Chief of the Empire, and date from his passage a code of laws, a system of administration, suited to this enlightened age. If false alarms have excited a momentary disturbance in some vallies of those states, prompt, but mild measures have soon restored order among the misguided shepherds, incapable themselves of assigning the cause of an agitation almost puerile, and which ceased, the moment it became the subject of serious attention. Meanwhile, Italy has changed its face, and the ancient kingdom of the Lombards is restored at the voice of Napoleon. Italy, reposing under the shade of the monarchy, from its long convulsions, has no longer any cause to envy France. The same breath animates it; the same power protects it; the same spirit forms its new institutions, accommodating them to its situation and its manners. Milan has saluted, in the name of its King, him, whom it had called its deliverer. Mantua received with transport, him, who was, under its walls, the vanquisher of five armies, sent to defend it.—Assembled at Castiglione, the French soldiers recal to their memory the successes of the army of Italy. In whatever part of Europe the genius may conduct them, who has so often led them to victory, they promise themselves still more brilliant successes. Italy is proud of receiving laws from a new Charlemagne, and fancies that she sees springing up with her ancient glory, all the prosperity which her climate and her soil entitle her to. A Prince, taught by his lessons, adopted early by his affections, as he has been since by his decrees, continues his work, in forming himself upon this model.—Italy attaches herself with enthusiasm to his steps. Displaying a new character, she hopes to prove, that her long weakness was the vice of her institutions, and not the fault of her inhabitants. France, who receives with avidity the detail of these grand creations, supposes the Emperor still occupied in accomplishing them, when he is already at the gate of the capital to give an account of the internal situation of the empire. In a few days after, England, astonished, hears resounding upon the coast of Boulogne, the report of the cannon which announces his presence. It is there, in the midst of the chosen troops of his army, in the last cares of these grand preparations, that he comes to taste repose. His long calculations are just on the point of execution: The army, impatient, fancies the moment arrived, which will recompense its long labours; but England, trembling not for its glory or its commerce, but for its very existence, has prepared upon the Continent, a powerful

diversion. She has sent forth a cry of terror; at this cry the Continent is in commotion. Its warriors have taken arms. From all parts, they advance against France. Already they menace her frontiers. Upon this unexpected aggression, the Emperor changes his plans of campaign; England triumphs in having poured upon the Continent all the evils which she had dreaded. Vain triumph! She has soon learned, that she has only precipitated ruin upon those whom she regarded as her supports, and dug an abyss that must swallow them up.—In a few days, the Emperor had carried his army from the banks of the Channel, to the banks of the Rhine. He had taken leave of the Senate, of the Nation. He had passed the Rhine. He was at Ulm, at Vienna, at Austerlitz. I will not attempt to recount exploits really wonderful, which can only be related in suitable terms, by him who has performed them. Exploits, which we all know; which we will teach our children, the moment they are capable to listen to them; which our grandchildren will relate with pride, and which constitute, for ever, the glory of the nation, almost as exalted as its incomparable Chief. As Minister of the Emperor, I disappoint his intentions, in holding this language; but I am a *Frenchman*, happy to be so; and I am unable to speak coldly of him, who constitutes the glory, and the prosperity of my country.—I have commenced this sketch of so many events, at the æra of the coronation.

(To be continued.)

MR. PITT'S WILL.

"I owe Sir Walter Farquhar one thou-
"sand guineas, from Oct. 1805, as a pro-
"fessional debt. W. PITT."

"Twelve thousand pounds, with interest,
"from Oct. 1801, to Mr. Long, Mr. Steele,
"Lord Carrington, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord
"Camden, Mr. Joseph Smith; and I ear-
"nestly request their acceptance of it. I
"wish, if means can be found for it, of
"paying double the wages to all my ser-
"vants who were with me at my decease.
"W. PITT."

"I wish my brother, with the Bishop of
"Lincoln, to look over my papers, and to
"settle my affairs. I owe more than I can
"leave behind me. W. PITT."

Appeared personally, William Dacres Adams, of Great Queen-street, Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, Esq. and William Huskisson, of Saint James's-place, in the same county, Esq. and severally made oath, that they knew and were well acquainted with the Right Honourable Wm. Pitt, late of Downing-street, Westminster, in the same county, deceased, for several years, before and to the time of his death; and also with his manner and character of hand-writing and subscription, having frequently seen him write, and also write and subscribe his name; and having now carefully viewed his name "W. Pitt," set and subscribed to the three several testamentary schedules hereto annexed, purporting to contain together the last Will and Testament of the said deceased. The first of the said testamentary schedules, containing the words following, to wit:—"I owe Sir Walter Farquhar one thousand guineas, from Oct. 1805, as a professional debt." The second of the said testamentary schedules, containing the words following, to wit: "£12,000 with interest from Oct. 1801, to Mr. Long, Mr. Steele, Lord Carrington, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Camden, Mr. J. Smith; and I earnestly desire their acceptance of it. I wish, if means can be found for it, of paying double the wages to all my servants who were with me at my decease." The third of the said testamentary schedules, containing the words following, to wit:—"I wish my brother, with the Bishop of Lincoln, to look over my papers, and to settle my affairs: I owe more than I can leave behind me." These deponents severally make oath, that they verily in their consciences believe, the name "W. Pitt," so set and subscribed to the said three testamentary schedules respectively, to be of the proper hand-writing and subscription of the said Right Hon. William Pitt, deceased. WM. DACRES ADAMS. W. HUSKISSON.

12th day of February, 1806.

The said William Dacres Adams and William Huskisson were duly sworn to the truth of this affidavit, before me, HERBERT JENNER, Surr.

Proved at London, the 27th day of February, 1806, before the Worshipful Herbert Jenner, Doctor of Laws, and Surrogate, by the oath of the Right Rev. Father in God, George Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and the Right Hon. John Earl of Chatham, the Executors, according to the tenor of the said Will, they having been first sworn duly to administer.——R. D. GOSLING, NATH. GOSLING, R. C. CRESSWELL, Deputy Registers.

The executors swore to the value of the property as under £10,000.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX. No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" My opinion is, that the best plan of representation is that which shall bring into activity the greatest " number of independent voters. That government alone is strong, that has the hearts of the people ; and " will any man contend, that we should not be more likely to add strength to the state, if we were to ex- " tend the basis of the popular representation ? In 1785, the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) pronounced " the awful prophecy, " Without a Parliamentary Reform the nation will be plunged into new wars ; with- " " out a Parliamentary Reform you cannot be safe against bad ministers, nor can even good ministers be " " of use to you." Such was his prediction, and it has come upon us. Good God ! what a fate is that " of the right hon. gent. and in what a state of whimsical contradiction does he now stand !" Mr. Fox's Speech, May 26. 1797."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. (See former observations upon this subject, from page 353 to 368.)——On Friday, the 21st instant, MR. TIERNEY moved, in the House of Commons, for the second reading of his bill for altering and amending the act, called the TREATING ACT, the origin of which act, as well as the nature of it, the reader will remember that we spoke of in the article just referred to.——Upon the motion for the bill's being read a second time a debate took place. MR. FULLER was the first to oppose the motion, and that upon the ground of the bill's being evidently calculated to operate as a virtual disfranchisement of a great proportion of those persons, who, at present, exercise the right of voting. MR. MORRIS, in a very able speech, opposed it, partly upon the same ground as that taken by Mr. FULLER, and also upon the ground of its being quite unnecessary as a declaratory or explanatory act ; and, in my opinion, he clearly showed, that the act, as it now stands, accompanied with the constructions put upon it by courts of justice and by committees of the House of Commons, is sufficient for every practical purpose, there having, in fact, been, as far as I could learn, no one instance, in which it could be shown to have produced any serious injury or inconvenience, either to candidates or electors. MR. FRANCIS, MR. LEE, MR. COURTENAY, MR. JOHNSTONE, and some others, spoke against the motion ; the speakers for it, being SIR ROBERT BUXTON and OLD ROSE. MR. FOX (and upon this we shall have a good deal to say by-and-by) expressed his intention not to oppose the committing of the bill ; but, begged the House not to conclude from this, that he pledged himself, in any degree, to approve of the principle of it. The new ATTORNEY GENERAL expressed himself to the same effect, going, at the same time, into a good deal of detail, in order to show, that to do *something* was necessary, seeing the very great uncertainty in which every candidate was placed in consequence of the different constructions, which, by different courts and committees, had been put upon the Treating Act. But, much as this gentleman said ; minute as he was in his description of the difficulties arising out of the act as it now stands ; backing his reasoning, as he did, with the observations of twenty years of his own experience as an election-lawyer : notwithstanding all these efforts, he did not remove from my mind the impression made by MR. MORRIS ; for, after all, the difficulties appeared evidently to lie in the theory and not in the practice ; and, whatever might be the literal meaning of the act, it had, generally speaking, been so construed, as to make it efficient for all the purposes which it was intended, or, at least, which it ought now to be intended, to answer.——MR. TIERNEY was less happy in his answer, than he had been, when he opened the subject, on the 10th instant. A remark that he made upon the inconsistency of MR. FOX and the ATTORNEY GENERAL shall be noticed by-and-by. He did not, any more than the ATTORNEY GENERAL had done, succeed in removing the strong impression produced by the speech of Mr. MORRIS, as to the bill's being unnecessary for any purpose of an explanatory nature But, his main effort was directed to the removing of an impression, which he seems to have perceived had been produced, in as well out of the House, by his *former speech* ; and, so full did his mind appear to be of this object, that, in consequence of an observation of Mr. FRANCIS, he thought it necessary to beg leave to say a word in the middle of the debate, in order to convince his hearers, that he never had, for one moment, entertained a wish to make the freeholder's qualification *thirty pounds* a year, instead of *forty shillings*. Yet, anxious as he undoubtedly was to remove the impression here spoken of ; prepared, as he evidently came, for effecting this purpose, so important, not only to his bill, but *himself* ; notwithstanding this, he did, I think, completely fail ; such was the opinion of all

those near whom I was sitting, and such, I am persuaded, is the almost unanimous opinion of the public. His doctrine relative to the political effects of the *depreciation of money* had excited a great deal of attention; and, observations such as those made in the pages from 359 to 363, which observations must have suggested themselves to the mind of every reflecting and tolerably well-informed man, did demand some answer from the man, who had broached doctrine like that just spoken of. But, instead of an answer; instead of any attempt at answering observations of this sort, Mr. TIERNEY dispatches the topic for ever with a few words: "we will *say no more* about the "depreciation of money, or any thing of "that kind; but I will ask this one plain "question: has the voter *a right* to demand "a conveyance, clear of expense to him-"self, to and from the place of election? "and, if he have not that right, what does "this bill take from him, and how can it "be said that he is virtually disfranchised by "the bill?" Here, from his confident manner, which was, apparently, rendered more confident by the animating chearings of his worthy co-operator, and most worthy brother privy-councillor, old Mr. GEORGE ROSE, he seemed to think that he had fallen upon a stunning argument; which, however, I am sure, he will, upon re-consideration, find to have been nothing but a little bit of sophistry. We do not contend, we never have, and never shall, contend, that the voter has a right to *demand* a cost-free conveyance to and from the place of polling; but, we do contend, that he has a right to *accept* of such conveyance at the hands of any one who will give it him; and, it is because we know that the bill would deprive him of this right; it is for this cause, that we complain of the bill, perceiving, as the consequence, that the depriving him of this right would, in numerous instances, operate as a virtual disfranchisement of the voter. Will Mr. Tierney deny, that the voter has a right to accept of a cost-free conveyance? Where will he look for the *grounds* of such denial? No where, I am certain, but in the *Treating Act* itself, which then we must consider merely as a prohibitory law, and, as to the construction which this act ought to receive, that is the very object in dispute. As to the reason of the case, as to the spirit of the constitution, if Mr. Tierney should contend, that a cost-free conveyance of voters is a thing which was never thought of in former times; perhaps he would be correct; but, was a Treasury Bench in the House of Commons ever thought of in former times? Were close boroughs ever thought of in former times? Was it expected that a peer would have it in his power to send three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, or perhaps more members, to the House of Commons? Was it, in former times expected, that the House of Commons, the members of which were paid for their attendance, would enter upon that service as a stepping stone to the peerage? Was it, in former times (for there is no knowing where Mr. Tierney will stop) expected, that the clergy, then chiefly under the influence of the Pope, and forming a power strongly checking the King, and thereby making the good will of the people an object of great importance with the King; was it, in those times, expected, that the clergy would all become dependent upon the King; and that, in the choosing of the members of the House of Commons, the whole weight of the church would be thrown into the scale of the crown? I am not expressing, or insinuating, any opinion as to the quality of this change; but, no one can deny that it has taken place; no one can deny that it is of great importance; no one can deny that it has produced an effect fully competent to balance against any change which time may have produced in favour of the extension of the elective franchise, and, indeed, I am persuaded, that no one will attempt to deny, that the latter has been, beyond all comparison, overbalanced by the former. Here, then, is the point upon which I make my stand: I say, that *all* has undergone a change: that things have, from one cause and another, grown into their present shape: that circumstances have arisen here and there promiscuously, that they have been rolled along by the power of time, and have jostled themselves into the present state. Do you want a *reform?* Now, when the "hurricane" is over: now, when we have no longer to dread the effects of mad democracy: now, when despotism is the great and prominent evil that threatens the world: now, when a reform might be effected without any evident danger, perhaps: do you now want a reform? With all my heart; but, then, let *all* be reformed; let *all* be brought back to the spirit of the constitution of England; or let *all* alone as it is: do not appeal to the spirit of the constitution partially; do not, by the means of such an appeal, virtually disfranchise any part of the people, while you suffer the effects of all the other changes to remain to operate in their full force against the people; and, as to the *professed objects* of the reform proposed by MR. TIERNEY, let no one again mention

them, until an answer be given to the arguments in the pages from 364 to 366, to which arguments no answer has yet been attempted.——There remains, before we come to an account of the conclusion of the debate, a few remarks to be made upon the singular course pursued, upon this occasion, by MR. FOX. MR. TIERNEY observed, that it was inconsistent in that gentleman to consent to the bill going into a committee, while he, at the same time, pretty clearly signified his *disapprobation of its principle.* And, surely, MR. TIERNEY was right in this observation; for, as the very object of the first and second reading of a bill is to give the House an opportunity of expressing its approbation or its disapprobation, of the principle of such bill, and of throwing it out, in case of disapprobation, to consent to a bill being read a second time, and, of course, to its being committed, is, in fact, to *approve of its principle*; and, whatever might be the motive of MR. FOX, however he might qualify his consent, upon this occasion, that consent, to say the very least of it, did amount to a declaration, that, as yet, he *had not made up his mind* as to the goodness or the badness of the *principle* of this bill; upon which declaration, when compared with the long struggle which MR. FOX supported in the cause of parliamentary reform, always having for its main object a great addition to the number of voters, I must leave the reader to make his own observations.—The charge of inconsistency preferred by MR. TIERNEY against MR. FOX, Lord PORCHESTER was desirous of warding off from himself; and expressed his resolution to oppose the second reading of the bill. This, in an excellent, though short, speech his lordship did; and, thereby, he produced a disposition, on the part of several members, to divide the House, which was, from the notion that there would be no division, now reduced to less than a hundred members, of which 17 were against the second reading of the bill, and 73 for it. The bill was, of course, ordered to be committed. ——Upon the further proceedings relating to this subject some observations will be offered in my next number. That the bill should ever become a law, I cannot bring myself to believe; but, there will arise some good, perhaps, from the agitating of the subject, especially as Mr. Tierney has thought proper to introduce the interesting question of the depreciation of money, as affecting the political rights and liberties of the people; a question, which, notwithstanding his recommendation to "*say no more about it,*" he must, and I am sure he will excuse us for discussing at a proper time, a little more at large than we have hitherto done.

ALEXANDER DAVISON.——The appointment of this person to so important an office as that of *Treasurer of the Ordnance* has excited general attention. There is a measure before parliament; a bill, fast becoming a law, for *regulating* this office, and for the preventing of any misapplication of the public money by the Treasurer. This measure, a writer in a weekly newspaper, called the "INDEPENDENT WHIG," has, in terms of high commendation, attributed to the effect produced upon the public mind, and, through that channel, upon the mind of the ministers, by the letter of my Bath correspondent, in page 242 of the present volume; upon which I shall, for the present, only say, that I wish the effect had been of a nature more efficacious. As to the *object* of the bill, Lord HENRY PETTY, upon moving for the House of Commons, on Monday, the 24th instant, to go into a committee upon it, "it was," he said, "first, that the "House might have under its view a correct regulation in the mode of expenditure "for such sums of the public money as it "should think proper to vote for this branch "of the public service; and, secondly, for "*securing the responsibility of the public "officer, charged with the disbursement of "such expenditure;* and to prevent, *as far "as possible*, the *misapplication of money "entrusted to his charge.*" Very good objects indeed; and such were the objects of the famous bill, according to which Mr. DUNDAS was to manage the Treasurership of the Navy! Mr. HUSKISSON, (smooth your beard and look grave, reader!) said, "that "for a considerable time before the decease "of his late rt. hon. friend, a project was not "only in contemplation for the establish-"ment of *effectual checks*, such as now pro-"posed, on the expenditure of public mo-"ney in the Ordnance Department, and *in "every other public office*, as professedly intended by the Noble Lord, but that the "plan had been long acted upon, and only "waited an opportunity of parliamentary "regulation, under a bill in the contempla-"tion of his right hon. friend."——How happy must the nation be to hear this! It was rather like a death-bed repentance, to be sure. It had been put off too long; and the circumstance of prevented accomplishment should operate as a warning to future ministers to think of "effectual checks" in the "time of their youth, and when the "evil days come not, when they shall say, "we have no pleasure in them." But, how happy is it for the nation, that these "effec-

"tual checks" are, at last thought of! The reason why they were not thought of before; the fact whether they will be enforced now; the question whether they will be carried into the offices with which Mr. HUSKISSON has been, and yet is, I believe, connected; what degree of reliance we ought to place upon them, unless accompanied with an impartial and rigorous *retrospective inquiry*: all these are worthy of some attention; but, in the meanwhile, let us consider this bill as a little earnest of a disposition, on the part of the ministry to listen to the voice, and to protect the property of the people

MILITARY AFFAIRS.——In page 406 of the present volume will be found concluded the sketch (for I ought, perhaps, to give it no other title) of a plan for the forming of an efficient and permanent army. The INTRODUCTION to this plan contained some remarks (see page 389) upon two other plans, one of which was submitted to the public by MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, from whom I requested an answer to certain questions there asked. The answer has been received; and the reader will find it in a subsequent page of the present sheet.—Since the publication of my last number, I have received a plan, published in a pamphlet by BRIGADIER GENERAL STEWART of the 95th Regiment. This writer sets out with observing, that, "in the forming of an army, "the prevailing sentiment of our own country "should, in particular, be seized; and that, "above all, an *union of interest, one common feeling between the soldier and the citizen must be created.*" From such a principle, laid down as the basis of a great plan of reform, who would not have expected *something*, at least; some little means of this union of interest, and this fellow-feeling? Yet, from one end to the other of the work, not a single provision is proposed whereby any rational man could possibly hope to effect the great purpose, or any part of the great purpose, professedly in view. The writer, after giving a description of the nature and extent of the power which England has now to contend with, and of the inefficiency of our present military system, in which description, besides its being extremely bald, there is not one new thought, not one idea which the public has not, from numerous pens, and from numerous tongues, long and long ago, had communicated to it, and that, too, with a copiousness of information and a power of argument, of which, if one may judge from this effort of the GENERAL, he is totally incapable of forming an adequate conception; after this, he comes to the development of his plan, the principal object of which he re-states, and proceeds to the means of accomplishment. The *manner* which he has chosen, is that of laying down proposition after proposition; but he seems to have entirely forgotten, that, in order to induce the reader to agree to a proposition, in order to acquire a claim upon the reader to come into such agreement, some proof, either from admitted facts, or from argument, is absolutely necessary. The *matter* of the GENERAL, therefore, consists of a string of assertions, through which he conveys to the nation his recommendation as to what ought now to be done. But, it is to the *means*; it is to the means whereby he proposes to create an "*union of interest*, one "*common feeling* between the soldier and "the citizen," that we will, in the short space we have to spare, direct our attention. These means are: 1st, to change the condition of service from enlistment for life to that of enlistment for term of years; 2d, to augment, though not much, the present amount of soldiers' pensions; 3d, to render corporal punishment less frequent; 4th, to shorten the duration of foreign service, and to make colonial service, in certain cases, a punishment for crimes; 5th, to establish, according to the Prussian manner, permanent stations for regiments, when at home; and for their recruits, when the regiments are abroad, having, at each station, a regimental school, and a sort of nursery for the children of soldiers; 6th, to provide for the promotion of soldiers to the rank of commissioned officers by the means of a new intermediate rank, somewhat above a serjeant and yet below an ensign; 7th, to augment the pay of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers. All this, except the proposal for *permanent stations* and for the making of *foreign service as a punishment for crimes*, is very well; it is, with those exceptions, all very good; but, I am sure, the reader will recollect, that it has *all been recommended before*, and that the recommendation has, by many, by very many, writers and speakers, been supported by irresistible argument. In all this, however, where are any of the means for the effecting of the main, the grand object; for laying the corner-stone; the very first stone of the fabric? Where, in these proposed regulations; these mere military regulations; where are there the means, or any part of the means, for creating "an *union of interest* and a *com*-"*mon* feeling between the soldier and the "citizen"? And, indeed, the GENERAL does, in a subsequent page of his work, appear to think, that things are very well, in this respect, already. "It seems," says he,

" scarcely possible, that linked as our land " force *must ever be*, by numerous ties, " with the *political institutions* of the state, " it should be converted into an engine of " arbitrary power." He must think, then, that these ties *already exist*; for he has proposed none. But, they do *not* exist; and, that they do not, needs no other proof, than the mere looking at what I have proposed. If my propositions were adopted, then, indeed, these ties would exist, and they would, I am thoroughly persuaded, be efficient in the producing of the most beneficial effects. Nothing *short* of them, it is my decided opinion, would be attended with any considerable effect. " Companies of merit," " badges of honor," and the like, may do very well in Prussia; and in other countries, where the common people have never heard of political privileges; in countries, where the sovereign is every thing, and the people nothing; but, here they will not do at all. Medals and badges have been, in particular corps, often enough tried, in the English service; and, as often, they have been found to have but very little effect, even upon the conduct of the men while serving; and, as to their having any weight in the inducing of men to *enter* the service, the idea is perfectly absurd. We want an efficient, a permanent, and a cheap, military force. We want motives to induce good men to leave the walks of civil life, for that of the military life. And, he who imagines, that such inducement will be found in the prospect of wearing medals, or badges, or in a promised advance of pay, during service, upon condition of long service and good behaviour, has reflected but very little indeed upon the character and disposition of Englishmen.—— Upon one point I perfectly agree with General Stewart, and I mention it, not only because I do agree with him, and because I wish to add to his opinion, whatever little weight mine may, with any one, happen to have, but also because I am pleased at such an instance of literary boldness (for such, when we consider whose partialities he encounters, it really is) in an officer of the army. I allude to his opinion that " the sooner *foreign corps* are removed " from our service the better, they being as " expensive as our own levies, and England " being, of all nations, that which neither " requires, nor ought to have, foreign mer- " cenaries." All the objects, which, during the last war, rendered it proper to employ emigrant corps, are now no more. The Hanoverians it might be proper to take into our service; but, the best way of employing them certainly would be, to send them, as soon as convenient, either to the East or the West Indies. To keep them for the *defence of England* has in it something so degrading to us, that I must confess myself impatient under the idea. Our enemy too: what must he think of the country, which stands in need of the protecting arms of the protectors of Hanover! Whichever way we view this part of our establishment, therefore; whether in its natural effect upon the minds of the people, or upon the mind of the world, and particularly of the enemy, it is, surely, adviseable to get rid of, as soon as may be, without injustice to the foreign troops, this mark, this but too visible mark, of the total decay of our national spirit; and, I should suppose, that General Fitzpatrick must have remembered former feelings and declarations, when he lately introduced a bill for admitting an *additional number* of foreign troops into this kingdom. These Hanoverians are a wonderful species of army: they go abroad, and, at the end of a campaign, come back *increased in numbers*, notwithstanding all the desertions that have taken place from them! It would be curious to know the expense of this part of our force. I should really like to see what proportion this expense would bear to that of the raising and the maintaining of the whole army agreeably to my plan; and, perhaps, we may, before the close of the session of parliament, come at the means of forming the interesting comparison. —— General Stewart, who is, not less than myself, hostile to the volunteer and balloting system, does, nevertheless, wish to keep up a part of the *yeomanry cavalry*; and, moreover, to mould them into " a species of " *gendarmerie*." I object to the General's phrase; it is foreign, it is unnatural; but, it is not more unnatural to language, than the thing itself is, I trust, unnatural to our country. We want no armed police: we want no " constables with bayonets " in their hands;" and, never should we want them; never, for one moment, would arise the emergency, when such a police would be wanted, had we once an army constituted as I have proposed; so constituted as to give to any soul appertaining to it a real and obvious interest in the preservation of the prerogatives and dignity of the crown and the liberties and the privileges of the people.——I should here have closed this article, but a remark or two seems to be called for by a notice given, in the House of Commons, on Wednesday the 26th instant, by General Tarleton, and, agreeably to which notice, the General is to make a motion upon the subject of the state of the

army, unless Mr. SECRETARY WINDHAM should produce *his* plan in a few days time. Precisely what object the General may have in view, it would, perhaps, be very difficult to say. But, unsteady as Mr. WINDHAM certainly has been with regard to the measures necessary to an inquiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley; much as my opinions have been shaken by that want of firmness, I still hope, that he has firmness enough left, to sit and hear the GENERAL's motion with perfect unconcern. There has been, as yet, not *half time enough* to digest, to prepare for legislative enactment, a code for the reformation and for the establishing of the army. It is easy for one of us, who have no other responsibility than that of mere opinion; who, in proportion to our obscurity or insignificance, are safe from the effects of failure: it is very easy for such persons as General Stewart, General Tarleton and myself, to bring forward plans for the forming or the reforming of the army; but, will any one say, that it can be so easy with a minister, whose words at once affect every man in the kingdom? Besides, what I, for instance, have done, supposing mine to be a good plan, is nothing more than to sketch an outline. I have said nothing about the Commissioned Officers; nothing of what is to be done with regard to the men already serving. Many other great matters remain to be attended to; and, who does not perceive, that the mere arrangement of the detail; the mere putting it upon paper, to say nothing about the moulding of it into a bill, in which shape only it can come before the parliament, must of necessity, demand a space of many weeks? To see Mr. WINDHAM, therefore, at all moved; to see him, in the smallest degree, hurried by the little pestering of those who thereby entertain the vain hope of swelling themselves into some importance, would give me great pain; and, indeed, my fear is, that, from this cause, or from some other, the measure respecting the army, will come forth in an imperfect and unpromising shape; that it will be a half-measure; and that the curse, inseparable from half-measures, will cling to it till its dying day. This fear may be groundless: I shall be glad to find it so: but, seeing what I have lately seen, I must fear. I must fear, that some feeble, some mixed, some complicated, some *balloting* project, will still be resorted to; and, if so, though I shall not despair of the country, since great good comes not unfrequently out of the excess of evil, I certainly shall not be able to perceive how that country is to be rescued from the terrible dangers, with which it is now menaced.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA. (Continued from pages 171, 197, 237, 303, and 368.)—— Upon what has passed in parliament, respecting the affairs of India, subsequent to the proceedings noticed in the preceding sheet, there is not now time to remark; but, I cannot refrain from stating, that, from what I have heard (it being impossible for me to wait for the opening of the minister's budget), a million sterling has already been advanced, out of the taxes, to the East India Company; and, I have also heard, that, the money-dealers, when they, the other day, asked, if any loan would be necessary for the use of the East India Company, received no answer. I state this as hearsay; but, at the same time, I state it as something that I myself believe to be perfectly true, and, in that belief it is, that I call upon my readers to consider, while yet there is time, what must be the consequences, to which this advancing of money to the East India Company will lead. The engagements of the East India Company have been before noticed, and detailed; that this Company *owes the nation* millions, is a fact that the ministers cannot deny; that they have enjoyed, for many years, an exclusive trade and a territorial revenue, granted to them, and in the enjoyment of which they have been protected, by the taxes and the blood of the nation, will, as little, admit of dispute; and, after all, they come to us, the burdened people of the mother-country, for the means of paying the *interest* upon their debt, and for the means of carrying on their trade; and this, too, observe, after the ministers, at the head of India Affairs, have, from year to year, in the whole duration of their charter, declared, in an official way, and in a manner the most solemn, that those affairs were in the most flourishing state, and that, instead of being a burden upon the mother-country, the day was at hand when India would largely contribute towards her support!——The excuse, now that the truth can no longer be disguised; the excuse now is, that they have been impoverished by WARS. I, for my part, object to the giving of them money at all. If they can no longer carry on their trade without losing; if they cannot pay their debts; if they cannot keep up the necessary establishments; if this be the case, let them give up the territory and the exclusive trade. But, when Mr. Fox and Mr. WINDHAM and Mr. SHERIDAN come to support a demand upon us for money for this Company of merchants, will they not, at

the same time, tell us; will they not solemnly promise us, that *inquiry* shall be made, that a full and vigorous inquest shall be instituted, with respect to the *cause* of this demand? Will they not, as *ministers*, I mean, and not as mere individual members of parliament, support those, who now move for the means of making this inquiry? *Wars!* aye, we know that there have been wars enough. But, who undertook them? Who ordered them to be undertaken? Who sanctioned, either the principle or the detail of them? Who has fattened upon them? In short, *why* have there been these wars? Are we not to ask these questions? And, shall we not receive an answer to them? All that we know as yet, is, that we have to pay for them; and that, while we are called upon to advance money to enable the East India Company to pay their debts, all the persons concerned in the wars have grown richer than the nobility of this kingdom. Are not these things proper objects for inquiry? *Sacrifices!* Let every man make sacrifices, is the precept of the day; and, considering the dangers to which the country is exposed, a very wholesome precept it is; but, ought not the people to have some satisfaction as to the way in which their contributions are to be disposed of? Ought they not to know something of the causes, which have produced this loud and imperious demand upon them for sacrifices?——Mr. CHARLES GRANT, the president, or chairman, or whatever else he his called, of the East India Company, said, some time ago, in the House of Commons, if we credit the reports in the newspapers, that, though England received no payment from the East India Company, it received advantages in another way; "for instance," said he, "the "great fortunes acquired in India are *spent* "*in England.*" Now, from my heart, I believe, that this gentleman really thought that this circumstance was advantageous to England; but, I believe no less, that this opinion of his proceeded from a profound ignorance of the subject upon which he was speaking. Like the good people of England themselves, he appears to have regarded the India fortunes as being found *there*; as being gotten out of the bottom of some river; or, perhaps, from the chests of some plundered kingdom or principality. But, *now*, I think, that most people may easily be convinced of the truth that I have frequently stated; to wit; *that the India fortunes are raised upon the people of England.* The East India Company are in debt on account of wars: in the prosecution of these wars large fortunes have been made: and now the people of England are called upon, or will be called upon, to pay the debt. The statement is very simple; but it is not more simple than true; and, if any man will point me out a nabob, I will be bound to shew him *how* that nabob's fortune has been drained from the labour of the people of this kingdom. Aye! call these opinions novel and peculiar as long as you will; they are not less correct on that account; and, I am the most deceived of men, if they will long be peculiar.——Once and again, let us have *an inquiry*. Let us be informed how these incessant wars came to take place; and how all these immense fortunes came to be acquired in the service of a company of merchants, who are now so embarrassed, that they are compelled to come to this burdened nation for assistance, and that, too, at a time, when, according to their charter, they should have been annually contributing largely towards the support of the nation's expenses. Let us have this inquiry. On you, Mr. FOX, Mr. WINDHAM, Mr. SHERIDAN, and Mr. GREY, particularly, we call for this inquiry. Give it us, or give us back for ever all the confidence we have at any time reposed in you.

THE ARMY.

SIR;——Your Political Register of the 22d has this day reached my hands, in which you give the outline of your "Plan for the forming an efficient and permanent Army," and in the introduction to which, after making very honourable mention of "*England's Ægis*," you put to me a series of questions, not, you say, "by way of rhetorical figure, but with a view of obtaining an answer."—Most fortunate, Sir, do I esteem it for our country, when, on the subject of that work, men of superior intellect and energy of mind; men to whom the public eye is turned for light and information, feel sufficiently interested in the great object of the Ægis, to put such questions to the author as you have addressed to him.—I shall proceed to answer you, in the order of your questions, not repeating them, as your readers have only to turn back to your last number, and as my answers will faithfully echo their sense. 1st. The author of the Ægis *has* "duly considered *the great change* "which has now taken place in this coun-"try as *well* as in *Europe*."—He has been watching the progress of that change for many years past, and contemplating the wretched policy of English statesmen with respect to it. And it is with a full impression on his mind of that change having been deep and extensive, that he has proposed to his country to look into the neglected ener-

gies of her own constitution, for her security against that power whose total *change of nature* has wrought so many other changes in the surrounding states.—2d. He *has* " duly " considered what is that *species of force* " which we shall have to resist;" and in the progress of his work has endeavoured to impress that consideration; (a consideration to which the former ministers, by their military absurdities, never seemed to pay sufficient attention) upon the present administration and the public.—3d. He *has* " duly " considered how much depends upon *cele-* " *rity* in preparing our means of resist- " ance." Here, not to advert to a series of efforts in 1782, 1795, and 1796*, for recalling the public attention " to the great con- " stitutional *right* and *duty*, as well as the " *wisdom* and the *necessity* of being armed " for defence of the peace, the laws, and " the liberties of our country," it is to be observed, that the first edition of the *Ægis*, was in fact, published early in 1799, now seven years ago, as the military part of " an " appeal, civil and military, on the subject " of the English Constitution;" wherefore, there has been no want of time for " pre- " paring our means of resistance," as pointed out by the author of that work. It is to be noted, as you justly observe, that the system of the *Ægis* " does not exclude the es- " tablishment of a *regular* military force;" but plans for such a purpose, for more reasons than one, the author of that work thought better in other hands than in his.—If more *regulars* are now wanted, and can be raised with " *celerity*," he sees no reason why both systems may not be proceeded in at the same time; but the contrary. And he sees very strong reasons against the argument of " *celerity*" diverting us from restoring the military branch of the constitution, in favour of the most perfect system for a regular army that human invention can devise. Your enlightened mind justly revolts at the tyranny, equally horrid and unwise, of a conscription or a compulsory ballot, for recruiting a regular army, subject to serve in any quarter of the globe; whereas, for home defence, the obligation of bearing arms is, by the constitution and the principles of free government, necessarily universal. Hence it follows that, in the *civil* state, you have nothing to do but to class, to organise, and to provide arms; so that your " means of resistance" must increase with the utmost rapidity; whereas, in the *regular army*, it surely is against all reason to imagine that, even under the wisest system, recruits could be procured at any such rate. Again: supposing the *regular army* to amount as you propose to 200,000 men, these are just *one million of men* short of the force proposed in the Ægis. Now all additions to be made to the present force under either system, are of course at this time equally untrained to the use of arms; and there must be wretched imbecility in the government, if it could not find means to bring under good discipline with sufficient skill, a far greater number of those who should be added to the *civil* state than the *army* recruits could consist of. Hence, in respect of " *celerity*" of preparation, the advantage is most decidedly in favour of the system explained in the Ægis; not here to notice the article of *expense* which, under the pecuniary circumstances of the country, must quickly stop your career in attempting to provide a regular army adequate to our defence.—4th. He *has* " duly considered " what are the real causes of the state of de- " cline in which he finds the constitutional " energies of England;" and amongst those causes he believes he includes *all* those in your contemplation; and, probably, others. Your object, you say, is to aid in the cure of the evils you enumerate, touching the national debt, the millions raised to pay the salaries of tax-gatherers, and the over-shadowing influence of the trading and fiscal systems, "*by the very means that you provide* " *for an efficient defence of the country and* " *of the throne*;" but admitting in its utmost latitude the tendency of such " means" to mitigate those evils, yet very different means than those must be resorted to for a cure. Perhaps, upon a full comparison, it will be found that the tendencies to that aid in the system of the *Ægis* are more extensive, and do more necessarily lead to that which would be a radical cure.—5th. He *has* " duly reflected upon the *where-about*; " if we would obtain success, we must *begin* " in effecting the restoration of those ener- " gies;" that is, provided we do not misunderstand the question. The beginning ought to have been in a mere statement to ministers and parliament of the decays, and of the fatal consequences thereof; because ministers and parliament, on receiving any statement of such decays in the constitution, ought immediately, as matter of duty, to have repaired the mischief.—But the writer, not having been absurd enough to reckon upon that " *because*," begun by an appeal to the public, through the medium of the

* Declaration Rights, 1782. The Commonwealth in Danger, 1795. The Constitutional Defence of England, Internal and External, 1796.

press. Public distress, public sense of danger, and the natural desire of averting an evil once understood, has at length excited attention; and a change of ministers has added to our hopes of a right system being adopted.—If by the question it was intended to ask me, for the first step in an arrangement, the answer is, that the language of the constitution is plain: its principle stands upon a rock: but the laws for giving it effect have fallen into neglect and are become obsolete. Begin them with a statute for a clear and explicit declaration of the principles; and follow this up with enactments for securing a practical adherence to that principle. The regular army being here out of the question, and open to every improvement that wisdom can suggest, our enactments must apply merely to arming the *civil* state.—In doing this, what has been ill done, by acting upon erroneous principles, has thrown impediments in the way; but by keeping our constitutional principle steadily in our eye, and, as we proceed in our organisation, according to the outline sketched in the Ægis, Vol. I. p. 31, (new edition) we ought to take care first of all, to render effective for real service, all the volunteers, yeomanry, &c. now actually embodied.—In proceeding to arm and to train additional numbers, our next attention must be to form into corps, those who from vigour and activity would make the best soldiers; and so progressively till we had included all that were to be armed. In this organisation, it might not at first be prudent, to dissolve the best volunteer corps, or, perhaps, any in a state of tolerable advancement towards good discipline; although we ought to organise on a system in which such corps should not hereafter have any place, as I have shewn the volunteer project to be a perilous novelty, utterly foreign to the sober good sense of the constitution. As soon as it can with propriety be done, each volunteer corps ought to use the language of a wool-stapler, as applied to a fleece of wool, to be broken and sorted according to quality, into riflemen, grenadiers, light infantry, and so forth; the several sorts being transferred to the proper corps, in a rightly organised militia or county power.—Your 6th. and last query, having reference to your own plan respecting a regular army, and involving in it too much matter to be answered (after all I have already written) by the returning post, I beg leave to postpone my reply to another day; when I may accidentally touch again upon some of the foregoing topics, on which my aim has now been to give as direct and as concise answers to your questions as possible.—I ought, perhaps, to make apology for the very hasty and imperfect manner, in which I have already answered so many questions on a point of such high importance; but, in truth, I consider our situation so critical, and the business of national defence so urgent, I have been unwilling to lose a moment.——Without dilating at present, I can however say, that, I have been struck very forcibly by the general excellence of your plan, as it respects the *regular army*; but it does not in my judgment, preclude in the smallest degree the necessity of restoring the military branch of the constitution, nor can be made a substitute for it. These two systems are perfectly distinct, and perfectly compatible; and the friends of their country will equally desire each to be as perfect as possible. When I reply to your 6th. interrogation, I shall probably, not content myself with so doing only, but offer you my sentiments on some points, which you may not perhaps, have fully considered.——I remain, Sir, &c. J. Cartwright.

Enfield, March 21, 1806.

THE CLERGY.

Sir;——So numerous are the political topics which press for discussion at the present moment, that I fear you will not have leisure to attend to the subject of my letter; a subject, however, in which the interests of society are deeply involved. The history of the world will prove, that the only firm basis of national prosperity is the upright and moral conduct of men; licentiousness, whilst it corrupts the heart, enervates the hand of industry, the only true source of wealth and security to a people: nor would it be difficult to shew, that the decline of nations has been generally commensurate with the decline of morality, and with the deviation from those fixed and just principles, on which alone all good government can rest.—In a country like this, freed from the errors of slavish superstition, and exercising a rational and tolerant religion, whose principle is not to hold the mind in chains of terror, but to lead it to the practice of virtue, by holding up to its view the present and eternal benefits resulting from an upright conduct; it cannot, I say, be denied, that in such a country, amongst such a people, the state of morality will, in a very great measure, depend on the character of the Clergy, that the purity of their lives will be the test of the sincerity of their doctrines, the strongest support of national virtue, and, consequently, of national prosperity.—If there be any truth in these arguments, it surely must be a matter of surprise, that (amidst all our

projected amendments) means have not been devised to obtain so desirable, so important an end; that measures have not been taken to prevent our Church being filled with characters so wholly opposite to the nature of Christianity, with men of no reflection, or no self-government; for, it is not that our Clergy are deficient in the practice of the duties of religion, from a want of belief in their truth; it is not so much a crime of hypocrisy, but proceeds from their taking on themselves a profession for which they are in no instance qualified, but which the facility of obtaining induces them thoughtlessly to undertake.—That there are in our church men of a description very different from this cannot be denied; in no country perhaps, in no rank of life, are there to be found persons of more exalted piety, more sincere worth, than amongst the clergy of this nation: but it is at the same time notorious, that there are in our church men (and I fear their number is by no means small) of morals most depraved, and of habits the most licentious; that such men, to view it in no further light, are a national evil, need not, I think, be proved, nor that such evil demands a remedy.—In answer to these arguments, it may perhaps be urged, that depravity is inseparable from human nature, and, that amidst all societies and classes of men, individuals will be found of vicious and immoral characters; I grant, to a certain extent, this may be true, but I do maintain, that in the case before us, if we have not the remedy, we certainly have in our hands the means of great amelioration.—The evil appears to me to arise from a remissness in two departments of our establishment; to the heads of colleges, and to the bishops must we look for its cure. In making this general assertion, I am aware I must include many worthy exceptions; but, as a general assertion I maintain it to be true. Observe the progress of a young man designed for orders, not from a conviction of the accordant disposition of his mind, but from the prospect of a maintenance in that profession; nurtured in the vicious habits of a public school, he enters one of our universities, his mind may here receive some addition to its store of knowledge, especially in the arts and sciences, and perhaps, theoretical divinity; but, of his progress in practical morality little can be said; and it too often happens, that those seeds of vice which he had early received, are now matured and ripened. These excesses are deemed common to youth; and, without hesitation, he is sent to the bishop with testimonials from the head and fellows of his college, of his good moral conduct and religious learning; of his morals the bishop can know nothing, and of his learning makes little trial; he is consequently admitted into the church. It may sometimes happen, that at this moment of reflection, a sense of the importance of his office, a solemn awe, may strike across the mind of a young man, and produce good resolutions; but if it does, experience too plainly shews, that, like most other impressions, it soon wears away, and is succeeded by former habits of vice and profligacy.—But, I come now, Sir, to the remedy for this evil; in the first place, let every head of a college make himself thoroughly acquainted with the dispositions of the young men under his care; a duty by no means unreasonable to expect, and which would lead to ends far more beneficial than that attention to the minutiæ of forms which make up the greater part of college discipline. Having acquired this knowledge of the young men under him, it will be in his power to discern readily those who are qualified for holy orders, and it will be his duty frankly to declare that such and such only as are in his judgment so qualified, shall receive the necessary testimonials for ordination. It is not here meant that the accidental excess of an unguarded moment should disqualify a young man of sober principles from entering the church; no overstrained puritanical notions of extreme sanctity are here meant to be inculcated, notions which if countenanced would only give birth to the fouler crime of hypocrisy, since, from the frailty of our nature, it is well known, we must all at times go astray; but, it will surely be allowed, that in the world there are different shades of good and evil; be it from the difference of early education, or from what it may, the vicious propensities and the evil passions of young men, are found to vary in the greatest possible degree: it is then very practicable for the head of a college to select those who rise highest in the scale of virtue, and whose occasional deviations timely admonition may perhaps counteract; but, on the contrary, to use his utmost influence that men, to whom every thing serious is a mockery, whose only pursuits are intemperance and debauchery, should be divested from taking upon themselves a duty, with which, if there be any truth, any consistency in things, a life of thoughtless dissipation must be wholly incompatible. The prospect of this obstacle would deter parents from that habit of laying down too early plans for their children, without a due regard to the peculiar bent of their minds, and would considerably lessen the number of improper candidates. But, that notwithstanding these

precautions, unfit men might still find means to get into the church, is much to be feared; the only resource then remains with the bishops. It will be for them to admit no candidate to ordination without the strictest inquiry and examination, and to reject without hesitation all such as do not come up to the certificate of the heads of colleges, with a pointed remonstrance on the subject. Lenity in a case like this is a national injury; the disadvantage to the individual may be easily repaired, but the evil accruing to the public, to the cause of religion, from a want of proper persons to fill her various departments, if suffered to increase, will be irreparable. I may here be told (nor do I deny the position) that from every fair comparison of the present with preceding ages, it appears that, so far from being more prevalent, vice is daily decreasing; this may be attributed to the influence of Christianity, whose benign doctrines continue to make new converts over the globe; but, although the truth of this be granted, it cannot be used as an argument against the necessity of further amendment, since it by no means proves that mankind are arrived at that point of perfection beyond which they cannot go, assisted by the light of Christianity. It must be granted by every impartial observer, that much may still be done: to return; let the bishops pursue a fixed, an undeviating principle of distributing preferment according to merit. In the name of reason, what has a bishop to hope or fear from the world? If he has had ambition, the mitre is now on his head; nothing then remains but to discharge the important trust with fidelity and integrity; no motive should influence his mind but worth; his diocese should be the map ever open before him, in which the character and circumstances of every clergyman should be clearly noted. From this habit of discrimination merit would derive vigour and support, and profligacy find no haunt where to secrete itself. At all events this habit of conferring rewards on the meritorious, would make it the interest of all to be exemplary; nor would a young man who could not promise to himself the probability of leading a decent life, be desirous of placing himself in a situation, where his very action would be scrutinized, and whilst others were honoured around him, he would be left the mark of vice and folly. The great benefits to society that would arise from such a system are too obvious to be insisted on; it is only to be wondered that negligence, or worldly views, or some similar cause has as yet obstructed its more general adoption.——It is true that parliament has lately enforced the residence of the clergy, but without this previous regulation its good design may be frustrated, or even prove an evil: for, as there cannot be a more powerful advocate in the cause of national virtue, than a clergyman of exemplary life, residing on his living, so there cannot be a greater enemy to religion than the opposite character, whose conduct is in every respect at variance with his profession: example has more weight than precept; with the lower orders of men, whose powers of reasoning are very contracted, this assertion bears with full force. This then is the point we ought to look to; without this, the sagacity of the learned, and the ardour of the zealous will be but vain.—But, Sir, I have taken up too much of your time on this subject. I am not in the church, nor have I any views of interest on the one hand, or pique on the other, in writing this; but I am a friend to my Country and to the Protestant faith; and, as I am persuaded the welfare of one is involved in that of the other, I am anxious to see the evils which are in our church establishment corrected, since I am convinced they may be corrected without danger, or insurmountable difficulty.——X. Y.——*March* 10, 1806.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Sir;—Viewing your Register as a vehicle of impartial truth, and drawing my inference from the active, independent spirit of philanthrophy which pervades that valuable publication, I conclude that you will not deem the subject of the following lines to be foreign from your regard.—I am unconnected by private interest with any party, and wholly uninfluenced by any fondness for political speculation. I feel, in full accord with the public voice, the highest respect for the aggregate of commanding talents in the present administration; accustomed even to contemplate, with sentiments of veneration approaching to enthusiasm, those brilliant exhibitions of superior genius, which have rendered individuals of the present cabinet so prominently conspicuous to the nations of Europe, I anticipate with ardour the beneficial effects of a government so constituted. But, to judge soundly of public men, we must weigh the operative wisdom of their measures, and not suffer our understandings to be dazzled by the splendour of talents displayed for our admiration in parliamentary debate. Permit me then, in the humility of timid diffidence, to submit a few observations on the Condition of the People of Ireland. Politically, as we are physically insulated, at a crisis which loudly calls for the vigourous exertion of all

the energies and wisdom of our government, and the spirited co-operation of all the classes of the community throughout the empire, the Catholics of Ireland are but feebly united to their fellow-citizens. A grand mistake prevails as to the means of rendering that part of the Irish population available to the power and defence of the country. It seems to be imagined that a certain specific measure is absolutely, and in the first instance, indispensably necessary to conciliate, and harmonize the affections of the Catholics. The measure alluded to is even represented to be the only one wanted, to give happiness to that class; and consequently to animate them in the common cause. The removal of certain disabilities from the Catholics would no doubt be grateful to the feelings of all, as abolishing some ungracious distinctions which wear the appearance of insult; and highly desireable to the rich and opulent among them, who may thus be advanced to a share of political power. But, it is evident from the late resolutions of those who manage the interests of that body, that emancipation is not at present so pressingly called for. Now, let us suppose this measure adopted: would it extend beneficially to the mass of the people? would it increase their comforts—would it affect the relation of landlord and tenant—would it multiply the means of subsistence for the labourer, or add to his domestic enjoyments — would it enable the poor man to provide for the education of his children, to secure them against that stupifying ignorance which causes no inconsiderable part of his own wretchedness? It is not the partial distribution of political power that is felt as their great evil; nor is it emancipation, which they so little understood and so little regard, but as they indistinctly conceive that term to mean an improvement of their condition in those points in which their distress is most severe, that can operate as its remedy. Scanty subsistence, heart-breaking labour, mean clothing, worse lodging, and deplorable ignorance stand foremost in the catalogue of their grievances. These it is that furnish them with that most dangerous argument which desperation ever supplies to the wretched, "no change can make our con-"dition worse, it may make it better." Those are the hardships which bear so heavily on the bulk of the Irish Catholics, and which call for remedial regulation and speedy redress. No single measure can embrace so many objects; several arrangements will be necessary, which gradually and successively adopted, and distinct in their operation, may unite and combine their effects in producing, not only with certainty, but even with rapidity, the happiest change in the sentiments and affections of that ardent and susceptible people. But without legislative interference in their favour, when they look to the present ministry, regard their enlightened principles, and call to mind those friendly professions which seemed to encourage hope, and promise benefit and relief when power should afford means of realising intention, how gloomy must be their forebodings; how uncheering their conclusions! To them it will seem that, in respect of their interests, all men in power must be for ever the same. Their reasoning will be, that now they have nothing to expect; that their hopes have been delusive; that expectation has deceived them. Either that patriotism is nothing else than the hollow professions of public men, employed as the means of acquiring place and power; or, that some changeless principle of the political system of the empire excludes them for ever from becoming objects of its beneficent influence. Corruption and folly, but too readily, reach them in their effects; but purity and wisdom are too much confined in their operation beneficially to affect them. They have seen the long-wished-for close of an administration composed of men in whom social sympathy was extinguished; whose hearts were inaccessible to the movements of compassion; whose senses were impenetrable to the cries of suffering humanity; and whose limited views never extended beyond the narrow horizon of self-interest and personal aggrandisement. Men in whom selfishness cramped and fettered whatever there was of talent, and circumscribed it within the sphere of contemptible intrigues and undignified struggle, for the maintenance of their power.—Those men looked not to the future, their faculties were wrapt and absorbed in the present. By them posthumous fame was either disregarded, or they felt conscious of inability to earn that splendid reward of the great and excellent. The poor of Ireland looked to the period of their power, as the auspicious era whence they would have to date a new condition of existence:—when they should become objects of attention to men of refined and expanded sensibility, disinterested and comprehensive policy, of sound and matured philosophy — men who would perceive in the moral degradation and abject condition of the poor, not the firm, but the feeble support of the rich; not the defenders, but the enemies of that country which gave

them birth, but to continue, without diminution, the ancient stock of poverty and wretchedness. Let us observe the Irish labourer through the progress of a day. At the equinox, his stipulated daily labour commences with the rising of the sun, and concludes with its setting. Indeed the duration of his hired labour is measured throughout the year, nearly, by the sun's diurnal course. Urged to unremitting toil by the watchful presence of his unfeeling employer, or worked upon by his passions, and excited to emulation against superior strength artfully engaged and bribed to exertion for this unconscionable purpose, he is made to waste his powers by a most rapid exhaustion. To repair this daily waste, he is supplied with two not very plentiful meals of the poorest vegetables seasoned with a scanty allowance of skimmed or sour milk. His wages throughout the year do not exceed seven-pence a day, whilst the rent of his hut and little garden (generally the worst of the farm upon which he resides) more than absorb the annual produce of his labour. Dismissed from the fatigue of the natural day, other labour still awaits him; rest and repose are not yet within his enjoyment.—His own little garden must be cultivated; and he avails himself of the friendly shades of twilight for this necessary occupation. The animating motive of providing for the subsistence of a wife and children who are dear to his heart, becomes a fresh excitement to renewed exertion. The coming darkness only forces him reluctantly to quit this new scene of toil, and bury himself in his miserable cabin, until the approaching dawn. The eager snatches in his own garden, as they closed the labours of yesterday, are made the prelude to those of to-day! Aching bones, contracted muscles, pectoral complaints, rheumatic, and other chronic diseases, are the natural and inevitable consequences of such toilsome drudgery. The spring of life is either snapped by the irresistible pressure of accumulated hardship; or, weakened and relaxed by the gradual action of pain and labour, it yields to the palsy of premature decrepitude, and anticipated old age. Accordingly, few of the peasantry arrive at that term of life, to which a pure soil and wholesome climate generally extend the existence of those in more favoured circumstances. This is neither a fanciful nor exaggerated account of the grievous hardships of the Irish peasantry. There is no man, who has had an opportunity of observing their modes of life, even for a twelvemonth, who may not, with truth, give a similar description of their situation.

The immediate and most direct cause of these evils of their condition, seems to be the existence of a most pernicious, unproductive class of men, who, in Ireland, are called *middlemen*. These men step in between the cultivator and the proprietor of the soil; they regrate the land; they prevent it from ever coming fairly into market, or settling at a marketable price. They dole it out in small parcels on short leases, or at will, at an exorbitant rent, which reduces the small farmer nearly to the condition of a cottier, and obliges him to grind his labourers in the manner already described, to enable him to satisfy the devouring rapacity of his immediate oppressor. It is not uncommon even to meet a gradation of five or six subaltern classes of these petty tyrants, between the head landlord and the actual cultivator; and each inferior class increasing in cruelty and injustice. A little cunning and superior attainments have enabled those pestilent jobbers to secure to themselves a certain monopoly; to draw to themselves the profits of the farmer, and, through him, to prey on the vitals of the poor. The labourer (and, perhaps, his immediate landlord), is thrown to an awful distance from the owner of the estate he cultivates; he is excluded from all intercourse with him; he speaks a different language; if ever he attempt to unfold the tale of his distress, his blundering narrative would force a smile, even from the benevolent and humane. The torpor consequent on incessant toil has sunk him into a state of barbarism, that almost levels him with the brutes, in which tribe the lordly proprietor is often, not unapt, to consider him.—The next source of wretchedness I shall notice is their universal ignorance. Slaves to superstition, to error, and traditional prejudices, their native acuteness, and quickness of perception are abused, by the interested sophistry of men educated in the practice of misleading their judgment. Without dwelling further, for the present, on the evils of their condition, let us suppose them called upon to resist with vigour an invasion of the common enemy. What motives can you hold out to engage their co-operation? Tell them they should fight for their property—property they have none. For their liberty and laws—laws have been hitherto made for their oppression; liberty is unknown to them; they are unacquainted with its theory; its practice has never reached them; they have hitherto vegetated in practical slavery. For their lives—their lives are not in danger; no enemy is so barbarous as to destroy an unresisting, an unarmed, and un-

offending population. But it may be said, that the mischief of underletting cannot be remedied by the legislature, without too direct an interference with the disposal of men's property. I answer, laws ought to be to supply the defect of the good, and repress the prevalence of the bad affections of men in society. Surely, the legislature may interpose its functions in modifying underleases; it would be no violation of property, certainly not of natural justice, to settle the rules of transfer and assignment of landed interests, so that the terms of the contract should not be left to depend on the necessities and circumstances of the taker. It would not be difficult to make effectual regulations in this matter. An extensive system of education for the children of the poor may have difficulties and opposition to encounter. The diffusion of knowledge has two classes of enemies in Ireland; and those actuated by very different motives. One set of men consider general knowledge, in the lower orders, directly hostile to their own influence and revenue. Superstition must be dissipated by knowledge, and superstition is the basis of their power and authority. Another set of men consider that an informed mind adds dignity and independence to the human character; they are therefore unfriendly to the education of the poor, as if it were an unjust attempt to trench upon their exclusive privileges, an insidious effort to approach to an equality with their *natural* superiors. But, in spite of those obstacles, a successful plan may be easily struck out, and knowledge made to triumph over deceitful hypocrisy and loathsome pride. If this subject possess interest enough to induce you to call the attention of your readers upon it, I shall, in a future article, submit the outlines of two or three plans which, in my opinion, would give unanimity to Ireland, and additional strength to the empire.—I am, Sir, yours,

ANGLO-HIBERNICUS.

FRENCH ANNUAL EXPOSÉ, *at the Opening of the Session of the Legislative Body at Paris, March* 3, 1805. *(Continued from p.* 448.*)*

You know how glorious is become, at the end of one year, this memorable epoch; and now this crown, given by a great people, has been confirmed, by God and victory, upon a head so worthy to carry it.—That with which you are less acquainted, and upon which it becomes me to say more, is, that in the midst of these immense and painful labours, when the Emperor, given up to the chances and vicissitudes of war, underwent all his fatigues like a common soldier, exposed to all the severity of a rigorous season, having often for his bed only a bundle of straw, and for his covering the Heavens, from which all the fire of his genius seems to emanate; even then, at the distance of three hundred leagues, he held all the threads of the Administration of France; took care of its most minute details, attended to the interests of his people, as to those of his soldiers, saw every thing, knew every thing, like to that invisible Spirit, which governs the world, and which is only known by its power and its bounty. As evidences of this, you have the numerous decrees dated from Ulm, Munich, Vienna, and Austerlitz.—The interior was stripped of troops; Paris had not a soldier, and yet never was public order more strictly maintained, never were the laws better executed. France obeyed the name of its Sovereign, or rather the sentiment of love and admiration which she felt. It was this sentiment which hastened the progress of the conscription, and made its produce threefold before the time when the contingent was expected to be raised. By it has been formed this long rampart of volunteer soldiers which line our frontiers from the Channel to the Alps: a new army, almost spontaneously formed, and which announces to Europe, that at the voice of its Chief, all France can become a great army. It is this sentiment of devotion and military ardour, which animates those young men, who press to enrol themselves in the Emperor's Guard of Honour, and who alone, in all France, may regret the rapidity of those exploits, in which they had no part.—Peace was concluded, before, in many parts of France, it was scarcely known that the war was begun; a war not so long as your annual Session, and the consequence of which must embrace future ages, Europe, and the other parts of the world.—If courage and genius have made war, generosity and moderation have concluded peace; a Sovereign, unfortunate in war, has recovered by peace a great part of his states. His losses are nothing in comparison to the risk which was incurred by the monarchy of which he is the chief. Princes, our allies, have had their power extended, and their titles ennobled. The bounty of the Emperor has surrounded France with nations friendly to her government. Italy, the noble daughter of France, and who promises to be worthy of her parent, has reaped the fruits of the war. But her power is our own; her opulence adds to our prosperity; our enemies are driven from her shores, and they can no longer have commercial relations with her. This rich soil is snatched from

their avidity. Italy is a conquest obtained over England. She is united to Germany by the two-fold bond of proximity and friendship; and, by that alliance which her prince has contracted with the daughter of one of the most powerful sovereigns of the Germanic empire, tranquillity is now assured to the peaceful inhabitants of the mountains of the Tyrol. Commerce will enrich its deserted vallies; its conquest will be a blessing conferred upon it.—The Emperor, generous towards his enemies, magnanimous towards his allies, has not been less generous and less magnanimous towards his people and his army. Never was a finer crop of trophies presented to the eyes of man. Never did a nation receive a more magnificent present. The place where the senate of the empire sits, the Cathedral of this city, the Hôtel de Ville, are filled and adorned with standards taken from the enemy; presented by the noble and delicate liberality of the conqueror, a recompence equally honourable to the companions of his victory, and to his people, who had followed him with their wishes, and were prepared to second him with all their efforts. The army has made several campaigns in three months. France has reckoned them by its successes. The Emperor has reckoned them by the recompences which he has granted. The heroes who return with him, return with new honours; those who have devoted themselves for the country, have bequeathed to him the interests of their families, and the care of their memory. He has satisfied them: but the most desirable recompence of a French soldier, is the esteem of his Emperor. This is the glory of the empire, increased by his courage.—These are the transports of all France, which receives him upon his return. The Emperor wishes them to come to enjoy them under his own eyes; that a triumphal fête should be given by the capital to the army; a spectacle worthy of the great events which it is to celebrate; in which the whole *eclat* of the arts, all the pomp of ceremonies, all the signs of glory, all the expressions of public joy, will surround the grand army, assembled near its worthy chief, and make a brilliant procession for these phalanxes of heroes. Such are the principal events of the year which has expired. I have been able merely to notice them. I must lay before you more particular details of the legislative dispositions and ministerial operations which have distinguished this brilliant æra of our history.—The administration has had abundant reason to congratulate itself upon the patriotism of the clergy. The salaries paid to the curates of the chapels of ease, have been an article of considerable expense, but of greater importance. A great number of ruined churches have been repaired, and the influence of morality and religion is apparent. Under these circumstances, a sincere attachment to the Emperor has been manifested by the bishops, and archbishops, not by fair words, but by an efficacious and active zeal, which the Emperor has known how to appreciate.—The tribunal of cassation has fulfilled its duty. It maintains the uniformity of legislation; its watchfulness restrains the abuses which creep into tribunals. The new regulations have diminished, by one-third, the expenses of justice; and the Emperor has taken advantage of this economy, to augment the salary of the judges, which appeared to him to be disproportioned to the importance of their functions. The judicial code will be presented to you. Different bodies, which have presented appeals, have been heard. It will not be a perfect work, but better than that which hitherto existed.—Crimes have diminished. Such is the state of public security, that, for these many years, the criminal tribunals have not had so few crimes to punish. From the centre of Italy, the Emperor had watched over the internal safety of France, and the means of rendering invariable the order he had there established. He had instituted the companies of reserve. This force, merely departmental, augments the resources of administration, at the same time that it adds to its dignity. Its vigilance is exerted about the public establishments, and leaves to the *gend'armerie* the most active part of its service, which that valuable corps performs with equal zeal and success, the pursuit of banditti, and the disturbers of the public peace; it makes the regular army a disposable force; forms the youth to military service; and teaches them, that it is by contributing to maintain order, obedience to the laws, and the respect of property, they render themselves worthy to defend the state against external foes.—The administration has followed the course marked out for it during the peace; the public works that were begun have been continued with spirit; new and great undertakings have been planned, prepared, executed; and, under the burden of a double war against almost the whole of Europe, 40 millions have been devoted to that important branch of the public service.——The Alps and the Appenines, those two great barriers, formed by the hand of nature, which hitherto the genius of war alone has passed, give way to the efforts of art, and unite Italy and France. Piedmont and the Genoese, by the bonds of com-

merce, as they will hereafter be united by political interests. On the declivities, and on the summits of the Simplon and Mount Cenis, enormous carriages roll with ease; a prodigy of the arts of peace, almost as astonishing as the exploits of war, of which these mountains have been the theatre. On the shore of the Lake of Geneva, among the precipices of Maurienne, steep roads have been levelled; and one single declivity, skilfully contrived, will soon conduct the peaceful traveller from Pont de Beauvoisin to the foot of Mount Cenis. Mount Genevre will afford to Spain a much shorter communication with Italy. The rocks which border the Mediterranean, from Toulon to Genoa, and have witnessed the heroic exploits of our armies, to which alone they have appeared to be accessible, will cease to be the theatre of war; and, levelled with immense labour, will in future present to them a more safe and easy passage towards distant regions.—The produce of the tax for keeping up the roads, amounting to fifteen millions, has been assigned to each department, and divided among the roads of the first, second, and third class. The public exchequer has added to it between five and six millions; the whole of this fund has been applied to the repair of roads of the two first classes. Several new communications, desired by the administrators, have engaged the attention of government; that from Valogne to La Hogue is completed; that from Caen to Honfleur is finished; that from Ajaccio to Bastia is half done; that from Alexandria to Savona is marked out; those from Paris to Mentz, by Hamburg, from Aix-la-Chapelle to Mount-Joye, are decreed; the zeal of the departments has concurred, in various points, with the efforts of the administration. A laudable emulation animates a great number of the communes for the repair of the adjacent roads; and it is to be hoped, that this example will open the eyes of the inhabitants of the country to their own interest, and will be daily followed.——Bridges are rebuilding upon the Rhine, at Kehl, and at Brisac; upon the Meuse, at Givet; upon the Cher, at Tours; upon the Loire, at Nevers and Roanne; upon the Saone, at Anxoncre; upon the Rhone, at Avignon; that of Nemours is completed. Finally, those two ungovernable torrents, the Durance, which had never before submitted to the yoke; and the Isere, which had destroyed those imposed upon it, have been obliged to pass under bridges, already in a state of forwardness, which the neighbouring country is going to finish; a work of enormous difficulty, which no one had ever dared to undertake, or had been undertaken without success. The banks of the same rivers, those of the Seine, of the Aube, of the Moselle, of the Seille, and of the Tarn, have been the theatre of a vast system of works, which make along their banks market roads, render their courses more free, and protect the neighbouring fields. Distinguished Savans, invited from the banks of the Po, have traversed their whole extent, and visited and sounded all their passages. Freed from numerous obstacles, which interrupted its course, subjected to a more judicious police, the Po will carry, from the foot of the Alps to Venice, our merchandize and our soldiers. A beneficial legislature encourages that commerce, which would embrace both the fiscal measures of the ancient princes, and the rivalry of states. The Emperor has pronounced it. The Po is free.—Six grand canals are in execution: that of Saint Quintin, upon which more than 5,000,000 francs have been already expended, may be finished in the course of the next year, with the aid of the means which you will be called upon to furnish. The tunnels are extended, and only two sluices remain to be made of twenty-four. Eight hundred thousand francs have been appropriated to the Canal Napoleon, which is to join the Rhine to the Rhone. The portion of the Canal of Bourgogne, which extends from Dijon to Saint Jean de Lorne, reckons eleven sluices complete, of twenty-two. The Canals of Blavet, of the Ille, and Rance, which establish, in the bosom of Bretagne, internal communications between the Gulph of Gascogne and the Channel, are already carried, the former one-third, and the latter, one-eighth of their way. That of Arles, which is to make the Rhone navigable, at its mouth, is one-fourth finished. The branching canals, which increase the natural fertility of Belgium, have been repaired, extended, and multiplied. Some other canals, not less important, are commenced, or, at least, traced out, and will be speedily undertaken. Such are that of St. Valery, which will complete the navigation of the Somme to the sea; that of Beaucaire to Aigues Mortes, which will shorten the communication of that great commercial rendezvous with the Mediterranean; that of Sedan, which will unite the Upper and Lower Meuse; but, in particular, those from Niort to Rochelle, and from Nantes to Brest. [*To be continued.*]

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" One of the things which we most want, is a serious and solemn retrospect; a strict examination, without " favour, into past conduct. In any ministry, the composition of which would prevent this, or that would " check it, though but in the smallest degree, the people would have no confidence The nation, in the midst " of this terrible contest, and breaking down under its burdens, was, only in the last year, loaded with a " fresh mortgage of about 800,000l. for grants of money and pensions. Is this to go on? Is this to pass " so? If it be, OLD ROSE is just the same to us as any one of the Opposition, or all of them put together. " Let us hope, therefore, that there will be no compromises; no concessions in order to obtain votes and " secure majorities: let us hope, that those, who are against the Pitt system of government, will adhere " steadily to their principles, though they should be left in a minority, as to numbers however small. If " they do this, they will increase like the grain of mustard seed; but, if they adopt a contrary course, they " will continue to dwindle in character and in influence, till the poisonous weeds will once more over-run " them, usurp the soil, and render it habitable for nothing but vermin."——POLITICAL REGISTER, 18th January, 1806, p. 95.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

" THE BUDGET."——Amongst the many things, as to which I have, in common with other men, experienced great disappointment, is the continuance of the use of this despicable term, when speaking of the annual statement of the nation's financial affairs. To be sure no term better suited to a system of peddling and jobbing could have been devised; but, we were in hopes, that the thing as well as the name would have been gotten rid of; instead of which, however, we find, that the whole is to remain; and, if we may judge from the specimen just given us, the evils of the system are to be augmented, rather than diminished.—— The Budget (since we must continue to use the hateful word) was opened by the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Henry Petty, on Friday the 28th ultimo. To go over the whole of the detail of this exhibition of confused ideas is not my intention. To catch hold of some of the prominent facts will be sufficient for every present purpose; and, as to an exposure of the erroneous principles upon which the Chancellor proceeded, there will be time enough hereafter for that. The *Supply*, wanted for the year 1806, was stated at 43,618,472l. But, who would not imagine, particularly when coming from a person, who professed to wish for the moral nudity of the Roman sage; who would not imagine, that, from the mouth of such a person, the public would have learnt, that the word *Supply* was not meant to include the *whole of the expenses of the year?* The fact is, however, that, to the sum just mentioned, must be added 28,000,000l. and rather more, being the interest for this one year only, upon the national debt; and about two millions for Civil List, &c. and, that, of course, the whole of the Supply necessary for this year is nearly 74 millions sterling; though, observe, there cannot now be the least notion of any connection with powers abroad; there can be no notion of foreign expeditions; no notion of undertaking any thing more than what is absolutely necessary to our mere domestic defence: in this state it is, observe, that our affairs demand an expenditure of 74 millions a year!——The accounts of last year, though a positive act of parliament require them to be produced previous to the 25th of March, have not yet been produced; or, at least, not printed; so that, we cannot precisely state how much the taxes of last year yielded; but, if we are to judge from the amount of the loan now made, and of the estimated new taxes now imposed, the whole income of last year amounted to about 48 millions; whence the reader will observe, of course, that, supposing the income, from the taxes already existing, to be as great this year as it was last year, there remained 26 millions to be provided. Towards this sum, however, one million has been drawn from the amount of the prizes taken from the Spaniards " *before* " *the war;*" and Lord Henry Petty must have felt peculiar satisfaction in being the agent to appropriate this sum in aid of the national income; because we must all recollect, how he and his present colleagues in office spoke of the act of making those prizes! The next resource has been the customs and excise, where, in the shape of additional duties, there is to be imposed rather more than two millions. Next comes the great and final object of taxation, formerly called the *Income Tax*, but now called the *Property Tax*, and which, every one

feels to be what Mr. Fox formerly described it, a tax which leaves no man any thing, in this world, that he can call his own. This tax is to be augmented to 10 per centum; and, by that means, is estimated to produce 5 millions more than it did last year. Last comes the loan, which, for Great Britain (there being a loan of 2 millions for Ireland) is 18 millions. Let us recapitulate:

INCOME FOR 1806.

Total of the income of the nation, from taxes, last year - - - -	£.48,000,000
Drawn from amount of prizes "made *before the war*"	1,000,000
Additional Excise and Custom duties - - -	2,000,000
Additional Income Tax -	5,000,000
Loan - - - - -	18,000,000
Total income for 1806	74,000,000

EXPENDITURE FOR 1806.

Navy, Army, Ordnance, Grants to Naval Officers, to the East India Company, &c. &c. - - - -	£.44,000,000
Civil List, Bounties, &c. &c.	2,000,000
Interest and charges on account of the national debt	28,000,000
Total expenditure for 1806	74,000,000

It was before observed, that we have not yet the accounts of last year; it will also be observed, that this statement is upon estimate; and, that I have put the whole in round numbers for the sake of clearness. The view, however, is quite enough in detail for any purpose that I or the reader can have; and that it is substantially correct, I am by no means afraid to assert.——Of the doctrines and opinions held forth, upon this occasion, by Lord H. Petty and Mr. Fox we shall, perhaps, find an opportunity of speaking by-and-by, when we come to remark upon the debate which took place at the time of making the report upon the Budget; but here we will confine ourselves to two or three detached observations, growing naturally out of this statement of the financial affairs of the country.——And, first, as to the new taxes, their amount is, as we have seen, about 7 millions, to be collected, observe, *every year*; for, we shall soon see, that the distinction of *war-taxes* and *permanent taxes* is a sheer fallacy, into which the new Chancellor and his noble principal have fallen, probably for the want of knowing better. That the nation should be able to raise 7 millions of taxes in the year, in addition to what it already raises, seems, at first sight, quite incredible. Indeed, 7 millions will not be raised. Perhaps not more than 4 millions; and, it will be surprising indeed, if, in the next Budget (if there should ever be another) we should not find on the side of the Supply, 2 or 3 millions on account of "*deficiency in ways* "*and means*," just as there is this year. *Something*, however, will be raised in consequence of this addition to the taxes; but, whatever the amount of it may be, we must remember, that it will be more of *nominal* than of *real* value; for, one inevitable consequence of the addition will be, an *addition to the circulating medium*, that is to say, to the paper money: that money will be further depreciated of course; and, therefore, the addition to the real value of the taxes raised, in consequence of the new imposition, will not be nearly so great as the nominal value. Thus, the wonder, so frequently expressed, that the nation is able to bear these additional burdens, ceases to be so great as it otherwise would be. But, though, upon the whole, the burden is not so much augmented as people in general seem to imagine, every addition to the taxes produces an addition to the evils we endure; for, they operate as a great disturber of prices; they come suddenly to cause a disproportion between the price of labour and that of the necessaries of life; they impair the spirit of all contracts for term of years; and, if it was just (as I allow it was) for the Lord Chancellor to award, the other day, a certain sum to a plaintiff who had been kept from his money by a defendant; if it was just, in such a case for the Lord Chancellor to award a certain sum on account of the *depreciation of money*, where is the justice of compelling land owners to put up with the receipt of the mere nominal amount of the rents for which they let their farms fifteen or eighteen years ago? Why should not such persons have a legal as well as an equitable claim to a restoration of the spirit of the leases which they have granted? The other evil of these additions to the taxes is, that, in whatever degree they produce a *real* addition to the revenue, they produce a real hardship upon the people. We are told, that the taxes *fall back again* into the hands of the various classes of the community; and this is very true; but, they do not, according to the figure that has been used, fall back again "in dews to refresh "and to fertilize the fields whence they "have been drawn;" they fall back in partial showers and in torrents. They are drawn up from the whole of the people; of

more properly speaking, from the whole of the labour of the people; but, they descend, first, into the hands of a few; in their next stage into the hands of a greater number; and, before they reach the hand of labour, they must, in some way or other, be *again earned*, and that, too, from those, who, generally speaking, have never laboured to obtain them. And, hence it is, that we invariably find the poverty and the misery of the labourer increase in an exact proportion to the increase of the real value of the taxes imposed. But, the greatest evil of all those which attend the raising of new taxes, is, that they invariably add to the power of the minister of the day, in proportion to their real amount. When the minister tells us, that a tax *yields* so much, he never thinks it necessary to dwell upon the circumstance of its putting a large sum into the hands of the *tax-gatherer*. The truth is, however, that, upon an average, about *one* pound out of every *fifteen* goes into the pocket of some person or other employed in the imposing or the receiving, or the distributing of it. It is no matter to us whether this pound is swallowed by some such man as Lord Liverpool, or John Fordyce, as collectors; or by such as the Marquis of Buckingham or Lord Grenville, as tellers or auditors of the expenditure; it is no matter to us whether it be swallowed by such men, or by petty excisemen and tide-waiters; certain it is that it is paid by the people, though no very great ostentation appears on the part of the minister, in making them acquainted with the fact. Every new tax, therefore, adds to the emoluments of the tax-gatherers, or adds to the number of the tax-gatherers themselves; and, in either case, it must, in an exact proportion to its real value, or, at least, the addition that it makes to the real value of the revenue of the state, add to the influence and the power of the minister of the day; so that, if the system of taxation could be carried on to the point whither it tends, and at which, if unobstructed, it would certainly arrive, all the people, rich as well as poor, would become mere servants of the government. The landlords, as they are yet called, would be the stewards, the tenants would be the bailiffs, and the labourers would be maintained wholly out of the taxes, instead of being, as they now are, so maintained in part. All, yea all, would receive their bread at the hand of the minister of the day. There would be no such thing as private property. And is not the progress towards this point already visible? Are not the taxes so very great in proportion to the value of every species of property, as to make a man hesitate before he calls any thing his own? In one instance, that of the "*redemption*," as it was called, of the land-tax, the late minister seized upon part of the real property of every man in the kingdom; he confiscated and sold it; and, though the owner was allowed, if able, to buy it back again, that circumstance did not in the least alter the nature of the act. With respect to the *Church*, it was a complete act of confiscation; for, when the land was once sold, it was *impossible* that it should be bought back again. It was a real seizure of a part of the church property; it was an act of alienation for ever; it was an example for further seizure; yet was there not a bishop to open his lips against it; and, which is curious enough, the only man, in either house of parliament to oppose the measure, was Sir Francis Burdett! As to the *property tax*, I have no more objection to that than to any other tax now laid on; for, say what we will about them, they must all now finally operate in the same way. Yet, in illustration of the general description above given of the tendency of the taxing system, when carried to its utmost extent, we may observe, that, by the means of one part of the law, which imposes this tax, the government not only comes to examine into, to supervise, the transactions between individuals; but, it immediately interferes between the landlord and the tenant; it goes to the tenant and demands from him a part of the rent, which, by agreement, he is bound to pay to his landlord; and, thereby, it actually does, in so much at least, break the contract between the landlord and the tenant. How far, under such circumstances, a man can, with propriety of language, call his house or his land *his own*, might become a question; but, that the principle once admitted, may lead to the taking of one half of the rent, nay, the whole of it, who will be bold enough to deny?——It was the danger, the alarming danger, to which this points, that formed the ground of Mr. Fox's opposition to the Income Tax. He said, and very truly, that, when once the government were permitted to make thus free with the real property of individuals, there was no telling where it might stop. *Now*, indeed, that gentleman appears to have completely subdued all apprehensions of this sort. He who saw great danger in the raising of the tax from 5 per centum to 6¼ per centum, sees no danger at all in the raising of it, at once, from 6¼ to 10 per centum! Upon this part of the subject I will say no more. I need say nothing. The feel and say enough. But, I cannot help

observing, that, while Mr. Fox seemed to regard this addition as the *last*, Lord Henry Petty took care not to say any thing to encourage such a hope. He said, that the tax was now raised to the point, where it was likely to remain *for some time*; but, he promised us nothing with regard to a final termination of the rise; and, indeed, if the funding system be to be continued, his lordship was perfectly right; for, in that case, we may be well assured, that a further, and a further, and a further rise must take place, till, if the system go on unobstructed, the whole of the nation will become what the fund-holders now are, mere annuitants of the government. The wiseacre 'squire may grin and shew his butter-teeth at this as much as he pleases; but, he may be assured, that, if this system go on, the question will be, not how much he shall contribute towards the maintenance of the state, but how much the state shall allow him to live upon. Let it, however, be acknowledged, that those who are for maintaining what they call " public credit," have no right whatever to find fault with the ministry for this augmentation of the income tax. The money must be had. It can no longer be gotten from taxes upon objects of consumption. It can no longer be gotten from taxes upon the real property itself. The interest of the debt and the millions in pensions and grants must go unpaid, unless the rents and the incomes of the people are resorted to; and, if it be necessary to pay, it must be necessary to resort to those rents and those incomes. I deny such necessity: I would no longer pay interest upon the debt, and I would greatly reduce the amount of pensions and of grants; or, I would, at least, in this last respect, stop where we are; but, to hear men talking, this minute, about the absolute necessity of paying 28 millions a year on account of the national debt, and, the next minute railing against the ministers for adding to the rate of the Property-Tax, in order to obtain the means of meeting this necessity, cannot fail to excite one's contempt. No: if you will have one, you must have the other. The ministers you call upon to pay the interest of the debt; you make loud clamours against those who would advise them to stop; keep good your engagements, say you; never let it be said, that a British parliament was guilty of " a " breach of faith." This is all very easily said: all this demands nothing but good lungs and an empty head, accompanied with an anxious desire to be thought more honest than your neighbour; but, to pay the cost is not so easy; to contribute your share towards this interest is not so pleasant; and, therefore, you set up a cry against taxes, and therein you expose yourselves to the derision of the world.——It was not, nor is it, my intention to enter very fully, at present, into the state of the finances; but, I cannot help offering a remark or two upon an expression that fell from the new Chancellor of the Exchequer relative to the *war-taxes*. It is the term merely that I object to. *Why* are they called war taxes? Is it because they *will not be necessary in time of peace?* This present year the whole expenditure will amount to 74 millions. The whole of the taxes are estimated at 56 millions. The rest (18 millions) is to be made up by a loan. Now, suppose peace arrived. *What reduction* of expense do you think would take place? Do you think that any reduction at all would take place for the first year? Do you think that the peace would last two years? But, seriously, *what reduction* do you think could take place? The annual charge on account of debt is 28 millions; the Civil List and other grants and bounties amount to 2 millions. Here are 30 out of the 56 millions. The " war-" taxes" are taken at 19½ millions; so that, if the war-taxes are to be abolished at the peace, whenever it comes, there will remain just 6½ millions wherewith to maintain the army, the navy, the ordnance, and all the other establishments, and to defray all the other incidents, the gross charge on account of which amounts now to 44 millions a year! What an abuse of words is it, then, to talk of " war-taxes "! What folly to entertain the hope, that the Property Tax will ever again be for a moment suspended while the national debt shall exist, and while it shall annually load the nation with its enormous expense! No: while interest is paid upon that debt, never can these war-taxes be taken off. They never can be diminished; or, if they are, a loan must annually be made to supply the deficiency. Nay, further, I am firmly persuaded, that not only must they be continued in time of peace, but that loans must still be made to help them out: loans not quite so large as at present, perhaps, but loans still to a considerable amount. The notion which men naturally have of a *war-tax* is, that it is calculated to defray all the expenses arising from war, leaving the other part of the revenue to be applied to the purposes for which it was wanted before the war, and standing, in fact, in the place of loans. But we (God bless us!) have war-taxes and loans besides. Out of 44 millions for the

support of the army, the navy, &c. we shall, this year, borrow 18 millions. There remain 26 millions. Now, if peace were made to-morrow, does any man believe, that we could make a reduction to the amount to 18 millions? Does any man believe, that, considering our present situation with regard to the enemy, we could reduce our present establishments and expenses in the amount of more than two-fifths? Not one man of common information in the country believes it; and, is it, then, to act upon the maxims of the lanthern or glass-house morality, to give the name of war-taxes to 19½ millions out of the 26 millions? Is it, indeed, my lord, thus that you mean to convince us, that you wish to let the people see the naked truth; that you wish to render subjects of this sort familiar to their minds; and that, in short, you wish them to become perfectly acquainted with the nature of their situation and of what they have to expect? My lord, suffer me to put this question to you: Does your lordship really believe, that, as long as the present charge on account of the national debt shall continue to be paid, we shall ever again, in peace or in war, see the year, in which a loan, to some amount or other, must not be made? And, if you answer in the negative, as I think you must, let me ask you how you could, with your uncorrupted mind filled with the glass-house morality, fall into the jargon of your predecessor, and give to the taxes that never can be repealed an epithet evidently calculated to produce a persuasion, that they were to exist no longer than the war? —On Monday, the 31st ultimo, when the motion was made for going into a committee upon the subjects connected with the Budget, Mr. FRANCIS entered, for the first time, not only on his part, but on the part of any member of either House of parliament, into the discussion of the great points the only points, indeed, worthy of the attention of a statesman, or a legislator. He made some previous remarks relative to the Property Tax, and, particularly, the mode of managing the proposed exemptions. Then he observed, that, it was not without some astonishment, he had heard the country described as being in a *prosperous* state; and he asked, with what propriety such an epithet could be applied to a country, where the labouring part of the community were supported, not by the fruit of their labour, but, in considerable part, out of *taxes*, raised upon their employers. " Tell me " not," said he, " of the flourishing, of " the brilliant, of the dazzling, shew of " the metropolis; for, such, we are well " informed, was the situation of Paris, at " the very moment, when the Mississippi " bubble was ready to burst; when the pa- " per-money of the projector LAW had " drawn the wealth of France to the metro- " polis, and had spread misery over the rest " of the kingdom." As to the *Sinking Fund*, the good effects of which had, on the preceding Friday, been so much dwelt upon by Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Francis said, that he had not been able to discover any one of those effects; that he could not perceive, that it had lessened, or that it was likely to lessen, the burdens of the people, and, at a time when we were supporting it at the expense of 8 millions of taxes annually raised, he saw no reason why part of it, at least, should not be applied to the purposes of the year, and, of course to the prevention of the necessity of new taxes to the immense amount in which they had now been imposed. He further observed, that the sole remedy which, as he thought, was left to us, was to do away the law, that screened the Bank of England from paying their promisory notes *in cash*.——Mr. Fox, spoke after Mr. Francis. His answer (if it was intended as an answer) to the remark relative to the evidences of national prosperity, was not by any means successful. He talked something about other causes (than that of taxation and paper-money), of the misery, and the abject dependence of the people, without, however, either admitting or denying the fact. This last was not candid, unless he supposed, which, perhaps, was the fair construction, that the admission was implied; as well he might, indeed, seeing that a denial would instantly have been met by documents upon the table of the House, whence it would have appeared, that the taxes now raised annually for the relief of the poor are, nominally, at least, as great in amount, as the whole annual revenue of the country in the reign of Queen Anne! As to those *other causes*, I should, I must confess, have liked to hear them explained by a person of Mr. Fox's penetration and wonderful powers of statement. But, to make me a convert to the doctrine, I must hear arguments quite different from those that I have ever yet heard. We have been told, that the principal cause is the poor-laws themselves. I do not much like the poor-laws. They arose out of pressing circumstances; they are not wise in their principle; they have, in all likelihood, operated mischievously; but, how comes it, that the mischief has kept an exact pace with the increase of the taxes, and more especially

with the increase of paper-money? This may not be *proof*, but it is a strong corroboration of the reasoning, upon this subject, attempted in the preceeding pages. To hear a rich merchant talking of the prosperous state of the country; to hear the same from a fat placeman or grantee, has in it nothing surprising; for, if they reside chiefly in, or about, the metropolis, they really have reason to believe that the country is in a prosperous state. But, when we are speaking of national prosperity, what have we in our minds? Is not *the happiness of the people* the idea that precedes all others? Do we not contemplate the absence of the misery and of the degrading vices thereon attendant? Do we not please ourselves in thinking of a healthy, well-fed, well-clad, chearful, and, in a great degree, independent, labouring population? To complete the picture of national prosperity, there must be a love of country and of glory in the people, and an absence of all dread from foreign hostility, without forgetting a perfect security from domestic oppression, arising whether from open despotism, or from the secret and silent influence of corruption. But, without stopping to *prove*, that, in all these last-mentioned respects, the picture now exhibited in England answers precisely to that just given, we may insist, that the happiness of the people, as exemplified in the comforts they enjoy, is the very first thing to be considered; and, then, when we come to find, that, out of a population of less than 9 millions, there are more than 1 million of paupers, exclusive of the persons supported by charitable foundations, we can be at no loss as to how we shall decide upon the question of the prosperity of England. In applying this to the remark of Mr. Francis, it is of great importance again to observe, that the pauperizing of the people has come on with strides exactly commensurate with those of the taxing and paper-money system. Previous to the American war, the paupers were comparatively very few. The debt and taxes created by that war augmented the number; but, the great augmentation has taken place since the commencement of the fatal reign of Mr. Pitt; since the establishment of the paper-money system by that " propitious " measure," the Sinking Fund! I know of one particular parish, where, about 25 years ago, there were only 7 persons upon the poor-books; now, there are not more than seven labouring families who are *not* upon the poor-books, the parish containing above a hundred of such families! This is a strong, and may be a singular instance; but, in a degree somewhat approaching this, has been the melancholy change in every part of England. Let us, then, hear no more of " national prosperity," of " abun- " dant resources;" let us hear no more of the beneficent effects of the Sinking Fund, until we have proof of some change, in this respect, for the better. It is worthy of remark, that neither Old Rose nor any other of the Pitts, who undertook the defence of their system, said a word upon this subject. Some time ago, there appeared, indeed, in the Courier newspaper, an essay in defence of the Pitt system, in which essay, the increase of the paupers was ascribed to the too great indulgence of the rich, who, it was said, had been too ready to feed and otherwise cherish the idle and the profligate; and, there was a hint, that a little gentle *castigation*, instead of parish aid, might not be amiss now and then, and in a degree proportioned to the state of the patient! From a disciple of the Pitt school such opinions will excite no surprise, though we hear him, in the same breath, calling upon the nation for money to pay the debt of his master; but, surely, such opinions will be entertained by nobody else, when it can be, and has been, proved, that, as things now are, it is impossible for the day-labouring man, to earn by that labour a sufficiency of *bread* for himself, a wife, and three children, to say nothing about drink, clothing, lodging, or firing. This has been proved; the proof is, unfortunately, always at hand, and it is undeniable. Shall we, then, still be told; shall we be insulted with the assertion, that the nation is in a state of *prosperity?*——With regard to the Sinking Fund, Mr. Fox, in speaking of it with *commendation*, was certainly consistent with his formerly expressed opinions; but, here let me say, that, in ascribing the merit of it to Mr, Pitt; in praising Mr. Pitt for establishing it, he was clearly inconsistent with his declarations formerly made. He said, that, let who would have been minister, a Sinking Fund must have been established, because it was the universal opinion, at the time, that a Sinking Fund ought to be established; " but," said he, " the thing having been " done, and having been adhered to with " success, assuredly, the praise of the " House and the nation is due, on that ac- " count at least, to the minister who did " it." Now, though I have not the book before me, I will venture to assert, that, on the 6th or 7th of May, 1802, in a debate upon the merits of Mr. Pitt, brought on by a motion of Lord Belgrave for the

thanks of the House to that gentleman, Mr. Fox, upon the subject of the Sinking Fund, which had been introduced as a topic of praise by Lord Belgrave, said, "I never "can hold it just to praise him for that of "which he was not the inventor, and "which he adopted at the suggestion of "myself." I speak from memory, and will not, therefore, bind myself down as to the words; but, for the meaning I pledge myself. Whether, therefore, this great change as to principle of action has been produced by more mature reflection, or by that influence which we have seen so powerfully operating in other cases, and especially with regard to the affairs of India, I must leave the reader to determine.—— With respect to the merits of the Sinking Fund itself, it will be easily conceived, that this is not the place to enter at large upon the subject. Indeed (and I gladly embrace the opportunity of giving the intimation) this is a subject, that I hold myself bound to discuss in a manner that shall say to the public, "here are *all* the arguments that this writer has to urge against the measure." There are three persons, each of them of great talents, who have condescended to submit to me their thoughts upon the question that has been agitated relative to my proposition for destroying the funding system. They will have perceived, that other more immediately interesting matter has kept back their valuable communications; but, my intention is to lay these communications before the public as soon as possible, and, at the same time, to maintain my opinions with every argument that shall suggest itself to my mind; and, as the *justice* of adopting the measure I propose must rest upon the proof of its being *necessary* in order to save the nation from ruin, I shall, in order to establish this necessity, be bound to *prove* that the Sinking Fund is inefficient for the purpose which it professes to have in view.——In the mean while, however, there was an argument made use of by Mr. Fox, in answer to Mr. Francis, that I cannot refrain from noticing. Mr. Francis had said, that neither he nor any other man had felt, or could describe, any *good* that the sinking fund had produced, except that of *keeping up the price of the 3 per cents.* "Now," said Mr. Fox, and in a very triumphant tone and manner, "if it *has done* "*this*, it has produced a great deal of good, "and deserves unbounded applause; for, "in so doing, it has kept down the amount "of the debt, by enabling the government "to borrow at a much lower rate than it "otherwise could have done; and, if it had "not been for this Sinking Fund operating "in this salutary way, I ask the honourable "gentleman, what, at this day, must have "been the amount of the debt, taking into "view the many and great loans that have "been made since the Sinking Fund was "established?" Whereupon, Old Rose and Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Sturges, cried *hear! hear! hear!* as vehemently as if the "heaven-born" minister had still been alive and speaking. But, with submission, and without prejudice to these heart-cheering plandits, I would wish to ask Mr. Fox (and I am sure he will excuse me for it) a question or two upon this point. Do you think, Sir, that, if there had been no Sinking Fund, the many and great loans that have been made, since the year 1792, *would have been made at all?* Do you think, that, if taxes had not been raised, wherewith to send Commissioners into the stock-market, that market would not, long and long ago, have been shut up? This not being the case, do you think, that, if, in the year 1793, the minister had been compelled to collect his means from the people at once, instead of quietly mortgaging the revenue, it would have had a bad effect? Or, viewing the operation of the Sinking Fund in another light, do you think, that, if this fund had not existed, the cash payments at the Bank would have been stopped; that specie would have been banished out of the country; that a total disturbance of prices would have taken place; that contracts between man and man would have been virtually violated to the extent in which they now are; that the Property Tax would ever have been thought of; and that, the ruin of thousands on the one hand, or of millions on the other, would, as it now does, have stared us in the face? To the *first* of these questions it is, however, that I should like to obtain an answer; for, until that answer be given, the argument so cheered by the Roses and the Huskissons will, I am afraid, be found to have little else than the honour of that cheering to support it.—With regard to Mr. Francis's idea of applying a part of the taxes, now raised to support the Sinking Fund, to the purpose of preventing the imposition of new taxes, Mr. Fox said, that he did not, if a time of tranquillity should come, see any objection to it; that it was a question of degree, a question whether more or less of those taxes should be so applied; but, it is worthy of remark, that, when Lord Henry Petty came to speak, Mr. Fox having previously left the House, he took special care to state, that, on no account whatever, ought any part of the Sinking

Fund to be, for one moment, diverted from its original purpose. His lordship, who called it a *sacred* deposit, seems to have a pretty enough idea of holy things; nor would it be at all wonderful, if the respectable synagogue of loan-makers were to bestow upon him some distinguished mark of their approbation.—Upon the subject of reviving *cash payments* at the bank, Mr. Fox and Lord Henry agreed that the measure might, at no distant day, become as expedient in practice as it unquestionably was correct in principle; and, here, the coincidence in sentiment was such as to have excited wonder as well as admiration, had we not happened to recollect certain notions, which, at one time, got almost into motions, of *Lord Grenville!* His lordship did really talk about cash payments at the bank. He did not absolutely oppose the last "bank-*restriction* bill" (a phrase that I never can utter or think of without laughing); but, he did something very much like it. Well, then, let us hope, now that his lordship is not only in place, but in *power*; let us now hope, that something in this way will be done. The king's subjects are loyal; they love to see his picture, which has long been kept from their sight by the intervention of those bits of ragged and dirty paper, a discount upon which the poor labourer is obliged to pay in order to get his week's wages turned into light and adulterated silver. Give them guineas, my good lord! They will receive them with gratitude, and will bless the hand, be it whose it may, from which they shall drop: and, as to *the means*; as to the where-about to find gold to replace fifty or sixty millions of pounds in bank of England and country-bank paper; as to the motives that will induce men to take a bank-token for five shillings when it comes to circulate side-by-side with a guinea; as to the effect which the restoration of gold will have upon contracts between man and man; as to the sources whence are to be drawn the guineas wherewith to pay the annual interest upon the national debt: as to all these, we must, of course, conclude, that your lordship has, by this time, taken care to make ample provision, and, with this comforting conclusion in our minds, all that we have to do is to wait, with humility and with patience, the happy event. ——The latter part of the scene at the debate upon the report was too curious not to notice, though the reader must already be wearied with the subject. Mr. Francis had entered upon the discussion in a true parliamentary way. The subject was of vast importance; yet, not one independent member of the House took any part in it. Those who attended at first, soon went away; and, long before the close, Lord Henry Petty was left without a soul to assist him, Mr. Vansittart excepted; and there they were well baited by a bevy of quondam clerks of the Treasury, who, had it not been for their respect for and confidence in (respect and confidence not sparingly expressed), *Lord Grenville*, would have divided the House, and would have out-voted the Chancellor of the Exchequer! Mr. Huskisson, as if inspired by his change of place and by the deplorable state of the Treasury Bench, made a speech of an hour and a half long, though those rogues of reporters, like the Gazetteer in the case of Captain Bluff, took little or no notice of his feats. Mr. Sturges cracked jokes upon Mr. Fox (whom he was sorry not to see in his place), and was glad to find that the Rt. Hon. gentleman's former opposition to the Income Tax, which he had characterized as worthy of the *inquisition*, arose merely from the circumstance of its not having been doubled in amount. Mr. George Johnstone, in a manner the most friendly, gave the Chancellor some very good advice, cautioning him, above all things, not to be too sanguine in his expectations as to the correctness of his estimates. Even Mr. Long became eloquent in defence of the system of his Rt. Hon. friend, "now unhappily no more," and earnestly besought the young Chancellor of the Exchequer to go on, as he had begun, walking in the steps of that pattern of political wisdom and purity. But, it would have done the reader's heart good (and so it must *Mr. Fox's* if he had not been gone away) to hear *Old Mr. Rose* chaunting the praises of *Lord Grenville!* That was, by far, the most interesting occurrence; and, whatever the Foxites may think of it, it is something very well worth their pondering upon; nor is it entirely unworthy of the notice of the editor of the Morning Chronicle, who, if he will take the advice of an old friend, will, with all convenient speed, cease those vain attempts, which he is, for what reason it would puzzle a wizard to know, making to persuade the public that the Pittites are forming an *opposition*, and an opposition, too, *to Lord Grenville!*

*** I very much regret, that I have not room for some remarks upon the subject of the inquiry with regard to the conduct of Lord Wellesley. The *means* that have been resorted to in order to prevent Mr. HUDLESTONE's motion should, indeed, not pass for one moment unnoticed. But, there will be another opportunity before the end of the recess.——I wished also to make an obser-

vation or two upon the letter in page 422, upon the subject of the non-residence of the Clergy; and a letter from another correspondent calls upon me to say, that, as to almost every sentiment in the former letter, I totally disagree with the writer.——In page 419 a correspondent represents Mr. William Dundas as receiving 600l. a year out of the crown-rents in Scotland. This correspondent is in error; for, I now am well informed, that Mr. Dundas is in no such receipt; and that he never did enjoy any emolument from the public, nor ever received the salary of any place, except of those which he actually filled at the War-Office, and, before, at the Board of Controul.

MILITARY PLAN.

Enfield, March 30, 1806.

Sir,——Again apologizing for the extreme haste, with which, on account of the urgency of the matter, and the pressure for time, I replied to your first five questions; put to me in your Register of the 22d, I shall now attend to the remaining two. Your words are these; 6. "Does he" [the author of the Ægis] "upon a calm view of all the "circumstances of our situation, not think "that some such plan as that now proposed "by me, would, under these circumstances, "be likely to render the defence of the "country efficient, without endangering the "liberties of the people, or the constitutional prerogatives of the crown?"—— Again, 7. "I ask him, whether he does not "think, that, while my plan would not fail "*to give strength to civil liberty, at the "same time that it increased military power*, it would not be more likely to be attended with immediate effect, than the "plan which he has proposed? He will observe, that I take the state of things as it "*now* is; I view the nation loaded with a "debt, demanding 27 millions annually to "pay the interest; I see 2 or 3 millions annually raised for the purpose of paying "tax-gatherers and other dependents upon "the ministry of the day; I perceive the "existence of a trading and a fiscal influence "overshadowing, and overbearing every "thing; and my object is to aid in the cure "of those evils, by the very means that I "provide for an efficient defence of the "country and of the throne."——Out of these two questions many important considerations arise. The discussion might fill a volume. To answer them so as to come within the limits of your Register, the columns of which must allow room for every other political topic, must put me under a great disadvantage. For the sake of perspicuity, I shall divide my matter into sections numerically arranged.—I. In p. 388, you profess "a perfect coincidence, as to principle," with Paley, on the matter whereupon you quote that writer. If I understand rightly, that principle is, that the constitution of a standing army should be such as "to maintain, upon all occasions, as much "alliance of interest, and as much inter-"course of sentiment, between the military "part of the nation, and the other orders of "the people; as are consistent with the "union and discipline of an army."—— This sounds mighty well; but to what does it amount? That, so far as you shall be under the necessity of employing a standing army, you shall, by such attentions, counteract as well as you can its inherent tendency to destroy public liberty. But, the able manner in which you have yourself, in the same page, completely overturned some of the principal arguments of Paley, ought, methinks, to weaken the confidence you express in him as a constitutional writer. On the subjects of the constitution and of liberty, he was a dangerous writer; and ought to be read with great jealousy. The sagacious *Hume* pronounces "*our standing army "a mortal distemper in the British constitu-"tion*;" * and *Blackstone* informs us, that "*the laws and constitution of these king-"doms, know no such state as that of a per-"petual standing soldier*," meaning I presume, what you express, by an "army" of "an efficient and *permanent* description, "bred up to no other profession than that "of war." † And it is from much reading and reflection on the subject of standing armies, and trying the foundation on which they stand, with the fundamental principles of civil government, that I now repeat what I said in my last letter, that your excellent plan for improving our regular army, 'does not in my judgment, preclude in the smallest degree the necessity of restoring the military branch of the constitution, nor can be made a substitute for it.'—II. Before I proceed in our discussion, in which, perhaps, I may not on some points meet your expectation, I have the most sincere pleasure in saying that, in respect of the regular army, I conceive your plan to be in the true spirit of enlightened, benevolent, and honest legislation; and as such, certainly comes up to one of your own requisites, as being "*new*" indeed! Towards rendering the existence of a standing regular army comparatively "*innocious to the liberties of the people*," the principles of your plan are highly to be com-

* Essays II. 376.—† Essays I. 408.

mended; and, as right principles have ever a tendency to beget their like, so all political plans intrinsically good, are naturally productive of habitual reformation and improvement.—III. Under the head of REWARDS, your plan has a strong tendency to attach the soldier to the constitution of his country: but, I must still be allowed to think, there is an inveteracy in the malady of a standing army, incurable by the art of man. Abroad; it is an instrument of your power, and too frequently of a very arbitrary power; but it may perhaps protect your dependencies from governments worse than your own; or defend valuable colonies without obliterating the traces of freedom. At home, it never can be otherwise than an evil, tolerated on account of its utility for your foreign purposes. This, when we compare the military code with our civil constitution, we see to be inevitable. All the plausibilities of such writers as *Paley*, for reconciling a nation to a standing army, as its reliance for defence and security against invasion, or as a necessary instrument of government, I hold to be insidious, and in the highest degree mischievous; or, in point of argument, if really well intended, to be the effect of ignorance in the science of government. Pardon my freedom. This is a great question on which every thing worthy of human consideration depends. Let political writers speak the plain truth. Let them, as you have done, endeavour to mitigate the evil. If we must have a standing army for foreign services, let that army be conciliated to our liberties, by giving it as much reversionary interest in public freedom as can be done; but, after all, your only real security against the sword of a standing army being, by a Cromwell, a Cæsar, or a Napoleon, one day turned against you, is to render its success in overturning your liberties an impossibility. It must be outnumbered beyond any degree of comparison, by the armed citizens, rightly organized for military service, ready in a moment to defend alike the laws and magistracy, the peace of your towns or counties, your country or constitution. Never forget that the standing army is your military arm for *foreign* operations and interests, and ought in no case to be made *an instrument of domestic government*. Whatever may be in other respects the form or title of a government, the criterion by which you ascertain whether it be in reality a civil or a military, that is, a free or a despotic government, is its *ultimate* means of enforcing its authority. If those means are the arms of its organized citizens, it is a free government; if those of a standing army, it is a despotism. Beware, therefore, Mr. Cobbett, how you recommend to us for our "efficient defence" a "*permanent*" standing army! Despotisms introduced, by gradually and insensibly undermining a free state, are often deeply rooted and fully established long before they are known to exist, even by those under their power. You have often seen a great house dog among children: you have seen him ridden; harnessed in the little phaeton; made to fetch and carry; and a constant play-fellow, apparently "*innoxious*" to these careless little people; while the animal possessed all the while the power, if once the savage fit came upon him, of tearing them piecemeal. IV. As the proper duties of a standing army are painful and arduous, full of privation and suffering, reward it nobly; give the soldier a gratifying repose on the bosom of the country he has faithfully served; and render the honoured veteran an object of future respect. To your noble idea, for which I shall ever respect you, of communicating to the retired soldier the elective franchise, let me suggest another source of gratification. If he retire at the age of *forty*, he has yet before him many years of probable ability for the easy, but important duties of an armed citizen in the county power. Of this body, his military experience, if he has any talent, will render him a highly valuable member, insuring to him at the same time distinction and command, sweetening the remembrance of past toils and dangers, by the proud consciousness of continuing to the very evening of life a most useful soldier, the chosen guardian of that happy constitution to the full benefit of which he has been admitted, a conservator of peace and order, and an active protector of the laws and institutions of his country. Thus it would be seen how right systems, all properly directed to the public good, mutually benefit and improve each other. The complete restoration of the military branch of the constitution, at the same time that it established our liberties on a rock, would raise us in real solid, useful, well-wearing power, far superior to *France*, and make us, like our Saxon ancestors under *Alfred*, a martial people. The youth of a martial people are prone to arms, and resort to the camp as naturally as the young eagle seeks the sky. Bounties! No: were you to offer bounties to keep them at home, you could not succeed. Seeing the soldier, after military adventures in all quarters of the world, returning at *forty* to enter into his inheritance of freedom, of authority, of honours and distinctions for the remainder of his life; what could restrain the gallant

youth of our country from pouring into the army faster than it could receive them! And, on the other hand, this flowing back of the veterans of SUCH an army, towards preserving in full vigour the military character and efficiency of the county power, would have a happy co-operation with suitable laws for the purpose of averting from it that neglect in future, which was first occasioned by the introduction of the feudal system, and afterwards artfully continued, by what the Earl of Liverpool has rightly called a "detestable policy."* Your incitements to military service have their foundations in nature; they call forth the noble and generous affections; and when combined with such other incitements as are touched upon in the Ægis (I. 56) the sagacious law-giver, notwithstanding the debt, the taxes, and trafficking spirit of our country, may, as I conceive, build its defence on its freedom, and enable it to rise superior to all difficulties. If, indeed, the wisdom of the law-giver is to abide the vote of the sordid children of 'Change Alley, and the servile creatures of faction, neither county power nor regular army, may avail.—— V. But, perhaps, I ought to have commenced this discussion, by remarking that the two military systems, *yours*, and that which you pay me the compliment of calling *mine*; but which, in fact, has for its author an unrivalled legislator, in whose name I must ever speak of it, cannot be made subjects of a comparison strictly proper, and fully satisfactory; for, if not in all particulars radically different, they are essentially distinct species of the same genus, adapted to separate ends and purposes. A county power could not garrison the Cape of Good Hope, or carry on war in India, without first changing its nature and ruining half its members. Neither could a standing army become alone an "efficient defence" of our country, without producing both national bankruptcy and slavery. The revenues of the country could not maintain an army sufficient for our security against *France;* and it is self-evident that such an army and liberty could not together exist.—VI. You *suppose* the regular army to consist of only 200,000 men, upon which you found your calculation of 600,000l. being the annual sum we should have to pay the parents of these men; but now, Mr. Cobbett, let me, in my turn, ask you, if "you have duly considered" the demands of men for all foreign services, before the residue became applicable to home defence? Where you shall have provided garrisons for Gibraltar, Malta, and the Cape of Good Hope; armies for Canada, New Brunswick, and all our West India Islands; other armies for our widely extended Asiatic dominions, and our Asiatic wars; others again for Guernsey, Jersey, and IRELAND; besides "a disposeable force" for Mediterranean or other expeditions; how many of your 200,000 men will be left at home; and, after making the necessary deduction for raw recruits, remain as our "efficient defence?" —After what you may read in the last chapter of the Ægis, I apprehend it must be evident, that your army, after all deductions, could not become an "efficient defence" to our Island, unless you were to add to it *many hundred thousand men more.* And this, on the scale of our population, in the real scarcity which I take it there is of the animal, man, in the recruiting market for any *such* demands, and under the pressure of our pecuniary difficulties, could not be effected without rending asunder the very texture of society, and leaving us nothing to preserve.—VII. By an attention to the wording and nature of your 6th question, you must perceive the difficulty of answering it. When a noble Duke offers a specific, detailed plan, for defending the country with 500,000 well organized militia, and about 30,000 regulars, there is distinct matter of investigation. According to my own judgment I have shewn that even this force, is not half the force we ought to have; and, really not adequate to our defence against the attacks we may expect; and that *a reliance upon it would be extremely likely to invite invasion, and expose us to the horrors and incalculable mischiefs of having England the seat of a bloody war.* I am aware that at first sight I may be thought in an error: but I feel perfectly satisfied of having established my point. It took up, however, thirty-eight pages of my book, a book pretty close printed, to go through the argument.—But your question, referring to your admirable plan of military reform, and only "*supposing* the army to consist of 200,000 men," without a word of any co-operating force, merely asks, "if I do not think that *some such plan* "would be likely to render the defence of "the country efficient, without endangering the liberties of the people, or the "constitutional prerogatives of the crown?" How am I to shape any thing like a direct answer to such a question?—Speaking of the system of Alfred, detailed and illustrated by me in the Ægis, you observe that "I do not "*exclude* the establishment of a *regular* "military force." Now, if, by the very handsome terms in which you have spoken of my efforts, coupled with your silence on

* See England's Ægis.—Index.

a county power co-operating with your *regulars*, you, on the other hand, mean I should take such co-operation for granted, then, in that case, supposing such county power to be what it ought to be, no doubt in my opinion could be entertained on the sufficiency of our powers of defence; nor of the security to liberty or to the constitutional prerogatives of the crown.——VIII. It is equally difficult to frame a clear and concise answer to your 7th question. It is assumed, but without a specific and accurate foundation for the assumption, that your plan would, as indeed, *with proper accompaniments* I agree it would, "give strength to civil liberty at "the same time that it increased military "power," and then you ask if "it would "not be more likely to be attended with "*immediate* effect, *than* the plan which I "have proposed?" By the *alternative* in this question, I am expected of course to give a preference to one of the plans, to the *exclusion* of the other. I am also supposed to know that which I do not know: namely, the present effective strength of the *regular* army at home, for on that must very much turn the "*immediate effect*" of your plan.—Now, admitting, as I do, the propriety of always keeping up on the whole such a regular army, as shall be sufficient to support the rotation and supply of all necessary foreign services, I see no occasion for excluding the proper proportion which, for those purposes, must be in readiness at home, from being reckoned upon in a plan of defence. Nay, if the home army were now much greater than such a proportion, I would not propose at this moment its reduction; nor until the military branch of the constitution were restored to health and vigour.——Here, the plain and useful question I take to be this: under which plan could our present military strength, whatever it be, either in magnitude or in description, be most rapidly and best augmented until it became an "efficient defence?"—Now, I have already shewn, on pecuniary, political, and physical principles, that a *regular*, and a *hired* army never can become such a defence. In addition to these, there is the moral principle, which must excite universal disgust, and probably open rebellion, should parliament resort to a direct conscription, and "*lay its hand upon the people*," in order to give "*immediate effect*" to a plan of defence by a regular army; means which you have justly reprobated.—What remains, then, but that we adopt your excellent reformation of the army, and at the same time restore the grand and unrivalled system of Alfred. Here, although "the legislature" do not "*lay its hand upon the people*, by a levy, *immediate, personal*, and *compulsory*," to form an army of "men who are, at any moment, "liable to be sent out of the kingdom, and "who, in all probability, must pass, or "ought to pass, more than one half of their "time, beyond the seas;" yet, for *home defence*, for the preservation of our laws and liberties, the CONSTITUTION, in the very spirit of freedom, "confidently, justly, honourably, and wisely presumes every man a volunteer in such a cause; and, consequently, it dictates only an organization of the collective force, the means of rendering it effective, and the regulations under which it shall be exerted." * Do you want "*immediate effect?*" Here is the whole physical force of the nation, every human being able to bear arms, given by the CONSTITUTION, by a feeling of COMMON duty, and the highest of moral principles, into the hand of the government for the common defence. What would ye more? Out of the whole community of the English nation, cannot the war minister *immediately* draw forth twice, or thrice, or five times, or ten times, as many men as he can possibly enlist for the regular army, and train them to arms, either in their parishes, or in quarters, or in camp, as exigency may require? And what is to hinder a substantial, and early restoration of a general constitutional army, bearing for national defence, adequate to the public safety? Should the low-minded imbecillity question the practicability of a change in our condition so grand, and so salutary, Mr. Windham, I trust, can answer in the spirit of the English physician once sent for to prescribe to a King of France, and who, when asked by the Parisian College, "what is a fever!" replied, "It is a disease you can't cure and I can."——IX. Perhaps your proposed exemptions of the retired soldiers from serving on juries, from officiating in civil and parish offices, and from an impress for public military services, may deserve reconsideration. To invest them with invidious privileges, might counteract your intention of rendering them objects of affection and respect.—The grand sentiment of making "*the liberties of England*," in every battle, the sequel for the onset, ought to make you as anxious as myself for the complete restoration of the military system of Alfred. It is not merely because it is the best system of defence against invasion, that it ought to be restored; but, because it is also an essential part of our CONSTITUTION; because, arms-bearing of the people must ever be essential to civil liberty;

* Ægis I. 72.

and, because, in the new order of things in Europe, we have a mighty enemy, as sleepless as the fabled dragon, that in peace as in war will ever "seek our subjugation." It is by this restamping of the martial character of our ancestors, on our modern *civil* state, combined with your *military* reform, that you can alone have a complete solution of your question, "*How is the nation to be rendered military; military not in shew, not in the abundance of red coats; but military in spirit?*"——Besides, looking to our finances, it is become a sacred duty to avoid all occasions of unnecessary expense; looking to the probability of Asiatic or other disasters; and looking to the possibility of European opportunities of desirable enterprise; sound policy demands that you should be ever ready, not only to part with every disposeable soldier, but, to set up *a standard of service*, to which should instantly flock from "*a military nation*," a powerful regular army.——I remain, Sir, your obedient servant, JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

MILITARY PLAN.

SIR,——Having read with much satisfaction your general thoughts relative to the improvement of the army, allow me to offer a few remarks on one or two particulars, which you have mentioned in your plan, and on another which you have unaccountably omitted.—Your idea of allowing a sum of money yearly to the parents of those who are at present in the service, or who hereafter shall be enlisted, is, I think, most excellent; and, though 3 guineas may at first sight appear trifling, yet when we consider that it is in fact, upwards of one shilling per week, and that one shilling and sixpence is frequently the additional support granted by a *parish* to a labouring family, the sum will not appear so inconsiderable; even allowing one shilling and sixpence per week, the number of persons claiming this bounty would scarcely raise it to 600,000 l. per annum.—Your wish that the soldier should, on returning to his native home, after having faithfully discharged his duty for a *term of years*, be entitled to some distinguished privileges, appears most just and reasonable; to their having the right of voting for a member of parliament, I should conceive no one can object, but to that of killing game, I fear many will. On first reading that part of your plan no objections presented themselves to me; however, on talking the matter over with a friend, he suggested a reason against its being adopted, which appears to have some weight; it is this; that as game throughout the country is very scarce, and is becoming scarcer, every endeavour should be made to preserve it, in order to induce the men of *landed property* to reside on their estates, who would not otherwise be inclined to do so. Perhaps you may think this argument insufficient to overbalance your's, and, if so, I shall be much obliged to you to enlarge a little on the subject in your next Number, as it is a measure I am still strongly inclined to think favourably of.—Though like yourself I am an enemy to any compulsory measures for recruiting the army; yet, I greatly fear, that if your plan was put in practice, the immediate good effects would not be such as to add greatly to the strength of it. I agree with you, that the sole consideration of the men being taken for a term of years, and not for their whole lives, will produce a great, and to some degree, an immediate change in favour of the recruiting; but, we must recollect, that in the minds of the lower classes, the prejudices against the army are very powerful, that they are so strongly rooted as not to be overcome but by very slow degrees; and, though I think you have pointed out the means by which we may hope to profit hereafter, yet, as the exigencies of the times call loudly for an immediate *efficient* increase to the army, I do not see how that desirable end can be obtained, unless the ballot, in some mode or other, is still employed: because it is not at once thrown aside, there is no good reason why it should not be dispensed with, when your plan or a similar one shall have had the effect of producing such an alteration in the minds of the country people, as to allow it to be done with advantage.—I am anxious to add a few words on your opinion concerning the non-increase of pay to men who have served one or two terms, and on that of not granting additional privileges to those who shall have risen to be non-commissioned officers before they quit the service. Your motive for not adding to their pay, seems to arise from your conviction that they have already sufficient for all their purposes, and that more would, in fact, be a disadvantage to them; that is, that if they had more it would be spent at the alehouse; but, with the general improvements of the army, why should we not look for an improvement in the conduct of the men, in this and other particulars? that it is possible to bring men to such perfection by proper management, as that they will abstain from drinking in spite of strong temptation. I am convinced, and I will mention, in favour of my argu-

ment, a remarkable occurrence which actually took place. A regiment, consisting almost entirely of Irishmen, (who are not generally averse to drinking) was marched into a town in the West Indies; and, its inhabitants having abandoned it, the rum-cellars were all left open; and though the soldiers remained at perfect liberty during 48 hours, not a single man was intoxicated; and this was affected by previous good discipline. I do not think, Mr. Cobbett, you argue quite fairly in saying, that "promotion arises in many, if not in all cases, from the circumstances of an advantageous figure, &c." But, allowing that you do, I do not see why your arguments would not equally apply to giving them no greater pay than the privates, while serving, as to not granting to those who shall at the end of their term be found in the situations of non-commissioned officers, "privileges and immunities somewhat higher than those allotted to men who had never attained that rank."—I come now to the last topic, viz. an increase of pay to the officers, which I was greatly surprised to find had no place in your plan. The principal argument in favour of a *liberal* increase of pay to the officers, is simply this: it has not been raised since the reign of *Queen Anne;* can any more powerful reason be assigned? Can any other be acquired? I appeal, Mr. Cobbett, to your heart, which is favourably inclined towards the profession; I appeal to the understanding of all capable of appreciating the importance of the subject, whether they are not in *reason* entitled to an additional income; whether the army can arise in the estimation of the country, while its officers are forced to exist on that which was only considered to be a suitable provision 100 years ago! There are now many young men of education and family, who decline entering the army, merely because their friends are unable to furnish them an adequate allowance for their simple maintenance; whilst those who have not received the advantage of a good education, feel none of that necessary kind of pride; and are, therefore, unluckily not deterred from offering *their* services. Any one who is a judge of the human disposition, will be satisfied, that persons regarding themselves as objects of *pity*, will not be readily induced to evince that kind of manly spirited conduct so essential to the military character. That this is *precisely* the situation in which officers of the army are at present placed, I will not say, but I *do* think, that by the lower orders, and, especially the *trading* part, the sentiment entertained for them is that either of *pity* or *contempt;* pity excited by a consideration of their *poverty*, or *contempt* for actions to which that *poverty* impels them: the common kind of tradesmen are cautious of trusting an officer with their goods, from the fear of not being paid, whilst those who have risen to affluence by their trade, positively talk of giving *an officer of his Majesty's army a dinner as an act of charity!!!* Can any thing be more humiliating, more shockingly degrading than this picture, which I do not think overcharged. From your having promised that if objections are made to your plan, you will communicate them to your readers, I am led to hope that you will favour me, by inserting the foregoing remarks. I am particularly anxious to recommend the perusal of the *latter part* to Col Craufurd, who *voluntarily pledged himself* to introduce the subject in the House of Commons, early in the present session.——I am, Sir, &c. &c.

BELISARIUS.

MILITARY PLAN.

SIR,——Thinking, as I sincerely do, that your plan for raising an army is noble and excellent in its principles, and highly judicious in most of its details, I will take the liberty of stating the objections which occur to me on two points. The great and leading object pointed out by Blackstone, and all constitutional writers, well stated by Paley, and adopted as a motto by yourself, is to preserve in the minds of the soldiers the constant recollection that they are citizens, and to separate them as little as possible from the community, of which they form a part. While, in pursuance of this object, you propose (for the first time, I believe, but in my opinion with equal justice and good sense) that soldiers, as such, after serving for a certain period, shall acquire a share in the legislature of their country, on what consistent principle are they to be excluded from its judicial administration? "*Exempted* from serving on juries?" This exemption would be to deny them the noblest and most important privilege enjoyed by their countrymen; the loss of which is so far from being considered by the law of England, as a matter of gain or honour, that it is a most prominent part of the punishment of those who are rendered infamous by their crimes. "You have fought our battles, secured our independence, extended our renown: in return, we will confer on you indeed a few flattering immunities, but cannot trust you with the lives, the liberties, or property of your peers." Is it in this language, or even in

language capable of this construction, that a grateful country should address her defenders? No, Sir; the excellence of your plan consists in rendering the union between constitutional feelings and the military spirit, strong and inseparable; and the former are proved by experience to be kept alive, and cherished by no part of our political system, so much as the trial by jury.—My other objection you have anticipated, but not, I think, removed. The omission of a provision for the wives and families of soldiers is justified, because "such provision would operate as a premium for marriage and population, than which nothing can be more contrary to all sound principles of political economy." Here is an allusion to the work of Mr. Malthus, which has afforded us so much instruction and delight. Of that work, I think the principle, or rather, I should call it, the *leading fact*, is ably and fully proved; nor can any thing be more ingenious or acute than the manner in which it is traced in all its curious varieties through the different countries of the world. Population has a natural tendency to outgrow the means of sustenance; when it does outgrow them, it produces great evils; instead, therefore, of promoting and extending population, our study ought to be to limit and confine it within proper bounds. All this is granted. But then follows another inference, viz. that it is, therefore, proper to throw discouragements and impediments in the way of *marriage*. This deduction I, with the greatest diffidence, presume to question: I will even venture to throw out for consideration, whether in this country, and in our state of manners, marriage is not rather a check than an encouragement to population. Let us remember, that here the alternative is not as in Norway and Siberia, between marriage and chastity, but between marriage and libertinism; and that, while the married pair do not add to population once a twelvemonth, the roving husband of many wives may produce even a daily increase. The alternative is not between numbers born in wedlock, to consume the fruits of the earth, and a total stagnation of births in consequence of celibacy, but between the lawful issue of marriage, the joy, the pride, and support of their families, for whose existence and comfort, industry and frugality may make narrow means sufficient, and the dissipated, and perhaps, more numerous offspring of licentious indulgence, the reproach and shame of their parents, the outcasts of the world, its plunderers and victims. I cannot see the resemblance between the Foundling and Chelsea Hospitals; children must be born, but need not be born bastards; the one charity therefore, provides for an event which will inevitably happen, while the other holds out a premium for its being brought about in a manner injurious to the morals and interests of society. Nay, one might go farther; for, if the Foundling has any considerable influence in promoting an illicit commerce, by preparing a maintenance for illegitimate children, it may become necessary to counteract that effect by opening a similar provision to such as are born in wedlock. The case of the soldier, however, stands quite clear of these abstract speculations: his demand is irresistible, when he calls on the justice of his country to contribute to the support of that family, which his own engagement in the public service prevents him from maintaining. With regard to the policy of permitting soldiers to marry, keep still in view your leading principle, and consider what ties can bind a man so strongly to the mass of the people, as a wife and children, born, bred, and living among them, and connecting him by a thousand endearing affinities to all the other orders of the community. In a plan for creating a military spirit by the operation of men's feelings, do not neglect the best and strongest which sway the human heart, the conjugal and parental; these can receive their proper gratification from marriage alone; the former is wasted in a vicious intercourse between the sexes, and the latter baffled and mortified by an undistinguished, profligate, and unlawful progeny. By assisting the wives and children of the military, by supporting their widows and orphans, the state will acquire the strongest hold on their gratitude and affection, and remove (what must often sink the spirits and unnerve the arm of the brave in the day of battle) the painful dread of leaving the objects of their tenderest care exposed to misery and want, to infamy or starvation.—The exact sum which it might be fit to appropriate to this purpose, the terms on which the distribution should be made, the circumstances by which varied, with other considerations of the same nature, must be deferred to some other occasion.——I remain, Sir, your most obedient servant,——A CONSTANT READER.—*Edgworth, March 27.*

MILITARY PLAN.

SIR,——I have been induced to trouble you with this letter, having perused your plan for the defence of the country in your

last Number. I think it excellent, as far as it goes; but it does not go far enough. I differ with you essentially in your first principle; viz. that there ought to be only *one sort of army*. In my opinion, on the contrary, no plan can be eligible, which does not embrace the whole physical strength of the country; and, in some shape or other, raise every arm in its defence.—Whoever considers the respective positions of France and England, must perceive, that the former is necessarily a military power; that her political influence depends upon the number of her regular troops, and her military discipline; it is far otherwise with England; her power and influence are derived from far other sources. Her insular situation; her navy, her trade, manufactures, and colonies; and the independent and enterprising spirit and industry of her inhabitants. France has *her* weapons. We have *ours*. David did not go forth to meet the giant with a sword and a spear; but he slew him with a sling and a stone.——I shall not trouble you, Sir, with any more preliminary observations, but immediately proceed to give you a sketch of my plan, in which I shall be as brief as possible. And, first, I shall lay down three general principles. 1st. That the officers of every description of military force, be appointed by the King.—2dly. That no subject be compellable to military service, except in defence of his native country.—3dly. That, in case of invasion, the person of every subject be at the King's disposal.—I believe these principles are acknowledged by, and are in strict conformity to the British constitution.—I shall now proceed to enumerate the different descriptions of force, to be employed in the national defence.—1st. The regular army, constituted according to Mr. Cobbett's plan.—2dly. The militia, ballotted for in the usual manner, and mutually transferable into the three United Kingdoms.—3dly. The supplementary militia, equal in number to the embodied militia, to be trained one month in every year, in their own county, by a detachment of officers and non-commissioned officers from the county regiment; to be liable to be called out, only in case of invasion. The men not to be exempt from the ballot for the embodied militia. I should imagine it would be scarcely necessary to clothe these men for the single month, and unless they should be called out. Thus, this supplementary militia would furnish government with a tangible force, in case of invasion, at a most trifling expense.—4thly. The volunteers, without pay and without exemption, except from the drill of the Levy-en-Masse, hereafter mentioned; clothing to be furnished by themselves; to be upon a cheap plan, and of the same pattern, throughout the United Kingdoms; Government to supply the arms and accoutrements, to be kept in order by the volunteers themselves; to be formed into companies, regiments, and brigades; each regiment to assemble twice a year, and to act in brigade as often.—It is intended, under these regulations to form the volunteers into a sort of parochial militia, to consist of a description of men, whose occupations would prevent them from becoming regular soldiers, but whom it would be highly essential to arm.—5thly. The Levy-en-Masse, to consist of every male in the kingdom from the age of fifteen to fifty, who does not belong to any of the before-mentioned descriptions of military force; to be trained by serjeant-majors, under the command of the deputy lieutenants of the respective counties. These serjeant-majorships might be so many honourable rewards, for the soldiers of the regular army, who have completed their fifteen years' service with credit and reputation. The drill of the Levy-en-Masse to be appointed with as little deduction as possible from the labour and industry of the country. Sunday mornings, and summer evenings, would be quite sufficient; and, indeed, the trouble would lessen every day; for, in a short time, every man would be capable of instructing his neighbour. The Levy-en-Masse to be divided into classes; and, in case of necessity, to be armed with pikes and short swords. Every parish-church in the kingdom might form a depôt of such arms, for the use of the whole population.——By adopting the above plan, Mr. Cobbett, we should become (if I may be allowed the distinction) not a *military* but an *armed* nation; which, considering the vast power of the enemy, it behoves us to be. It would moreover, Sir, further your own views; for, by infusing a military spirit into the people, and giving every man a military education, sufficient to enable him to act as a private soldier, together with those encouragements held out in the plan proposed in your last Register, you would inevitably fill the ranks of your regular army.——I have the honour to be, Sir, your

most obedient servant,

T. C. P.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX. No. 15.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" Without freedom, as, to their grief the Batavians can tell you, Military Defence is only the evidence of " complete subjugation: and the more triumphant the success of the defenders, the more hopeless the " condition of the defended. But, would we understand how freedom and defence are to go hand in hand, " and how civil liberty is even to gain strength with the increase of military power, then that constitution, " which is the table of our duties, the record of our rights, and the depository of our liberties, must be " the object of our study, and the guide of our steps." ——MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.——In pages 385 and 455, and the following ones, will be found what I have, in this volume, already submitted to the public from my own pen, relative to military affairs, and particularly, as to what ought now to be done in order to obtain an efficient and permanent army. From my correspondents I have had the honour of communicating to the public many very ingenious and valuable papers. See, for instance, pages 412, 416, 462, and in the whole of the preceding sheet, from page 497 to the end of page 512. In the present sheet also the reader will find a letter upon the same subject, from a correspondent, who had attention paid to him in page 412. As the far greater part of these communications contain remarks upon what I have advanced as my opinion, I should here endeavour to answer such parts of them as appear to stand in need of an answer; but, for the present week, this must be postponed; because the plan promulgated in the speech of Mr. Windham certainly commands the precedence.——This speech, which was made in the House of Commons, on Thursday, the 3d instant, has put us in possession of the intentions of the ministry with regard to the new-modelling of the army; and, though every report of a speech must be imperfect, we may, with sufficient accuracy, now state what those intentions are, taking the subject under the four heads, in which it naturally divides itself.

I. THE REGULAR ARMY is to have no addition in the pay of the soldiers. The pay of the officers is left for future consideration; but, it is intimated that a better provision, than that which at present exists, will be made for officers' widows. The soldiers who shall hereafter enter the service are to be enlisted for 7 years, at the end of which period they are to be entitled to their discharge and are to acquire the right of following any trade in any place where they may choose to settle. If, at the end of 7 years, the soldier chooses to enter upon another term of 7 years, he is, during this second term, to receive 6d. a week additional pay; and, if he chooses to take his discharge at the end of it, he is to have a small pension for life, in addition to the right acquired by the first seven years service. If, at the end of the second period, he chooses to enter for a third period of seven years, he is, during this third period, or term, to receive 1s. a week additional pay; he is, besides, to acquire the right before-mentioned, and is to have a pension of a shilling a day for life.——As to the soldiers who are already in the regular army, they are to acquire no right whatever of demanding their discharge; but, the King and Parliament, or, in better phrase, the Country, in its bounty, will make them immediately feel the advantages of the new system; for, all those who have now served seven years and less than fourteen years are to be put immediately upon the list of the 6d. a week additional pay; and all those who have served fourteen years and upwards are to be put upon the list of 1s. a week additional pay. Besides this, which is certainly a pure bounty, on the part of the country, the soldiers already enlisted will see, in the new system, a better prospect for the future. The Chelsea allowances are to be augmented. Some pensioners are to have 6d. others 9d. and others 1s. a day; and, this augmentation is to commence immediately, and is to operate in favour of those who are already pensioners.

II. THE MILITIA is to be suffered to sink somewhat nearer to its original number of 40,000 men; and (for which let all the nation be grateful!) the detestable ballot is to cease; it is to be annihilated by law; it is not to be revived; it is no longer to hang over the heads of the

fathers and the sons. When vacancies occur, they are, in future to be filled up by recruiting at a limited bounty.

III. The Volunteers are (thank God!) no longer to drain us through the means of the tax-gatherer; they are no longer to harrass the people by dunning subscriptions; and, they are no longer to insult the army by assuming the command of its officers.——Clothing for this year only they are to have; but for no longer. They are to have no more pay or allowances. All their swarm of toad-eating inspectors are to be put upon real military duty, or are to cease to receive pay and allowances. The government will furnish with arms such of them as choose to remain embodied and to attend to orders issued; and, if they so remain, they are to be exempted from the duty of training (to be hereafter spoken of); but, all the expenses attendant upon their assembling as Volunteers are to be defrayed by themselves.——As to *rank*, no one is hereafter to receive rank in the Volunteers higher than that of Captain; and, with regard to the relative rank of those who already have commissions, no volunteer officer, whatever his rank may be, is to take command of any officer in the regulars, unless such regular officer be below the rank of Captain; and, moreover, no regular officer, however low his rank may be, who happens to have the command of a whole corps, is, during such command, to be liable to be commanded by any officer of Volunteers.

IV. Armed Inhabitants.——Some better name should be found out for this class of the military force. Mr. Windham did not seem to know very well by what words to designate it. I have great objection to "armed-peasantry." The last is a word which the people of England do not understand; and, the name is certainly not the better for having been so long applied by us to the armed population of those countries, which, one after another, have fallen under the arms of that enemy, against whose attacks, it is our object to be prepared. "Levy-en-masse" is still worse. I wish some short phrase, truly expressive of the thing were found out and adopted. Much depends on *words*. Much, in this case, will depend upon the mere name. But, at all events, it should be *English*, and in the English taste; that is to say, it should require as little breath as possible in the pronunciation of it.——This force is to consist of persons not enlisted into either army or militia; not clothed at the public expense; not required to wear any thing by way of uniform; not expected to be embodied in battalions; but merely to be assembled in order to learn to shoot, or to use a pike; and, intended to aid the army in case of actual invasion. This training is, however, to be compulsory; and, in order to ascertain who are to be first trained, a ballot is to be resorted to. Mr. Windham proposes, first to divide the people into four classes, according to age, from 16 to 40 years, taking none younger than the former and none older than the latter. Next, the King in council is to judge as to the number to be called out for training; and, it is supposed, that 200,000 will, at first, be sufficient. The rolls being ready, the particular persons will soon be fixed upon. The time for which they are to be called out is to be 26 half days in the year; and each man is to be allowed a shilling for each half day. When a man has undergone one year's training, he is not again to be called upon. The persons who are to attend the drills, and, indeed, to teach the men what they are to be taught, are to be detached for that purpose from the Militia regiments, and from the second battalions of the regulars.

In remarking upon this plan, in which we may and must observe generally, that there is much good, we will take the heads in the inverted order, beginning, of course, with the *Armed Inhabitants*, or, which perhaps would be a better and a very good name, and none the worse for being a simple one, the *Trained-Men*; to begin with these, the plan, as far as it goes, is certainly an excellent one. The ballot, as thus applied, has in it nothing frightful or odious, except its mere sound; but, so hateful, so truly detestable, and worthy of detestation, is this sound become, that it were anxiously to be wished, that *roll*, and its derivatives, could be employed in its stead. The *pay*, however, is, in my opinion, by no means necessary. There are 52 Sundays in a year; and, it is hard indeed, if the one quarter part of these days cannot be bestowed upon the learning of that which is necessary to the defence of the country. The pay will tend to degrade the duty; which is, besides, so very light, that it does in fact, call for no pay whatever, especially when it comes in

the place, and will appear to have produced the abolition of, that accursed thing called the ballot. With respect to the persons who are to have the *command* at these trainings, there requires much consideration; for, however light the duty, there must be command; real command; a power of *compelling* an implicit obedience to orders. Mr. Windham will find this to be, by far, the most difficult point; and he will do well to make the act annual; for, it is next to impossible that difficulties requiring revision should not almost immediately arise. Let him well consider what is the sort of manners, as to command, that serjeants and officers of the Militia and of the army will carry with them to the places of training; and, let him consider, what is the sort of minds and of manners that they will there meet with. Let him reflect on the degree of patience, and, indeed, of wisdom, that will be requisite in these officers and serjeants, who, though they may, agreeably to his description, now be "gaping like oysters at low ebb," ought, when they come to the places of training, to possess something more than the capacity of swallowing. The division of the people into classes, according to their *age*, is very judicious; not the more so because it was so strongly recommended by me, at the time when the first General Defence Act was in agitation (see vol. 4 p. 120); but, certainly not the less so on that account. It may not be amiss to carry the age to 40 years; though, I should think, that between 16 and 30 would be quite sufficient; or, at most, an extension to 35. That it is *every* man's duty to aid in the defence of his country there can be no doubt; but, it appears to me, that, by embracing so very large a part of the people by the clauses of an act of parliament, you run the risk of experiencing the truth of the maxim, that "what is *every* body's business is *nobody's* business." The rolls should, I, therefore, think, be somewhat more select. A man of 40 wants to have *rest* of a Sunday; and, to render these Trained Men as efficient as possible, you should, in every way that you can, render their duty pleasant; or, at least, not painful. And now, as to *arms*, I know not whether Mr. Windham proposes to have them deposited in some particular place in each parish, or to leave them in the custody of the men: for myself, however, I am satisfied, that they not only ought to be left with the men, during their year of training, but that it would be wise, at the end of the year's training, to make the arms the property of the man who had been trained; and this, to say nothing of the utility of the arms in his hands, upon occasions of emergency, would be full as cheap as paying him for his time at drill. Indeed, as it is the duty of every man to bear arms for the defence of his country, it is evidently his duty, if he be able, to keep arms in his house; and if a larger proportion of the people, than that above described, were to be called out, it should be under the direction and inspection of the magistrates, merely to see that they had arms. Let no one talk of the *danger* of trusting the people with arms; for, how is it possible to reconcile such a sentiment with the principle, whereon alone can be maintained the justice of compelling all men to bear arms for the defence of their country? But, the fact is, that, if there be *now* any such danger, all the schemes for defending the country must be perfectly useless. The danger from abroad is now of a magnitude that quite eclipses every danger from within. Time was, when the regular army and militia were competent to meet all the probable dangers from without: this is no longer the case. The defence of the King and of the kingdom must now be left to the people, to the mass of the people. To do any thing that would infer a suspicion of their fidelity, of their wish to defend their Sovereign and their country, would be the height of folly, and particularly at a moment, when, in every act, you proclaim, that to them you appeal as the only remaining means of defence. The confidence should be entire, or there should be none at all; for, of a people defending themselves against their will, the idea is perfectly absurd. I am aware, that a good deal will still be said about the danger of placing arms in the hands of the people; and, the objection would be sound, if applied to bodies distinguished from the rest of the community, for, we have recently seen what violences, what acts of insolence and oppression, what daring defiance of the law such bodies, uncontrouled by any military code or discipline, are capable of; but, let *all* the people be armed; let none be assembled in bodies distinct from the community; let all that conveniently can, learn expertly to use arms; let there be no *military rank* amongst them; and, then you need fear nothing from them, unless they are disaffected to the state, and, in that case, to arm any portion of them, or, which is, in this respect, the same thing, to deposit arms within their reach, must, even upon your own view of the matter, be worse than useless. But, why have I taken up the reader's time with these remarks? The set of observations, above referred to, and which will be found

between pages 120 and 127 of Volume IV. of the Register, are in the hands of most of my readers. Whether Mr. Windham had ever read those observations is a question that I cannot positively determine; but, if he had not, I must be highly flattered at perceiving the exact coincidence, as to outline at least, between his plan for training the people and my plan for effecting that purpose. My project was pretty elaborate; it was described under four heads; and, I am of opinion, that the reader will find it more perfect than that of Mr. Windham, unless, indeed, which it is fair to suppose, much of what he intends in detail has been omitted in the report of his speech. Upon one point, however, we *differ:* I mean that of *allowances for time spent at drill.* I objected to any such allowance; and, when the reader has re-perused the observations, I think he will be of my opinion. I stated, as will be seen in Vol. IV. page 124, the necessity of a *drilling officer* and a *drummer* for each place of assembling men for the purpose of training; and, I recommended, that the officer should be appointed by the King; but, I should not, if I had proceeded further, have recommended the taking of this officer from the *Militia*, nor, that I know of, from the second battalions of the regulars; assuredly not from the militia! The reader will find, in a subsequent page, a letter upon this and other topics connected with Mr. Windham's plan; and, I must confess, that I agree with the writer as to what he has said respecting the unfitness of the militia officers for the purpose here spoken of. The great secret, however, is, how, at these trainings, to *insure obedience to the commands of the officer;* for, without this, you may as well whistle as to pass the act of parliament. The *drum* and the *standard* will not, I hope, be forgotten. Their powers are much greater than men generally imagine. My fear is, that this measure will, at last, be but a half-measure, especially when I see a skulking place, as my correspondent justly calls it, in the Volunteer Corps. I cannot dismiss this part of the subject, without referring the reader to the work of MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, who has written most ably upon the subject of arming the people, and whose book it is impossible to read without therefrom deriving profit. The MAJOR will, too, do me the justice to grant, that, in proposing a plan for forming a regular army, I always had in view this more numerous description of defensive force. I have never, for one moment, entertained an opinion, that this nation could preserve its independence without trusting *the people* with arms.——The proposed measures relative to the *Volunteers* must meet with the approbation of every sensible man in the kingdom. If there is any thing to regret, as to this part of the plan, it is that it does not go far enough. To take away the allowances, in kind as well as in money, is perfectly just and politic; the arms might have been given to the Volunteers at once; if a law for a general arming had been adopted; but the *rank!* Oh, I would never have left any thing resembling rank amongst them! "What! annul the Commissions!" And, *why not?* Why not annul them? Every argument in support of lowering the rank (for such in effect is the proposal) is an argument for taking it away altogether. What, in all the world, can be found out as a justification for suffering any part of this rank to remain? That the taking of it away would offend those empty-headed coxcombs, who, having no other means of obtaining distinction from their brother shop-keepers, are enchanted with the titles conferred on them as volunteer officers, one can easily conceive; but, that it should offend any man worth conciliating is utterly incredible. Mr. Windham has considered, and truly considered, this profusion of military titles as highly injurious to the regular army; but, it is also highly injurious to every man entitled to distinction in society. Noblemen and gentlemen, by becoming officers of Volunteer Corps (and, as things were, it was very difficult to avoid it), placed themselves, at once, upon a footing with hair-dressers and pastry-cooks. This was the true *levelling* system. A gentleman frequently met, at a mess-table, the man, who, in the morning, had cut his hair, or sold his wife a wig; and, I dare say, that scores of Colonel BIRCH's regiment have made him cry "coming, Sir!" in six hours after having grounded their arms at his word of command. This worthy maker of pastry and of turtle-soup may now bend the whole of his genius towards those delicious objects; or, if he should still have a taste for colonelling, we shall have the satisfaction to know, that he cannot crow over officers of the real army. Lord Castlereagh said, that it would have been more manly to say, at once, that the Volunteers were of no use, and to have dissolved them by act of parliament. So it would; but, I should like to know, in what act of his whole life, Lord Castlereagh ever set an example of manly conduct; and, one might ask him, whether it was very manly to appeal, upon this occasion, to the passions of those poor empty creatures, who could feel their pride wounded at being stripped of

Volunteer rank? Nevertheless, dismissed the whole of them should have been, if I could have had my will. We have seen their bullying advertisements too long. We have too long endured their insolence, and their violations of the law. We have too long seen the scandalous partiality which has been shown towards them. I see no reason why any part of the system should remain. No reason whatever can I see why Colonel Birch any more than his neighbour, the shoe-black, should be exempted from the training law. I do not like to see the people divided into mere *rich* and *poor*, when the object is to defend the country. This is a very odious principle of distinction. We shall still have Volunteers. The poor will not, indeed, go into those corps, the chief motives being removed; but, the rich will, in order to avoid mixing with the poor in the meetings for training; *a motive which did not before exist!* The former will now meet, and dress themselves out; they will congregate, and toast, and guttle more than ever. Why these *two sorts* of armed inhabitants? Two distinct sorts? One of them under the command of an officer appointed by the King, and the other not under the command of an officer appointed by the King; or, at least, an officer who is not one of themselves? I should not object to a distinction upon a different principle; but, the distinction here made is the very worst that can exist. It is that of mere money; and this money is to screen the possessor from being trained by the same sort of authority that a man without money must submit to. If, as MAJOR CARTWRIGHT proposes, the rich were obliged to perform a degree of service proportioned to the amount of their property, there would be some reason and justice in the distinction; but, here, the contrary is the case; the rich, for no other reason than because they are rich, having the privilege to withdraw themselves from the training under officers appointed by the king. If this distinction, upon the principle which I understand it to be founded in, be acted upon, be assured, that the whole of the plan, as far as relates to the arming and training of the people, will fail; another year will waste away in vain expectations, and, perhaps, before the government be convinced of their error, the season to profit from such conviction will have passed.——As to the *Militia*, the ballot is put an end to for ever, I hope; and, I am only sorry, that any means whatever are to be adopted to keep alive that establishment. A regular army and an armed people are all the species of force that we ought to have; and, as to the fear of disgusting militia officers, what would the minister have to do but to open the regular army to them? It is downright nonsense to talk of a man's having a taste for the army, and, at the same time, to say, that he dislikes the service of the line. Such a man may have a taste for a red coat and a sash and a cockade; but, is it not to trifle too much to say, that he has a taste for a *military life*? ——With respect to Mr. Windham's plan for altering the condition of the *Regular Army*, first, I think the terms too long. Five years would have been enough for each term; for, I never can think that a man above 40 years of age (which is the average that fifteen years' service would have brought the soldiers to) is so fit for a soldier as a man under that age. The 6d. a week in prospect, and the 1s. a week after the second term, will, I am afraid, do but little good, especially in the way of inducement to enter the army *now*, and that ought to have been a main consideration. The beginning *immediately* to pay this 6d. or 1s. to men already in the service will, indeed, have some effect; and, more and better effect will be produced by the intended *immediate* augmentation of the pensions to the present pensioners, and how strenuously I have, at different times, besought the ministers to make such an augmentation, my readers will not fail to recollect. But, there should be an augmentation, and a large augmentation, of the *number* of pensioners. The parishes are loaded with poor wretches, the streets are lined with unfortunate creatures, the marrow of whose bones has been wasted in the king's service. Mark the difference between their lot and that of superannuated disabled tax-gatherers! For a runner of the post-office, who can no longer follow his occupation, a pension of 50l. a year, the newspapers tell us, is now to be provided. The highest of Mr. Windham's Chelsea pensions is not to exceed 18l. 5s. The pains and vexations, too, attendant upon the receiving of a pension ought to be removed. The poor fellows, who are now upon the out-pension lists, both of army and navy, are compelled to beg their way to and from Chelsea and Greenwich. We build docks; immense docks and warehouses, and our ministers go in state to lay the corner stones. We build taxing-shops large as palaces; but, since the days of the Stuarts; since that "glorious edifice," the funding system was begun, what have we done for the army or the navy? what have we done to render permanent the glory or the independence of England? The hospital

at Chelsea was built, when the standing army did not exceed *ten thousand men*; the amount of the out-pension was, nominally, what it now is, when *a penny* was worth as much as *fourpence* is worth now; and, let it be observed, that, while the Civil List has been repeatedly augmented in nominal amount, upon the ground of the depreciation in the value of money; while the salaries of the Judges and other officers appertaining to the executive and judiciary branches have been augmented upon the same grounds; while even the pay of the soldiers *in service* has been, for the same reason, augmented, the allowances of Chelsea (except in a trifling instance, and that very lately) has experienced no augmentation at all. Of the pay of the officers of the army I shall not, at present, speak; because that *must* become a separate measure; but, generally, I would beg leave to remind Mr. Windham, that money is daily depreciating, and that, if the system, to which his noble friend, "whose star has just beamed above the horison," be persevered in; if it were possible to persevere in it, until the end of the first term of 7 years, the promised 6d. a week, which is to operate as a stimulus to enlistment, will not purchase one single quid of tobacco a week. But, to speak my mind, I have no confidence in the effect of these *refreshing fees*. Seven years is a long while for a soldier to look forward to for an additional pay of a penny a day; and, especially when he considers, that, to the enjoyment of that penny a day is attached the condition of another 7 years service. As the means of bettering the condition of the men already in the service, these allowances of 6d. and a 1s. to begin immediately, are very well imagined; but, as distant objects, as future enjoyments, as motives to enlistment, they are, assuredly, much too weak to produce the desired effect; and they are, besides, and which is, indeed, their important deficiency, quite inadequate to the purpose of producing a sensible and lasting impression on the minds of the people, favourable to the military service; and, they tend not, even in the smallest degree, to produce a common feeling of interest between the army and the rest of the subjects of his Majesty; yet, without the existence of this feeling, founded in permanent causes, who will say, that, while despotism is extending its grasp over every corner of Europe, an army of 250,000 men is a thing to be desired in England? The proposed measures will add to the pay and the pensions of the soldiers; to the pay of the officers something will also be added; something will be added to the pensions of the widows of the officers; the training of the people will be committed to officers appointed by the king; the raising of the militia will now be from funds out of the Exchequer. All this, in a military point of view, is so much of good; but, does not Mr. Windham, who is most sincerely attached to the liberties of the people, see, in all this, a great and even a fearful addition to the power of the crown, without any thing at all to balance against it? The more you augment the emoluments, the more you exalt the character, of the army, the more you swell the power of the crown; unless you take care, that your means of effecting this augmentation and this exaltation shall, at the same time, entwine the interests and feelings of the army with those of the rest of the people; unless you take care, that, by the very means that you add to your military power, you strengthen the ramparts of public liberty. This double object was, I think, provided for, and effectually provided for, in the outline of the plan proposed by me, it being contrary to nature to suppose, that an army constituted according to that plan, should ever co-operate in destroying, or in diminishing, the liberties of the people; and, yet, there was, at the same time, quite a sufficient stock of motives provided for insuring due obedience to the commands of the monarch. The doctrine of having one sort of army as *a check* upon another sort of army was intolerably absurd; but, better those checks than to leave an army of 250,000 men, the only embodied force in the country, totally cut off from all interests in common with the people. The army, navy, and ordnance now cost 40 millions a year. Recollect, that all the officers in all these services are appointed by the sole will of the crown; that they all depend upon the crown for promotion; that they hold their commissions merely at the pleasure of the crown; that they can, at any moment, and even without reason assigned, be dismissed, disgraced, and ruined. Should there not, then, be some tie to bind both officers and soldiers to the liberties of the country? And, is not the necessity for such a tie increased in the exact proportion that you augment the emoluments and exalt the character of the army? And, is not the creating of such ties peculiarly proper at a time when you are, by all possible means, giving to the whole of your force that shape which naturally brings it immediately under the sole power of the crown? The too great propensity of men to overlook one danger through their anxiety

to ward off another is illustrated by the moralist in the fable of the one-eyed Doe, who, that she might be secure against the hunter, constantly gazed close to the bank of the sea, keeping her watchful eye toward the land, which, the hunter perceiving, stole along in a boat, and shot her dead, at the moment when she thought herself in perfect security; and, thus has it frequently, not to say always, happened with nations, who, in the hour of imminent danger from without, have neglected the means of providing against danger from within. We have seen it proposed in print, that the parliament should "*lay its hand* upon the people." That is to say, that it should pass a law for compelling men to become soldiers; and, of course, for punishing them with death, perhaps, for disobedience. In what a state must we be, when such a proposition can be seriously made, and that, too, in a printed address to a minister of state? Such a measure, if necessary for the defence of the country against an invading enemy would still be useless; for, what are we afraid of but loss of liberty? What do we wish to be defended against but despotism? And, how foolish would it be to submit to despotism from one quarter, in order to be able to resist it from another quarter? I will not be supposed to insinuate any suspicions as to the views or the dispositions of any particular persons: I make no such insinuations: but, I am to consider what is possible at any future time; and I am, as far as I am able, to provide against it, if I regard it as injurious to my country. I view the crown as having become, merely by circumstances over which it has had no controul, powerful beyond all former example in this country. When I say the crown, I do not mean the King; but, the ministry of the day, and, indeed, the whole of the executive branch of the government. It is impossible, when we reflect on the great proportion of every man's income, which now passes annually through the hands of the government; on the endless numbers of persons which the government employs to collect taxes and to meddle in one way or another in the concerns of individuals; on the many and powerful holds which it has upon the property, real as well as personal, of every man in the kingdom; on the innumerable channels of influence that it has continually open, and on the irresistible means which it necessarily possesses of subduing the unbending to its will: it is quite impossible to reflect on all this without feeling alarm at a proposition the tendency of which must be greatly to increase the power which the crown already has over the people. Not one jot of the constitutional power of the crown would I wish to see taken away. I wish to see the King of England always a real King. No one of his just prerogatives would I see diminished. But, I wish England to be what England has been; I wish to enjoy my share of those liberties which were handed down to us by our forefathers; and thus wishing, I cannot, in silence, see this contemplated addition, this fearful addition, made to the power of the crown, *unaccompanied with any thing whereby to secure a balance on the side of public liberty*. At the same time, however, that I thus declare my hostility to the plan of Mr. Windham, as tending to subvert the constitution, it is my duty to declare, that I am fully persuaded, he does not regard it as having any such tendency; and, indeed, I am equally persuaded, that there is not one of his colleagues of the cabinet who does not view it, in this respect at least, as perfectly harmless. The reader will, perhaps, think with them; if so I shall have taken up his time to no purpose; but, if he think with me, I trust he will, in whatever sphere he may move, have the courage to avow his sentiments, and to use his utmost endeavours to give those sentiments effect.——I cannot close this article without noticing a paragraph in the Morning Chronicle of the 9th instant, in which the writer, commenting upon another paragraph, which appeared in the Courier of the 5th, relative to the discontents that would probably arise in the present army and in the fleet in consequence of the advantageous terms granted to the new levies; in commenting upon this paragraph, the Morning Chronicle observes: "Thus, not satisfied with planting the "seeds of disaffection and jealousy amongst "the soldiery, they intend also to inflame "and render discontented the sailors. Such "conduct as this needs no observation: *Ja*"*cobinism*, it must be recollected however, "is not a jot less dangerous because it is "concealed under the cloak of loyalty!" And this from the *Morning Chronicle*, observe! What could John Bowles and the Middlesex saints have said more? Really this is too barefaced! The editor of the Morning Chronicle, who has so often complained, and in such bitter terms, of the dastardly attempts to silence his arguments by a cry of Jacobinism! And do you, in good earnest, think, sir, to conjure up and to frighten us with this obsolete political hob-gobling? If you do; if you mean thus to render your office of Treasury-defender a sinecure, you will find yourself completely

deceived. As to the remarks in the Courier, they were foolish enough. The argument was worth nothing. There is no reason to suppose, that the new plan will excite discontent either in the army or the fleet. But, though there was abundant ground, whereon to accuse the writer of folly, there was none at all whereon to accuse him of felony; and, when we recollect your indignation, your just indignation, so often and so strongly expressed at the preferring of similar accusations against yourself, and that, too, by this very Courier, it is impossible to account for your conduct without considering this charge of Jacobinism as something which descends along with the offices at Whitehall, and which, at each successive change, is handed over by the clerks of those offices, to the editors of their newspapers, to be used, as occasion may serve, for the benefit of their principals. Be the cause what it may, however, you may be assured, that the effect will not answer your purpose. The cockney public will endure much; but, from nobody, will they now endure an out-cry about Jacobinism: coming from your opponents it has, for years past, excited nothing but laughter; but coming from you, and at this day, it will not fail to excite contempt. I am willing to hope, that some officious clerk, some senseless sycophant, has imposed this paragraph upon you. I do hope this, because I have a sincere respect for your talents and your character (I am speaking to Mr. SPANKEY); but, I must still blame the act, whatever the cause, by which an attempt is made to silence an adversary by means so foul, so every way unworthy of any man who has ever moved his pen, as you so often and so successfully have, in the cause of truth and of the freedom of discussion.

BED OF ROSES.——This phrase, used by Lord Castlereagh (in the debate upon Mr. Windham's plan), as descriptive of the state of the nation's affairs when the new ministry came into office, has, it would seem, given great offence to those ministers and their partisans; but, why it has, I really cannot, for my part, clearly perceive. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs did, before he came into office, talk of an *inquiry* into the conduct of his predecessors as to the third coalition; but we now hear no more of it. An *inquiry* into the conduct of Lord Wellesley was urged by Mr. Windham; that now appears to be thought unnecessary. The finances are in an excellent state. The Sinking Fund is all that the Pitts said it was. The nation, we were expressly told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is in a "high state of *prosperity*." Why, then, find fault with the Bed of Roses? It was a bold attempt to be sure; or, rather, it would have been, if made with respect to one who thinks as I do about the matter; but, nothing is there in it of which any of the *ministers* can reasonably complain. Nay, Mr. Fox, though he was warmed, though he was chafed by it, did not venture, in his description of the thorns and the brambles, to impute *blame* to any body. That he could not do, without censuring Mr. Pitt; and how, so soon at least, could he censure Mr. Pitt, on account of whose "*merits*," he had so recently voted a large sum of the public money to pay his debts? In that vote, the Pitts, from causes which shall be hereafter described, obtained a quietus for all the past. Lord Castlereagh, doubtless, is well acquainted with these causes; and, much would he be to blame, if he did not make his conduct go hand in hand with that of Mr Pitt. This, as towards the new ministry, is perfectly just. Having declared that Mr. Pitt was a minister of merit; having voted a sum of the public money on account of that merit; having gone this length, for whatever purpose, *they* have no right whatever to throw out accusations against his colleagues, whom they know well to have been merely his instruments, or, at most, only sharers in his misdeeds, I mean, his "*merits*," always adhering to the exact words of Mr. Fox. Let us, therefore, hear no more complaints about the Bed of Roses. Let those who are upon it make the best of it. The old women say to their daughters, "as you make your bed so you must lie in "it;" and the same may we say to the ministers. They took to the Pitt inheritance without any complaint; and the people have a right to demand of them a complete responsibility for all the mischief that shall happen.

THE LOAN. — Upon the subject of finance, it was not my intention to trouble the reader with any further remarks, until I had an opportunity of entering into it, agreeably to my intention, in the preceding sheet, page 493; but, upon looking over the Morning Chronicle of the 29th ultimo, I find there some remarks upon the loan recently made, which remarks I cannot pass over in silence. After stating, in the jargon of 'Change Alley, the terms of the loan, the writer, in the true Treasury-strain, proceeds thus: "So that the permanent interest "which the public will have to pay for every "100l. borrowed, is *only* 4l. 19s. 7d. This "is a *most gratifying proof of the solid* "*wealth and power of the country*; and

" yet the contractors have every reason to " be *satisfied with their bargain.* The com- " petition was open and fair. The bidding " of Mr. Barnes and his friends was so " good as to give an *admirable display of* " *the resources of the Empire* for the *con-* " *tinuance of the war*, if the intemperance " of the enemy shall force us to the evil." ——This is not, reader, from that slavish vehicle, the SUN. It is from the Morning Chronicle! How completely it has fallen into the cant of office; that cant, which, only a few months ago, it reprobated in terms so severe! Speaking, further on, the sums that will, in the course of the year, be brought into the money-market by the Commissioners for managing the Sinking Fund, the editor of the Morning Chronicle says: " This is the genuine source of the facility " with which our loans are raised; and " thus the Sinking Fund comes as surely " back again to the public aid, as if it were " directly applied to the service of the year. " We mention this as an *unanswerable* re- " ply to those theorists, who would violate " public faith, to get at *it* by summary " means." At *what*, wise sir? Get at *what?* At the Sinking Fund? Is that what you mean? If it be, what nonsense are you talking? What do you mean by *getting at it?* Do you think, then, that this Sinking Fund consists of deposits of money, either in a chest, or in real property, or in goods and chattles? If this be not your notion of it, why do you talk of *getting at it?* And, if it be your notion, you are, it must be confessed, most eminently qualified for criticising the theories of the persons whom you have thought proper to charge (without any attempt at proof) with a wish to " violate " public faith!" This *Sinking Fund* is a mere *name.* There is no fund at all. There is nothing in it which partakes, in the smallest degree, of the nature of those things, which have, in the concerns of men, been called *funds.* The plain and true description of the thing in question is this: several millions a year (this year 8 millions) are raised upon the people in taxes, which millions are paid into the hands of certain commissioners, who are appointed (and *paid* too) for the purpose of going once or twice a week, into the stock exchange, there, in the course of the year, to lay out these millions in stock. The next year more millions are raised in taxes for the same purpose, and so on. Well, then, who would not imagine, that the stock thus bought up was *destroyed*, especially when the Morning Chronicle describes the Commissioners as men appointed to " *extinguish* the national " debt." Who would not imagine, that the " extinguished " stock was *extinguished?* Not at all; it is merely transferred into another department; *interest is still paid upon it* by the people; interest *must continue to be paid upon it;* and all the purpose it answers, is, to *keep up the price of the stocks* by sending a large purchaser into the market regularly twice a week, or, as far as I know, oftener, for this purpose; as a prop to the funding system; as a means of draining the people, and, at the same time and by the very same power, keeping them silent: viewed in this light the Sinking Fund, as it is called, is a most excellent invention; but, as a means of *really extinguishing the national debt,* it has hitherto been, and always will be, perfectly useless. I like much to hear this converted gentleman of the Morning Chronicle talk about the " *solid wealth* and *power* of the coun- " try," as exhibited in the bargain for a loan! Another opportunity will offer for exposing this delusion in a manner more complete; but, in the mean while, let the reader bear in mind, that the advocates of this " *Fund,*" who have, till now, always talked of its *future* powerful effects, now begin to rest their defence of it upon its *present* effects; and, the reason is, that they see, and they know that the most stupid of the people will very soon see, that, as to *paying off the debt,* it never can have any effect whatever.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.——(Continued from pages 171, 197, 237, 303, 368, and 460). In the last of the pages here referred to, I stated, upon hearsay, but upon my own belief also (the minister's Budget not having then appeared), that *a million* sterling, for the present year, had already been advanced, out of the taxes of the nation, to the East India Company, in order to enable that Company to meet the demands, or, indeed, a small part of the demands of its creditors. The event has proved, that my information was but too correct; and, we have now the assurance of the mortifying, the galling fact, that, out of the seven millions of new taxes to be raised upon us this year, one million is for the use of a company of merchants, to whom we have granted a monopoly of trade, for the sake of whose trade we have expended millions of money and thousands upon thousands of lives, and who, at the moment when our ministers are granting away our money to *them*, owe *us*, according to their charter, millions of money! Is this what we had to expect from the new ministry? What claim, I would be glad to know, has this company of mer-

chants upon us, the burdened people of England? They talk of the expences of WARS; but, again, we ask, who authorised these wars? Who sanctioned them? *Who* is it that has been the cause of these demands upon our labour and our property, at a moment when we have left hardly any thing that we can call our own?——The very idea of *poverty* as applied to the East India Company, has something unnatural in it. This is a body of great merchants; the greatest in the kingdom; they are a sort of petty sovereigns; they have assumed the epithets appertaining to the high nobility; and, to see these men come creeping to the minister for aid; to hear them, as, *at last*, we do, proclaiming from their own palace. that they are brought to the "*brink* "*of beggary*:" the bare contemplation of this is sufficient to excite astonishment; what, then, must be our feelings, when, after having enjoyed the revenues and trade of an empire at our expense, we find them running to *us* for relief?——Judging from the conduct of Sir T. Metcalf (one of the directors) at the beginning of the session of parliament, I was long of opinion, that the directors had approved of all those wars, and all that immense expenditure of money, in India, by which their affairs had been brought into their present state: now, however, I find, that this has not been the case. I find, that the Wellesley wars and expenditures, or, at least, the far greater part of them, have been disapproved of by the East India Directors. The Directors appear, of late, to have been convinced, that the only way of justifying their own conduct, was to separate themselves from Lord Wellesley; and, to convince the parliament and the nation, that their distresses, and the failure of their engagements towards the public, had all arisen from measures, adopted without their consent, and disapproved of by them. With the very proper and very laudable view of producing this conviction, Mr. HUDDLESTONE, more than a fortnight previous to the Easter recess, gave notice of his intention (naming the day) to move for the laying before the House, a copy of a dispatch from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council at Bengal, dated on the 3d of April, 1805, approved of by the whole court, Sir T. Metcalf excepted, but *stopped by the Board of Controul*, who, according to the powers vested in them by Mr. Pitt's India Bill, are to examine, and to approve or disapprove, of every dispatch sent out by the Court of Directors to their Governor-General in Council. This dispatch is of vast importance as a ground for inquiry into the conduct of the Governor-General. It takes a review of the whole of his conduct, and it expresses the opinion of his employers upon that conduct. The circumstance of its *not being permitted to be sent out* weighs in favour of its production, rather than against it. As evidence against Lord Wellesley it certainly cannot be produced; nor is it as evidence against Lord Wellesley that it is called for; but, it is evidence of the *propriety of an inquiry* into the conduct of that person, and it is *inquiry*, and nothing but inquiry, that we at present demand from the ministers. Upon what ground any one will attempt to resist the production of this important paper, especially after the declaration of Lord Temple, that the friends of Lord Wellesley wished for every paper at all connected with his conduct to be produced; after this, it would be difficult to imagine any pretext that could be devised for resisting the production of the dispatch, of which we have been speaking; yet, it is very odd, that, day after day, for more than a week previous to the recess, something or other did occur to cause a request from the ministers to Mr. Huddlestone to put off his motion; and, on the day next before Good Friday, when the motion was, without fail, to have come on, Mr. Windham's plan was brought forward, it having been, unfortunately, prevented from being brought forward the day before, in consequence of the illness of Mr. Fox. That Mr. Huddlestone's motion will, however, now be made, there is no doubt at all entertained; and, when the paper is produced, it will, if I am not much misinformed, produce a greater impression upon the public mind than any thing has done for a long series of years. The East-India Directors have been cowed down. They have been made the tools, the mere tools, just as Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan said they would be, of the Board of Controul and its minions in India. The Directors have seen their concern and their constituents brought, to use the expression of Mr. Robert Thornton, to the "brink of beggary," and, all the while, they, as we shall now find, have been earnestly remonstrating against the measures which have produced this terrible effect, and have now thrown themselves upon the mercy of the minister of the day! It must be painful for these men to stand thus dependant upon the minister, and, accused, as they are, by the public, of adding to its burdens. It behoves them to clear themselves; and, indeed, the fault to be imputed to them, is, that they have so long held their tongues. But, when one

considers the state of thraldom, in which they have been held, one is less surprised at this. They have been mere creatures in the hands of the minister, and, such, had it not been for Mr. Paull, they would have continued. To that gentleman, and to others who have come voluntarily to his support; but, first, and principally, to him the Directors and the public are indebted for the fair prospect there now is of obtaining an inquiry into the causes of the distresses of the East India Company, and of the heavy burdens which those distresses have brought, and must *continue to bring*, upon the country. Where is Mr. Sheridan with his inquiry into the proceedings in the Carnatic? The printing of the papers, upon that gentleman's motion, has cost us no trifling sum. Why, then, does he not come on with the inquiry? Was it a threat; a mere object of terror to the ministry of that time?. All may yet come right upon this head; but *why*, do they tell us, in the mean while, why, Mr. Sheridan is as silent as a barber's block? Let it not be supposed, that this is said by way of goading him on. Very little do I care whether he stir, or not, unless he do it with good will and from principle. I wish, indeed, and I hope, that this may be the case; but, there wants not now any other support to the cause than that which it already has. Mr. Paull has made good the expectations that were entertained of him, by those who had the honour to know him well. There wanted, as was before observed, only *one* man of integrity and industry, such a man being quite competent to the effecting of one of two objects; the obtaining of an inquiry, or the enabling of the people to form a true judgment as to those by whom such inquiry should be defeated. Mr. George Johnstone, as the reader will recollect, did, lately, when there were symptoms of a general desertion of Mr. Paull and his cause, make a declaration; he boasted, that he had, from the first, advised Mr. Paull not to meddle with the subject; and, he also declared off from any intention or wish to cause any inquiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley. As a refresher of the memory, I will just quote a short passage from the Parliamentary Debates of the 8th of April last, just a year ago. "Mr. JOHNSTONE begged leave to "ask Mr. Sheridan whether he had abandoned his motion relative to the Affairs of "the Carnatic. If the hon. gent. meant to "abandon it, *he would*, (inadequate as he "confessed his abilities to be to a subject of "such vast importance), bring it forward. "——MR. SHERIDAN said, that though "the matter had *long lain dormant*, he certainly did not mean to abandon it; especially as a noble lord (Castlereagh) had "lately hinted, that those affairs had been "so happily settled that all inquiry was unnecessary. He meant, *immediately after "the holidays*, to fix *a precise day* for bringing forward his motion on that subject." ——The diversions of the holidays put it, I suppose, out of his head. I have quoted the book, word for word: see Vol. IV. page 255. And are we to hear of this no more from Mr. Sheridan? As to Mr. Johnstone, he has abandoned it in form; but, is this what the public expected from Mr. Sheridan? In a subsequent page, there is a letter from "A WHIG," in defence of the conduct of Mr. Fox and his friends, relative to the India Inquiry. I have not room here to answer this Whig. The answer would not, indeed, require much room; for, reasoning so subversive of all hitherto-received principles of political morality was, I am persuaded, never before made use of; but, I reserve what is to be said upon this subject until, in my next number perhaps, I shall attempt a description of the *present state of parties*, when, without the least disguise, I shall make my readers who happen to be at a distance tolerably well acquainted with the causes which have led to the strange and disgusting effects that we now witness.

Something will, in my next, be said upon the subject of our foreign relations; but, it must be confessed, that these must now be regarded as objects of an importance greatly inferior to those which have just engaged our attention. *Here*, here at home it is, that our cure, to be effectual, must begin.

THE ARMY.

SIR;——By inserting my letter of the 10th ult. in your Register, (see p. 412) you have entitled yourself to my thanks, and displayed a degree of candour that I may often wish to emulate, but of which I may never be able to boast. I will now take the liberty of noticing a few of the obstacles that present themselves to oppose the establishment of a large regular army in this country, and of pointing out some of the advantages derived from the establishment of volunteer corps.—In most of the ancient military governments the people were in a state of vassalage, or were induced to bear arms by an attachment to idle triumphs and to plunder; and, in many states, the soldier was respected because he was not maintained, wholly, at the expense of the public, but had lands appropriated to the purpose, or a treasury replenished by the spoliation of a neighbour. Times, so far as it relates to this

country, are changed. The soldier must be maintained at the public expense, and the tattered tenant of the cottage must contribute his mite. This places him in a very humble state, and give him what privileges you will, you cannot remove him to a very exalted situation. No labourer or mechanic earns less, and there is no person of so little consequence in the state. Nor ought it to be otherwise; for to allow him as much as another man can earn to maintain himself and a family, would be to cramp industry, and make a sacrifice of agriculture and commerce to the army. A moment may arrive when his services may appear to be useful to his country, and he may be caressed, but this moment disappears, and he is treated with indifference or sacrificed to an inhospitable climate. In the military field, which this country presents to him, he can find little, save sterility; for to mow down the uncultivated natives of India, by thousands, is a bloody, rather than a glorious harvest; and to keep guard over the sable sons of adversity is a loathsome task. The expedition to Egypt, and the battles of the allies, have afforded him better opportunities of acquiring honour; but the opthalmia of the former, and the disasters attending the latter have made them, with all their trophies, not altogether desirable. And how can these scenes be changed? Into what country, congenial to legitimate honour, can the British soldier be transplanted? Can we raise a regular army equal to the task of plucking the guilty laurels from the brow of Napoleon; or can we maintain it, year after year, in a state of idleness, without detriment to civil society, without being a burden to itself and a nuisance to the public? I think, nay, I am persuaded, we cannot. And if we cannot, to what other means must we have recourse? How must the country be made sufficiently military to defend itself, without submitting to the licentiousness of an inactive army? I say by encouraging the volunteer system; and I say so because it has already saved this country and Ireland from the ravages of a mob, advanced the military spirit of the country, and will yet save it from becoming a prey to its enemy.—The effect produced by the volunteer system, when the pressure and spirit of the times excited to insurrection, is so generally allowed to have been beneficial, that I have not so much occasion to appeal to argument as to memory; but I ought to notice that the spirited conduct of the volunteers kept not only the rabble, but the effervescence of some of the military in check. This might be proved by several unpleasant scenes that occurred, which were too well known to need repetition, and which it may be as well to bury in oblivion; but I have some right to conclude, from what did then happen, that if such a time should again occur, and we should be entirely dependent on a large regular force, we should have to witness scenes not very congenial to liberty or to order. This view of the subject presents the volunteers, with all their defects, in a very favourable light; and if we place, in opposition to their defects, the licentiousness of large idle armies, we shall perceive that they are not entitled to all the degrading epithets that jealousy and prejudice have bestowed upon them. This, however, is not the only favourable point of view in which they may be placed; for they have most certainly advanced a military spirit, and widely spread the rudiments of the military art; and when these are diffused, nothing is wanting to make them shine, but an opportunity of calling them into action. Without such an opportunity even those who have paraded at St. James's cannot be called soldiers. They may know rather more of the routine of military returns and military etiquette, but these are not essentials; and many volunteer corps can boast of youths as perfect masters of their arms as the drill serjeants of the guards. This was not the case when the volunteers first assembled, and were in many places obliged to ride miles, to learn how to shoulder their muskets. Nor is this diffusion of the rudiments the only advantage gained, in a military point of view, for the country can behold 500,000 men in arms, with much more composure than it could, a few years ago, see a few militia assembled; and, I am persuaded, that the sensation which would be felt if they were called into action, would not be greater than what was experienced when the militia were first raised. This command of the passions, in a country so obnoxious to alarm, is a great point gained, and though you may not allow me to call it an increase of military spirit, I am persuaded it is an increase of that spirit, that will, in the day of danger be found useful; that will cause the matron to look up to her son as the defender of his country, and to display, not the ensign of fear, but of Trafalgar. Thousands have now made the musket their companion, and are expert in military evolutions, that would, a few years ago, have despised it; and the spirit that roused them to arms, now it has been once cherished, must descend to the next generation. It may be increased or it may be diminished; it may be made a blessing, or it may be made a curse to the country; but it

cannot be destroyed. And, here allow me to observe, that governments have more frequently displayed their wisdom, by taking advantage of the spirit of the times, than they have by attempting to create a new one. The volunteers may have created rather more expense to the country than can be well afforded, and some retrenchment might be made, particularly in allowance for permanent duty, but in lieu thereof they ought not to be presented with derision. Every allowance they have received was offered by, not extorted from, government; and if these are to be lessened, government ought to assign their reasons, and make the retrenchments with a good grace; for, let the fact be how it may, there is too much difference between saying "we cannot afford you the money we offered you," and saying "you do not deserve it," to allow one to be substituted for the other. These retrenchments might be made without danger; for whether we have 50,000 volunteers, more than the present establishment, or 50,000 less, is not a serious object, excepting so far as the expense is to be considered. This flexibility in the system is an excellence that does not attach itself to the regulars; for, after all that has been said, our manufactories, even in their present depressed state, cannot supply but a certain number of recruits, and the agricultural parts of the country already experience a deficiency of labourers. These are circumstances that ought to be considered by all who do not wish to see measures enforced that would throw the country into confusion: and I say, enforced, because I am persuaded that nothing short of force will enable this country to keep up a larger regular army than about 60,000 effective men, independent of Ireland, and other establishments abroad. Neither shall we want it, for the volunteers can furnish 40,000 men fit to join the regulars and militia, and the remainder, if under martial law, would be better soldiers in three weeks, than raw recruits could be made in three months. This force would enable government to bring 100,000 men to act in one point, at any time, within a few days, and leave a large reserve of volunteers, every day becoming good soldiers. With such an army what occasion is there for alarm? What occasion for experiments? What occasion for the congregated wisdom of the whole world? A little resolution and a little common sense may yet save us. With respect to a part of the volunteers being fit to join the regulars and militia, I can with much confidence appeal to the returns of inspecting field officers, by no means attached to the system, and I have not intentionally overcharged any of the most favourable representations; therefore, I have a right to presume that the volunteers are not quite useless; that they have deserved well of their country, and that they will, whether supported by government or not, if ever an opportunity presents itself, pluck themselves a solitary leaf, to hide their nakedness and shield them from reproach.—I remain, yours, &c. RICHARD.

Cotswood Hill, April 5, 1806.

MR. WINDHAM'S MILITARY PLAN.

SIR;—I trust you will indulge us in the next Number of the Register with your observations on Mr. Windham's Military Plan. Though I do not suppose it likely that any defect will escape your notice, I hope you will excuse a few remarks from an Old Soldier who has long cast an eye of hope to the time, when Mr. Windham would stand forth to rescue his comrades and himself from the degradation brought on the profession by an erroneous system of sixty years standing. To the outline of Mr. Windham's Plan, as far as relates to the amelioration of the soldier's condition, I have no other objection than that he seems to fall far short of the excellent outline proposed by yourself. But, in the detail, this may be remedied, and, provided I am not forced to subscribe to his *animated* panegyric on the Commander in Chief, I will not cavil on that head. But, Sir, I beg you will ask Mr. Windham, who has such regard for the feelings of officers, and who very properly intends putting it out of the power of Volunteer Officers to command those of the army, whether the *possibility* of their being so commanded, is half so revolting to the feelings of an officer, as that of being obliged to submit to the same command from an officer of Militia. As Mr. Windham supposes cases in the former, pray Mr. Cobbett, suppose one in the latter. Suppose a young man of family and fortune to have entered a regiment of the line, suppose it possible that this youth may be irregular in his behaviour, and may bring on himself the displeasure of his commanding officer, and he quits the corps; suppose him, by the interest of his family, to procure a Lieutenant Colonelcy of a Regiment of Militia, and in that situation to return to the Garrison, whence he was driven the week before! Must not every officer of his former corps, including the commander, if of inferior rank, drop their swords and receive this command? I do not say such a case may have literally occurred, but, many similar, and as revolting to a soldier's feelings. Yet,

the Militia establishment is not only to be supported, but, it seems *now* to be the theme of Mr. W.'s praise. I beg again to remark, Sir, the one is only a *possible* grievance, the other an existing one. I shall now proceed to one or two short observations on the Levy proposed by him, which, I conceive, will, when assisted by that excellent skulking plan of a Volunteer establishment, be productive of discontent, jealousy, and evasion: and, here again, the Militia are to be resorted to, though I confess I doubt the accuracy of the newspaper reports on this head; but, so they state it, that the Militia are to drill this Levy.—If it is intended merely to infuse into the people the principles of mechanical movements, the Militia are, no doubt, as well qualified for this, as any other men. But if it is intended to instil into the minds of the youth, the nobler sentiments of military pride and ambition, I should think Militia men the least fitted of all men for the task. Will they recommend to the adventurous that service they have themselves shunned? Will they not rather decry it, were it for no other reason, but for that of increasing their own numbers dependant now on their exertions? By this advantage they will deprive the army of its best recruits, the inhabitants of the country.—It is needless to me to point out to you, Sir, any more of the glaring defects of this plan which your superior genius will easily discover, nor suffer to escape unnoticed. Little as we have yet seen of this Plan, I am convinced by it of the truth of your assertion, that if we are not to have a complete change of system, we had better leave things as they are. An army on the principle of your plan, with a levy en masse according to the excellent regulations on that head, recommended by you in the fourth volume of the Register, page 120, is all we wanted. No ballot, nor evasion, nor exception, unless to numbers of an effective Yeomanry. The drilling of this Levy would be no hardship on any. It might be done by companies of veterans who have completed their periods of service; but, who might prefer employment in this way to any other profession: not bound to it, but, engaged from year to year; or, it might be done by the present recruiting troops and companies filled up to their establishment, and who, while thus engaged, would have an opportunity of procuring for their corps, a class of men very superior to the present composition of the army. Want of time prevents me offering several other observations, on the Yeomanry, as well as on the Guards, the Royal Waggoners, and some other military abortions. The same excuse must be urged for any inaccuracy in this letter. I remain, Sir, your constant reader, and very humble servant,—Miles.—*8th April*, 1806.

PARTIES.

Sir;——As a great admirer of your Political Journal, and fully believing that its contents have a vast influence on the opinions of the wisest, and best part of the people of England, I am induced to trouble you with my sentiments, on the subject of that part of the conduct of our new ministers, which has called forth such strong, and in my humble opinion, such erroneous animadversions from your pen. With regard to Lord Grenville's auditorship, and Lord Ellenborough's place in the cabinet, (though I have a great respect for their characters) I am quite of your opinion, and notwithstanding the very ingenious speech of Mr. Fox on the latter subject, I am fully satisfied, that it is highly exceptionable. I think there is also some reason for remark on the conduct of Mr. Fox and his friends, relative to India affairs, particularly with regard to the production of the papers requisite to elucidate the motives that produced a conduct so generally condemned, as that of Lord Wellesley; but, surely, Mr. Cobbett, you have not considered the conduct of these gentlemen with that profound attention, nor pronounced that decision upon them, as might have been expected from your eminent and discriminating judgment; when you say in your Journal of the 15th of March, "that if they do not "support with all their talents, and with "all their means, the proposition for an in"quiry into the conduct of Lord Wellesley, "there will not be one single man of sense "and of honour in the whole country, who "will, for a moment, hesitate in coming to "an unalterable decision as to their charac"ter and their views." If the late change in his Majesty's councils, so generally approved, and by no one more than yourself, had placed none but Mr. Fox and his friends in the government, I should imagine that under *such circumstances*, the country would have anxiously expected from them, a full and fair inquiry into the affairs of India; and if they failed in their duty, the decision you now call for, would in *that case*, have been *certain*, *wise*, and *just*. But, Sir, when I reflect on the wish of the country, so decidedly expressed, that his Majesty would call to his councils every man of *worth* and *talent*, without regard to *past* political opinion; and that, in consequence of that wish, men of various parties have been selected, to

fill the great offices of state: when this is duly considered, and when we know that some of them, are the particular friends of the late minister, and who on *that account*, are naturally strongly disinclined to inquire into the various transactions, that it would be very desirable to see thoroughly investigated; when, Sir, we see this, can there be a reasonable hope, that such an investigation will take place, as in *other circumstances* would be essential, and might with propriety be *demanded*.—If these sentiments are correct, is not the decision which you call for very unreasonable? If I could persuade myself, that in expressing these sentiments, I was endeavouring to stifle an inquiry that would be beneficial to my country, I should consider this moment the most ill employed of any part of my life: I must however confess, that the proposed inquiries, viewed in the light in which they appear to me, will have a tendency very different indeed from the pure intentions of the honourable mover; and, much indeed, do I fear, that the proceeding in them, will seriously injure the country, by creating a difference of opinion in the leading members of administration; and that too at a time, when their *united* exertions are essentially necessary to the salvation of the country. Should, however, this inquiry still be persisted in, I hope that Mr. Fox and his friends will act such a part, as not to weaken that credit with the public, which their past conduct has so justly entitled them to. I am, generally speaking, an advocate for inquiries into past conduct, from a conviction that they are almost always attended with beneficial effects; but a government formed on the comprehensive basis of the present one, does truly appear a proper exception to the general rule; and most happy should I be, if my sentiments could obtain the sanction of a man, I so much respect as yourself, as that alone would stamp in my mind the justness of them. Let the administration have the confidence of the people; let their conduct be strictly watched by their opposers; and should their measures be inimical to the real interests of their country, let them suffer for their guilty conduct; but, I do sincerely hope and believe, that the measures of men of such tried integrity and ability, must prove highly advantageous to the whole community, if they have the support of the wise and the good. To you, Sir, (who look to reasoning alone) it is unnecessary I know, but it may be satisfactory to some of your readers (should this be honoured with a place in your valuable publication) to be assured that the writer is scarcely known to any one of his Majesty's ministers, and that he has no other views or wishes than the good of his country.—I am, Sir, &c.——A WHIG.——*Guilford, April 6, 1805.*

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

SIR;——I read the short but sensible and excellent letter of Anglo Hibernicus, in the last number of your valuable Register, (see p. 470) with attention and pleasure. The subject has often drawn my attention towards a letter for the public eye, and chiefly with a view of offering some propositions for the improvement of the shamefully oppressed and injured Irish. The promised letter of your correspondent, will restrain me for the present from entering minutely upon the subject. Allow me then, merely to touch upon it. But first give me leave to tell Anglo Hibernicus, that upon following up the principle he has here begun with, he cannot fail to interest all your readers, if they have the welfare of their country at heart. I for one, hope sincerely he will handle the subject at large, and go on as he has begun. It is the common practice to speak of the lower orders in Ireland, as brutes and savages, little deserving encouragement or attention. I shudder at such a sentiment, I feel a horror of the person who can so lightly talk of his fellow creatures, and the more so, when I consider, that it is he who contributes to that state of wretchedness and woe.—To me it appears a disgrace to England, that they should so pride themselves on their superiority over their fellow subjects. Wherever an opportunity has offered they have shown themselves equally efficient with the inhabitants of their sister isle; and, I ask them, Mr. Cobbett, would it not be more to their credit, that instead of the constant volley of abuse uttered against the Irish, they endeavoured by every means in their power, to alleviate their sufferings, not by a Catholic emancipation, for I consider that measure as a mere job to serve a few individuals, and with which the lower class have little to do; but of that at another opportunity.—I merely mean to hint at a few examples set by the Irish nobility, and men of landed property, by a more constant residence on their estates, examining into the condition of their tenants, letting their farms not to that detestable class called *middle men*, but to those who really work and would by their industry thrive, by cherishing them in their distresses, and associating more with them, so that these poor creatures may partake in a manner of their customs. If a tenant sees that his landlord does not take all that he earns, and pays to another country, but spends

some of it amongst them, or even in his native country, would it not be a stimulus, they at present have not, to be more industrious? Is it not so in England? Was not the case thus in France under the old system? And whatever people talk of the despotism and ambition of Buonaparté, (which I admit) the change for the better of the lower class I have witnessed. There is another hint I intend offering, with respect to the conduct of the government. Under the late ministry I certainly expected nothing, nor am I one of those who expect every thing from the present. I cannot say I have that implicit confidence in them, not only from the characters of those who compose it, but from many of their acts, as well as inaction in certain branches of the political and civil dispositions. But, Sir, I could wish to see some act of the Irish government to ameliorate the condition of its people, and this, Sir, I think might be accomplished, by a revision of the laws, both statute and common, and especially with respect to juries; their mode of elections, and if there were certain establishments for the instruction of the rising generation, it would be of considerable utility; an increase in the price of labour, a little relaxation from the present hours of work, (of course the wages will be in proportion) and a small piece of land rented with rights of common, together with the example of the landlords which I have before mentioned, and the destruction of the middle man. I cannot believe, but that the condition of this unfortunate people would be materially changed. We should hear of no more rebellions, nor nightly meetings, they would have what all men require, and have an undoubted right to do so. A motive which is the only defence a country has from invasion.——My opinion of the present administration is not formed upon their refusal to comply with the claims of the Catholics. I never was of opinion, that the repeal of those laws merely would do any service to the body of the Irish people; nor can I be convinced by all the declamations (I have seen but few arguments) published, nor by the persuasive eloquence of Mr. Fox, to alter my opinion. The subject would be too long for this letter; but I thought it proper to say as much, lest such a conclusion might be drawn.—— Have we seen any material change in our *diplomatique corps?* It is loudly called for, we are ridiculed throughout Europe; not a moment should have been lost in such a change. Do we see any great disposition in the ministry to *resign the places they cannot compatibly hold*, when they call on us to pay more taxes? Is there any disposition to inquire into the affairs of India? That millstone about the neck of England. Yet they call on us to pay a million to the support of the Company. Are there not some offices improperly bestowed? Were there no better characters in the country worthy of them? How can these men reconcile the mode in which they have laid a tax on income? They who were so loud against Mr. Pitt for destroying the middling classes, have done the very same thing, and foolishly too; for how in God's name are they to get at incomes of £50 a year, arising from day labouring people, and few earn less? Again, would it not have been more popular to have eased those incomes of 2 or 3 or even 400 a year entirely and increased the tax proportionately on those of 10,000 and upwards, so as to make up the deficiency? It has occurred to me as I was writing, and, I therefore, mention it in a hasty manner, without much consideration. There are many subjects I have not touched on, for I do not expect them to do every thing at once. I wish to see a beginning, and then my confidence will begin. I have troubled you Sir, too long, and beg to subscribe myself, AN ENGLISHMAN.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

Message from the Emperor Napoleon to the French Senate, dated March 4, 1806.

Senators, Wishing to give a proof of the affection which we bear to the Princess Stephanie, niece of our dearly beloved Spouse, we have affianced her with Prince Charles, hereditary Prince of Baden, and have judged it expedient, under these circumstances, to adopt the said Princess Stephanie Napoleon as our daughter. This union appears to us to be likewise conformable to our policy, and the welfare of our people. Our departments of the Rhine will contemplate with pleasure an alliance which will be to them a new motive for cultivating the relations of commerce and good neighbourhood with the subjects of the Elector. The distinguished qualities of Prince Charles of Baden are to us a sure guarantee for the happiness of our daughter. Accustomed to see you partake in every thing that interests us, we thought we ought not to delay informing you of an alliance which is to us very agreeable. NAPOLEON.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX. No. 16.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

"That, by such immoderate waste of the property of his employers (the East-India Company), and by "such scandalous breach of his fidelity to them, it was his intention to gain and secure the attachment "and support of a multitude of individuals, by whose united influence, interest, and intrigues, he hoped "to be protected against any future inquiry into his conduct." Article VII. Impeachment against Warren Hastings.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA. (Continued from pages 171, 197, 237, 303, 368, 460, and 530.) In page 531, being part of the article last referred to, the history of Mr. HUDLESTONE's intended motion for laying before the House of Commons a Dispatch of the East India Directors, was given. It was, in conclusion, stated, that there was no doubt entertained, that Mr. Hudlestone's motion would *now* be made. But, from what has since passed in parliament, this opinion appears to have been too sanguine; for, it is ascertained, that Mr. H. has abandoned his intention. From what *motive* this abandonment has taken place, I shall not pretend to determine; and, indeed, the thing itself is immaterial, except as another proof of the state in which the East India Directors are held by the ministry of the day; for, if I am rightly informed, the Dispatch has gotten abroad, and will shortly make its appearance in print, which circumstance, however, is not to abate our sentiments with regard to the efforts that have been made to keep it from the eye of the parliament and of the people, who are now called upon for such immense sums of money to make up for the wasteful expenditure in India. —— Of the propriety of producing this paper to the House of Commons, there can, I think, be no doubt, in the mind of any man, whose faculty of judging has not been completely perverted by the long habit of endeavouring to screen men from the effects of real responsibility.——The East India Company make (as we have before seen) a contract with the nation, according to which contract, the Company, in consideration of vast advantages secured to them at the nation's expense, are to pay to the nation 500,000l. a year. They have paid this sum but *one* year out of *thirteen;* and, instead of paying the rest, they come to the nation for money to aid them. *Three millions* have the ministers already raised upon us in taxes to give them; and, no one denies that much more will be wanted, in order to rescue the Company from that "*brink of beggary,*" one of the Directors has represented them to be in at this moment, though *two* of the millions, observe, have been long ago received by them from us. In this state of things certain members of the House of Commons wish to obtain information as to the *causes* which have led to this result, and the more especially, because the affairs of the India Company have, during the whole of the 13 years, been annually represented to the parliament as *increasing in prosperity.* One member of parliament, in particular, imputes the blame to the late Governor General, who, he has repeatedly asserted, has involved the Company and the country in these difficulties, by having undertaken unnecessary and unauthorised wars, and by having made great waste of the money of his employers. The ministers, or, at least, some of them, assert, that the Governor General acted with the approbation of those employers; and, in more than one instance, such assertions have been accompanied with motions for papers to shew that the assertions were true. The East India Company, by their representatives, the Directors, make contrary assertions; and, in order to prove, that the Governor General acted, in the cases alluded to, not only without their approbation, and against their wishes and their will, but, in many instances, against their positive orders conveyed to and received by him, one of them, Mr. Hudlestone, gives notice of his intention to move for the important dispatch in question, and which dispatch the reader will find described in the preceding sheet, page 531.——Now, I ask the reader, what can be more just and more reasonable than this? And, can he possibly be at a loss to determine, what must be the principal motive, on the other side, for wishing to prevent this paper from seeing the light? I beg him, too, to bear in mind, that Lord Temple, and other defenders of Lord Wellesley, have repeatedly boasted, that, such was the goodness of his cause, his friends wished for the production

and the publicity of every document at all connected with his conduct!——Here, before I proceed to state what has, since my last, occurred, with regard to this great subject, I must stop to notice a letter, which will be found in page 600 of this number, signed J. S. W. The writer, in adverting to my repeated representation, that the East India Company is *indebted* to the nation to the amount of 6 millions, together with the interest thereon accruing, at the rate of 15 per centum per annum, says that I am in error; because, says he, the bargain, for the payment to the nation, of half a million a year, was not positive, but conditional: and, the condition was, that the said half million a year should be paid out of the surplus, after other named charges had been duly defrayed. Agreed, as far as he goes; but, was there no other condition? Did the act, by which the bargain was sanctioned (33 Geo. III. chap. 52), leave it to the East India Company to say when they had a surplus and when not? Did it, in short, give them the power of refusing to fulfil this part of the bargain whenever they pleased? Were not the possible causes of inability to pay clearly pointed out by that act? And was there not also a mode, a regular mode of representing the cause of the inability to parliament, duly provided for? J S. W. has thought proper to pass over all this; but, does he think that I, whose object it is to obtain justice for the burdened people, and myself among the rest, have passed it over? *Upon certain conditions* the Company were to be indulged with a postponement of the annual demand upon them: these conditions, amongst others, were, the occurrence of *unavoidable* wars and expences, and the regularly *representing, to parliament,* through the ministers, the state of inability, and *also the causes of it.* Have these conditions been complied with? Have the ministers, from the passing of the act to this present day, communicated any such representations to the parliament? Have the Company ever made any such representations to the ministers? J. S. W. if he be not much, yea very much indeed, more ignorant than the person, to whom he has thought proper to impute error, knows that they have not; and, he must, of course, know, that the Company is not, and never has been, either in law or equity, entitled to one moment's postponement of the half million a year, and that they are, to all intents and purposes, *indebted* to the nation in the above-said amount.——The Company, by their representatives, the Directors, will tell us, that *they* disapproved of the wars; that *they* disapproved of the enormously expensive establishments in India; that *they* never authorised the expending of more than a quarter of a million upon a palace for the late Governor General; that *they* never authorised the disbursement of the great sums thrown away upon the wild project of an Indian college; and, in short, that *they* disapproved, and expressed their disapprobation, of *all* the measures, civil as well as military, by which their inability to make good their bargain was produced. But, did they, agreeably to the law, make a representation of their inability, to parliament, through the ministry? No: they kept the state of their affairs a profound secret between the ministry of the day and themselves; by which means they prevented the parliament and the nation from discovering the evil in time, and from putting a stop to it. And, shall they *now*, now that it is too late to remedy it; shall they now come to us for an exemption from the debt which they owe us; a debt, which exists only because they kept the causes of their inability to pay from the sight of those, to whom, by law, they were bound to state them, in order to be entitled to any indulgence on their account? J. S. W. seems, though with superabundant caution, to admit, that there may have been transactions, among the Company and their servants, sufficient to destroy the plea of *unavoidable* inability; but, one would gather from the whole of his letter, that he would have us give them money *first*, and enquire into the cause of their poverty *afterwards*. I am for a precisely opposite mode of proceeding; and, beseeching J. S. W. to lay aside, for a little, his Leadenhall-Street jargon about assets and investments, I beg him to give me a plain answer to this plain question: does he think, that the East India Company are exonerated from the demands which the nation had upon them, in consequence of the act of the 33rd Geo. III. chapter 52nd? Leaving him to answer this question, I shall proceed to state what has, since my last number, occurred, relative to the affairs of India.——Mr. Paull has given notice of a motion for further papers, which motion will have been made previous to the appearance of this present number. Mr. Hudlestone has (on Tuesday the 15th inst.) said, in his place in the House of Commons, that the paper (the dispatch above spoken of), for the production of which he had intended to move, having been produced in another place (the India House), so as fully to answer the purpose intended, his motion for that paper was no longer necessary. Mr. Paull has given notice, that, on Tuesday next, the 22d instant, he shall bring forward the *first charge*, which it is his intention to

prefer against Lord Wellesley. And, Lord Archibald Hamilton has given notice, that, on Monday next, the 21st instant, he shall move for certain papers, relative to the conduct of that nobleman.——An interest has, at last, been excited! The nation, so long deaf, has opened its ears: it has opened its eyes after such long and such obstinate blindness: after such a tedious night of worse than ideot-stupidity, it is fast coming to its senses. Neither the speeches of Sir T. Metcalfe, with all his profundity; nor the *dinner-mongers*, with all their boasted wines and delicacies, have been able any longer to continue the delusion. The demands of millions, dropping in one after another, and to be raised by a tax upon the income of the people, begin to make that same people think. Yes, they really do begin to think, that there is something not quite right in India. They begin to think, that, after all, honesty, abroad as well as at home, is the best policy. Good, considerate, humane; oh, conscientious people! Yes, they really begin to *feel* for the Nabob of Arcot and for the other poor princes of India! I, for one, told them what these Indian victories would end in; but, Mr. Francis has been for twenty-two years repeating the lesson to them. Strange, that such a good, humane, Magdalen-building, Philantropic-Society, soup-shop, negro-loving people should never have felt for the princes of India till this moment; and that, too, mark me, at the very hour that they are, *very quietly*, receiving, as a boon from the hands of their king, a million of money taken in the Spanish frigates previous to the war. Wonderful morality! But, after all, *they do feel*; and that is good. They feel, that, finally, they have to pay for all these fine Indian conquests, about which so many stupid songs and poems have been made, and inserted in those records of stupidity; the London magazines. Let them feel; and let us hope, that they, and that all the world will profit from their feeling. J. S. W. may strive to justify the East India Company and all their servants. He may bring us some very good arguments in defence of transactions such as those in the Carnatic and at Oude; but, unless he can, some how or other, lessen the additions which those transactions are making, and will still make, to the Income Tax, he may be assured, that his palliatives will all prove useless. The people, the Philantropic-Society nation, have, hitherto, regarded the fortunes of the English and Scotch nabobs as arising from the plunder of foreigners; but, now they begin to perceive, that they themselves are the plundered party; and, that the famous India wars are the mere channel through which the wealth, arising from the labour of Britons, finds its way into the pockets of the said Nabobs. They used to think the East India Company another name for immeasurable mines of gold: they now find this Company of Kings upon the "*brink of beggary:*" so poor as to be compelled to come and ask for aid out of the Income Tax; and yet, strange to tell, they see, that all the officers of the Company, civil and military; all the Directors; all, in short, who have any thing to do with this *poor* Company, rolling in wealth! This the people do, at last, begin to perceive; and, I venture to assure J. S. W. that he will not be able again to close their eyes, unless he can put a stop to the applications for parliamentary aid.——Mr. Paull's intention to bring on his *charges* is very proper, and very prudent. That he will nought *extenuate*, I do hope; and, certainly he will have no temptation to set down aught in malice. These charges, once upon the table of the House of Commons, and, of course, before the public, we shall all see what is the extent of them. The thing will be under our eyes in a regular, a compact, and in somewhat of a legal form. There will be the means of entering upon the consideration of the several parts of the subject one at a time. The parliament and the nation will soon come to something like a settled opinion upon certain points at least; because, assuredly, the charges will not come forth unaccompanied with what can be said in the way of defence.——To say that I wish Mr. Paull success would be to express a wish hostile to the person against whom his charges are to be made; but, I wish to see him ably and *heartily* supported, and I shall be most deeply grieved, if I do not see the Fox part of the ministry at the head of his supporters. Mr. Francis's support he will certainly have; and, indeed, it were to libel the House of Commons to suppose, that such a cause should go a begging for support. Nevertheless, if there were not a second voice, one is enough. Let *the charges* be produced; let us see the proofs; let us hear what is said on the other side; and, then, I'll warrant that we come to a decision that all the power in the world shall never efface from our minds.——Before quitting the Affairs of India, it is necessary to notice a debate that took place, in the House of Commons, on Wednesday the 16th, first giving a little further explanation, as to the motion, of which Lord Archibald Hamilton has given notice, and which is to be made on Monday next. This motion is for the production of the paper, the very important paper, which Mr. Hudleston,

after repeated notices, declined to move for, *because* it had been produced *elsewhere!* This reason did not appear satisfactory to his lordship, and, therefore, in a manner becoming his rank and character, he instantly gave notice of his intention to move for it. I have before congratulated the public upon the appearance of several young and independent politicians; and, amongst them, Lord Archibald Hamilton occupies a distinguished place. His brother, the Marquis of Douglas, acted a most excellent part upon the question of a monument to the memory of Mr. Pitt; and, blind indeed must such men be, if they do not perceive, that *this* is the road to valuable renown. They have seen enough of the miserable fruits of intrigue and of mere party politics. They have seen the pursuers in that chase hunt one another down. They have seen them, each in his turn, shouting victory; and, each in his turn, defeated and disgraced. They have, though their life has not yet been very long, seen enough, and more than enough, to convince them, that an abandonment of principle leads to dishonour in public, and to remorse and anguish in private, as surely as time leads to the grave. This lesson the world has, indeed, at all times, been taught; but, never, perhaps, in accents so persuasive as at *present*; and, let us hope, that the effect will be, in some cases at least, proportioned to the means.——The debate of Wednesday was upon a motion of Mr. FRANCIS, relative to a bill, just brought in by Mr. Hobhouse, respecting the payment of creditors, or pretended creditors, of the Nabob of Arcot. The reader will remember, that this Nabob was one of the unfortunate princes, with whom Lord Wellesley had to do. He will also remember, that the cause of this prince was espoused by Mr. Sheridan, who, so early as 1802, moved for a great quantity of papers, whereon to proceed to an inquiry into that affair. These papers were printed; they have, for more than two years, been before the House of Commons; and yet no motion relating to them has been made by that gentleman. This was what Mr. Francis alluded to when he said, that "it was his misfortune to act almost alone "upon those subjects hitherto. Nevertheless, he would still venture to hope for "the aid of some gentlemen who, upon the former investigation of India affairs, had acquired some celebrity by their exertions "on that occasion, and several of whom "were still members of this house. If it "were orderly, he would now call on them "by name; but he hoped, however, to designate them so, as without any violation "of parliamentary order, to arrest their attention, and induce, if possible, their attention and aid in the discussion of Wednesday next. One of them was an hon. "member for Norwich; another was a "right hon. friend of his, conspicuous for "the brilliancy of his eloquence on a former celebrated subject. In regretting *the absence* of that right hon. gent. he was "conscious that he only expressed the common feeling of that house, which he had "not of late illumined by the light of his "countenance. He hoped the right hon. "gent. had not passed into *infinite space*, "never to return to that house again; for "he had the highest opinion of his character, his spirit, and integrity, and trusted he would be induced to accept this his "earnest invitation, to attend once more in "his place on Wednesday, and take part "in a discussion which he was so competent "to elucidate by his knowledge, and enliven by the vivid splendour of his eloquence."——It is proper to say, however, that, if I am rightly informed, it was, without this summons, Mr. Sheridan's resolution to attend upon all questions relating to the Nabob of Arcot. That he will attend, and will do justice to the subject, I, for my own part, have little doubt; and, having been confidently assured, that this was his resolution *before* the speech of Mr. Francis was made, I have thought it quite proper to state the substance of my information.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.——In the preceding sheet, p. 513 and the following ones, some remarks were offered upon the new military measures proposed to be adopted. In the same page reference was made to all the several articles, which, upon the subject of the army, had appeared in the present Volume of this work. Pages 534 and 538 contained two other letters, which may be considered as making part of the discussion; and, in the present Number will be found, 1. A letter, signed PUBLIUS, in commendation of the plan of Brigadier General Stewart, which was noticed in a previous sheet, and of which Publius has not been able to induce me to change my opinion. And, 2. A letter from "A COUNTRY-GENTLE-"MAN AND A VOLUNTEER OFFICER," commenting upon what was said by me, in page 520, upon that part of Mr. Windham's measure which relates more particularly to the *Volunteer officers and corps*. Upon this last letter, as a sort of defence of the Volunteer establishment, and as coming very opportunely to be illustrated by the *present* conduct of some, at least, of the Volunteer corps, I propose to make a few remarks, begging the reader first to turn to the letter itself; and, after these remarks, there is a

word or two to be said about the *Germans*, who have been brought into this country, in such numbers, and, if I am well informed, with an intention of *keeping them here!*—— The Volunteer officer sets out with a complaint against *the language*, in which I speak (particularly in page 520) of the Volunteer officers and corps, and also of the inspecting field officers. If he means to speak as a critic, my answer is, that, in words themselves there is nothing improper, unless they are offensive to the ear of unaffected modesty; not that sort of modesty, whence a harlot is induced to give the term of *small-cloaths* to breeches, but real modesty; and, I do trust, that, in the words which "the country gentleman" complains of, there is nothing offensive thereunto. Then, as to the application of words, the rule certainly is, that the phrase should be suited to the subject; and, thinking as I do of the Volunteer establishment, and of the particular persons to whom I was pointing, it would have become me to use, if I could have found them, phrases still lower than those which I did use. It has always been accounted an excellence in language, that it affords a choice of synonymous terms; and the reason is, not because you are thereby enabled to avoid a monotony of sound; for that is an object of very inferior importance; but, because you are enabled to suit your phrase to the subject upon which you are writing or speaking; though, it must be evident enough, that, if complaints like that of my correspondent were to be listened to, all the advantages, or, at least, the principal advantage, of synonymous terms would cease.——But, it is the facts with which we have chiefly to do; and first, with respect to "toad-eaters." This is a very good phrase; it means men, who deal in gross and fulsome adulation, at the same time that they, from the bottom of their souls, despise the objects of it. I have never said that *all* the inspecting field-officers were persons of this description; I do not know that I am personally acquainted with any one of them; but, of many, and of many persons in much higher rank too, have I read the speeches and other fulsome effusions in the newspapers, and, of all these effusions do I pronounce the authors to be toad-eaters; and toad-eaters, too, of the most despicable kind; for what can be so despicable, as to see men of exalted rank or of an exalted profession, *abandoning their own superiority together with the superiority of their profession*, in order to gain the applause (and, in all appearance, with a view to emolument to be therefrom derived) of those to instruct and command whom they are especially appointed? In Col. Sharpe, I am glad to see exhibited an instance of the contrary; but, I do think, that my correspondent ought not to have expected me to insert what he has, so much in detail said upon this gentleman's conduct, especially as I had mentioned no names, and had alluded to nothing but what had appeared in print. ——That the Volunteers, with whom this correspondent is particularly acquainted, may not have possessed the means "to congregate, to toast, and to guttle," I can readily believe; but, what else has there, for years, been going on amongst the Volunteers in and about London? Since the establishment of these corps, in 1803, when has there a week passed without the appearance of column upon column, in the newspapers, filled with accounts of the breakfasts, the dinners, the collations; the meats and the liquors; the gasconading toasts and songs; the empty, the stupid speeches, and the more stupid letters, of these Volunteer corps and their officers? Are all these forgotten, does my correspondent think? Or, did he never hear of them? Did he never hear of Colonel Pitt, while a hired singer was bawling forth the praises of the Volunteers from the lower end of the table, toasting "the Volunteers of Great Britain, and a speedy meeting with Buonaparté on our own shores?" Where has my correspondent been, that he has never heard of, that he has never felt disgust approaching to nausea, at these things?—— "In the *country* it has not been so." And who ever said it was? And, here I must complain of unfairness on the part of my correspondent; for, how could he suppose, that I meant, that noblemen and gentlemen, would run the risk of sitting down to table, *in Suffolk*, along with hair-dressers and turtle-soup makers? I have, too, as my readers will bear testimony, constantly said, that the Volunteers in country places and particularly such yeomanry as my correspondent describes, were likely to be of some use, if not brought into bodies too large, and if kept away from the caballing battalions of great towns. I have also frequently, in answer to the base misrepresentations of the Addington writers, said, that, as to many of the Volunteers, I thought they had entered upon the service with the best possible motives. I am not bound to repeat these exceptions every time I write upon the subject; and it is unfair in the extreme to argue as if the exceptions had never been made. How often has it been observed, that almost every man I am acquainted with is, in some way or other, a Volunteer? And, as to Mr. Windham, whom the volunteer writers have chosen to consider as the personal enemy of every man who belongs to the establishment it is well

known, that he is a Volunteer colonel, or major, or something of that sort, and that he was, as such presented at court! Is it not, then, extremely unfair to argue as if we, who disapprove of the Volunteer system, were the enemies of the men who belong to those corps?——"Why do you thank God, "that the Volunteers are to be disbanded?" And, might I not say, why do you ask me that question? Me, whom you have heard give my reasons, over and over again, even to the wearying of the public, for wishing this measure to be adopted? After having so often stated one's reasons in support of a proposition, it is too hard to be asked, in one short dry sentence, *why* we make the proposition? But, amongst many other reasons that I have given, one was, that the Volunteer corps were not to be *relied* upon in time of real urgency; that, upon the near prospect of real hard duty, they might disband themselves; that they might, at any moment, do this from mere caprice; and, more than once, I have begged the advocates of the system to consider, that these corps were *deliberative* bodies, that they would, if suffered to remain, canvass the measures of the King and of the parliament, and that, they might so connect themselves by correspondencies, or otherwise, as to over-rule the decisions of the parliament, or, at least, to influence those decisions. Whether this reason was a sound one, or not, we may now be better able to judge from the conduct of the Volunteer corps in Southwark, of whose proceedings, in consequence of Mr. Windham's speech in the House of Commons, the following proclamation will convey sufficient intelligence. "*Orderly Room, Castle Street, Southwark, April* 11, 1806. "Mr. Secretary Windham having officially "disapproved of the Volunteer system as it "now stands, and *proposed new arrangements of military defence inconsistent with the present establishment of the corps,* the "military *committee* hereby inform the "members they have deemed it proper *to disband it:* to effectuate which, the privates, forming part of the committee, "have, in their own names, and in the "names of the rest, delivered in their resignations as members of the 'St. Saviour's, Southwark, Volunteer Infantry,' "to the commanding officer; and the officers have resigned their commissions into "the hands of the Vice-Lord Lieutenant, "that they may not militate against any "new arrangements of the government." ——There needs no comment upon this. Its insolence is equal to its stupidity, and the latter is equal to the former. These, observe, are amongst our "gallant defenders," who were thanked, in anticipation, by the senators at Westminster; and, they are, too, amongst those very corps, those *selected* heroes, who, being upon a trip to Epsom Downs, actually voted *the erection of a monument* there, to perpetuate the memory of their deeds! I am a Surrey man; my county shall not, if I can help it, be disgraced by such a monument; and, should it be erected, I will most assuredly purchase some trifling copyhold cottage in the manor, in order to possess the legal right of throwing it down, as an encroachment upon the common; for, if its foundation rob but one single sheep of one single hour's feed in a year, nay, if it rob, only once in seven years, a rabbit of its supper, who will say that its cost is not far beyond the worth of the object purchased?——We are told, that this is a single instance of refractory behaviour. We have seen scores of such instances. But, at *present,* it may be a single instance; and let us hope that it will; though, I must confess, that the hopes which the Morning Chronicle entertains, from the tranquilising circular letter of Col. Alcock, has not much weight with me, especially when I consider, that the said colonel is a *clerk in the Treasury,* or something of that sort; treasurer of the county, I believe, supported by his relation at Whitehall. For the obedience of this colonel, as well as for that of the whole corps at Somerset-House, the ministry of the day have always a good security; but, for that of the volunteer corps in general, they have none at all; and, blind indeed must be the man, who is not now convinced of the extreme danger of relying for the defence of the country upon means so very precarious. If, merely to mention the volunteer system with disapprobation; if the war minister's merely intimating his intention to propose *new arrangements* with regard to it; if, merely upon this, the volunteer corps, or any one of them, disband themselves, what security can you have for their obedience to the commands of the government, in case of actual necessity? Every man who reflected, saw, that when the moment came to call upon those corps for real service; for marching to a great distance from their homes and their business; for the sustaining of considerable losses; for the enduring of great bodily fatigue, accompanied with all sorts of privations; every reflecting man saw, that, at such a time, there would be great danger of experiencing a refractory behaviour, and that, when the pinch came, something or other would be found out, or invented, as a ground of quarrel with the government. But, *now,* I think, that no re-

flection is required upon the subject. We have the verification of the fact before our eyes; and I do hope that the parliament will profit from this timely experience, by putting an end to the establishment altogether, and, if the drilling scheme is to be persevered in, to make *no exceptions* in behalf of the volunteer corps, who, they may be assured, will be continually finding out some pretext or other whereon to ground a justification of disobedience to the commands of the government. As to the yeomanry, there might be some exception; but, short of a plan something like that of Major Cartwright's, I do not clearly see how any exception can very well be made. A *regular army*, and a *people armed and trained;* these are what we want, and we want nothing else: assuredly we do not want men assembled in corps, the officers having military rank, and the whole corps having the power of disbanding themselves at any moment that they please. Call you this military *service?* Service having rank and pay, but secured by no bond, and subject to no command! "Such *service*," if one may, without risking the charge of levity, quote the description, "is, indeed, *perfect freedom*." ——I am by no means inclined to deny, that my correspondent, as well as many thousands of others, have put themselves to great expense, and have undergone considerable fatigue, on account of their being in volunteer corps. I can sympathize with a man, who has "endured all the rigours of "the season, during frequent field-days, in "the month of December, upon ground "lying very high, and without a tree to afford him shelter; and that, too, after "having ridden 9 or 18 miles, in order to "get to the scene of action;" but, I can, partake, too, in idea, of the smiling fire-side at his return; of the table well covered; of the liquors waiting for his selection, while the servants, after taking off his boots and bringing his slippers, are gone to attend to his horse; and, I do know, that this horse has a much better house and a much better bed than a real soldier can expect at the end of a day's marching or a day's fighting.—— But, the *expense!* And, here, I must make a serious complaint against my correspondent. He reproaches me with speaking contemptuously of the volunteer system, seeing what great expenses the volunteers have put themselves to. Now, I throw myself upon the justice of my readers, I ask them, whether I have not constantly represented these expenses (which I always regarded as inseparable from the establishment) as one of the great evils of the volunteer system? Whether I have not, all along complained against these expenses? And, whether my correspondent is not here fully confirming the statement of Mr. Windham, who, in opening his plan, said that the private expense was equal to the public expense of the establishment, and who was so positively and so boisterously contradicted by the still remaining adherents of the system?—— I said, in page 521, "We have seen their "(the volunteers) bullying advertisements "too long. We have too long endured "their insolence, and their violations of the "law." Of these my correspondent says, *he* has seen, and heard, nothing; whereupon one might ask him, in what snug corner of this island he has been living for these three years last past? For, is there in any place, whereunto men resort, and where they come at a sight of the ordinary vehicles of information; is there any such place, where these things have not been heard of? And, seriously speaking, will my correspondent say, that he has never heard of the bold attempts at assessing and raising money upon the people by the committees of volunteer corps, not unaccompanied with *threats* against those who should refuse to submit to their precepts; that he has never heard of the riot at Chester, of the breaking open of the jail there, and of the setting of the prisoners at liberty; that he has never heard of the firing upon the King's officers and sailors engaged in apprehending marine deserters at Mounts Bay; that he has never heard of a volunteer, who, being jeered by a neighbour on account of his soldiering, clubbed his musket, knocked down the jester, and killed him, was afterwards set free by a verdict of manslaughter? Will my correspondent seriously say, that he has never heard of any of these, or of the scores (I might say hundreds) of other instances of insolence and violation of the law, of which the volunteers have been guilty? And, I ask him this question: what does he think would be the sentence upon a soldier of the regular army, who should club his musket and kill an inhabitant of Ipswich for laughing at him? Let him, first well reflecting upon what he says, answer me that question; and, such reflection may probably enable him to find a reason, without going any further, for my thanking God, that there is a prospect that the volunteers shall be disbanded.—— There remains but one part of my correspondent's letter whereon to remark; and that is the part where he has recourse to the old argument of experience, drawn from the example afforded by the history of the French army, during, and since, the revolution in that country. His words are these: "I am at a loss to know, why you attack

" Colonel BIRCH. We have seen many " men, during the French revolution, rise " to the highest commands, whose former " avocations were as little military as the " rolling of puffs or the seasoning of soups." ——And, here, I have a two-fold ground of complaint against my correspondent: first, that he has neglected that which is an essential duty with any one who has recourse to an argument of experience, to wit, the *proof of the facts*, whereon such argument is founded. If the facts be of perfect notoriety, or, if they be admitted by the adversary, then the proof may be dispensed with; but, if you have neither of those to proceed upon, your argument has no logical foundation, and may, therefore, be passed over in silence, without at all impairing the cause of your opponent. Next, I have to complain, that my correspondent, re-urges this argument (admitting it to have a foundation in fact) without any attempt at a refutation of the arguments used, and, I think, successfully used against it. This *example* afforded by the history of the French revolution has been, over and over again, shown to be no example at all, as applicable to the volunteer system of England; and, before it was again seriously brought forward, some attempt, at the very least, should have been made to prove, that it was an example in point.——I will not, however, avail myself of these omissions, but will once more give an answer to this argument drawn from the experience of the French revolution; first observing, that, as to Colonel Birch, I have not *attacked* him at all. I have said no evil of him. I have imputed no blame to him. I have rather spoken well of him; and, which cannot be an object beneath the Colonel's consideration, I have bestowed, by implication at least, high praises upon those tarts and that soup, which form, after all, the most interesting object of his attention.——The men, who, from low life, have, since the commencement of the French revolution, risen to high commands in the army, were, chiefly, soldiers in the regular army previous to the revolution. Those of them, who entered the army since the commencement of the revolution, fought, previous to their promotion, through several arduous and sanguinary campaigns. They, before they became officers, out-fought hundreds, and out-lived thousands upon thousands, of their comrades in arms. The school, in which they acquired their qualifications for command, was, the camp, and the field of battle; they fought their way upward to their reward, aided by physical endowments that enabled them to survive every thing hostile to life.——Is this not so? Is this not notoriously true? And, if it be, it remains with my correspondent to shew, what feature of *similarity* there is between these men and our volunteer officers. True, that, " *formerly*, their avocations might be as " little military as the rolling of puffs or " the seasoning of soups." This *might* be the case, in some few instances; nay, for argument's sake (though the thing is quite improbable), let us admit, that they were all of them *formerly* as very pastry-cooks as Colonel Birch himself; yet, they are not *now* pastry-cooks; they have not followed the trade since they have had commands in the army; whereas Colonel Birch is a pastry-cook *still*. Nay, and lest it should be said that this Colonel has as good a claim to rank as any Colonel of our regular army who has not fought his way upwards, this Colonel does not submit to *military law*; his commission may, indeed, be taken away, but, can he be ruined; can his bread be taken away; can he be sent a wandering upon the earth; can he be put to death, for a refusal to obey the orders of the king, who has been advised to give him that commission? Is he liable to be sent abroad; is his time no longer his own; can he no longer choose his place of abode; has he, in short, subjected himself to any portion of that absolute controul, to which every officer of the regular army does, and must, subject himself? No: he has, in the eyes of the vulgar at least, *all the honour* attached to military rank, without any portion of its *responsibility*; and, to rank, thus bestowed, where is the man of a just mind who is not hostile? And, where is there such a man, who, feeling it his duty to express such hostility, will hesitate to set at defiance the mis-representations of those who are mean enough to seek for popularity in flattering the prejudices and the passions of the ignorant and the vain?

CHURCH AFFAIRS.—CURATES.—ROYAL CHAPLAINS.——Mr. Perceval, the late Attorney General, has moved for leave to bring in a bill respecting a provision for such stipendiary *Curates* as may reside in the parishes, committed to their charge. The bill is, it appears, the same, in substance, as that which, having the same object in view, was, by Mr. Perceval, brought in last year.——For a description of this bill, see Register Vol. VII. page 788; and, the same place together with page 809, may be referred to for some of the reasons, whereon I was, as I still am, of opinion, that the bill ought to become a law, unless a bill more extensive in its effects, as to the object in view, should be brought in in its

stead.—I have not, at present, room to say much upon this subject; but, convinced as I am, that if some remedy, and that a speedy and effectual one, be not found out and adopted, for the evils of non-residence, the *reformed* Church of this country, must, at no distant day, undergo another *sweeping* reformation; thus convinced, I cannot, even here, refrain from endeavouring to call the attention of my readers to the subject of non-residence, with which the bill in question is closely connected.——In the present volume, page 422, will be found a letter to Mr. Windham, complaining of the "*severity*" of the act, passed under the auspices of Sir William Scott, and by which act the non-residence act of Henry VIII. was repealed. An answer to that letter will be found in the present Number, at page 593; and, I earnestly beseech the reader to peruse both these letters. For my own part, I am decidedly of opinion with the answerer, to whom I beg leave to present my thanks; and, I am persuaded he will receive, as far as the knowledge of his performance shall reach, the thanks of every *true* friend of the *Church*, which character, I am sorry to say it, is often considered as being something different from that of a friend of the *Clergy*.——As a friend of both, I am now about to mention what has occurred at St. James's relative to the *Chaplains of the King*.——For a great number of years; perhaps, for more than a century; and, as far as I know, ever since the Reformation, there has been, at St. James's, an establishment of Chaplains. The number of them is 48; four are appointed for each month in the year; and, of these four, two are always *in waiting*. For these there has been a *table* kept, and moderately supplied daily from a kitchen, the expenses of which have been defrayed out of the annual allowance made to His Majesty. But, within these few months, this table, which served as a daily resort for a friend or two of the Chaplains in waiting, and which was one of the things that gave an air of dignity and munificence to the establishment, has been suppressed, the Chaplains being now allowed a stipend of 30*l.* a year each in its stead; and the Chaplains, who are now obliged to get their dinners at a tavern or hotel, are not allowed a room in the palace, even for the purpose of putting on their gowns, though they have made a pressing application for it! The service at this table was in plate, which had grown together from the donations of the King's Chaplains, who had, successively, gone off by preferment. Upon the breaking up of the table, it became a question what should be done with this plate. A proposition has been made to the Chaplains to sell it for the benefit of some institution connected with the Church; but, some of them have, and very justly, objected to such a measure; contending, that to the donors, or to their descendants, it legally reverts; and, that there is no one upon earth who has a right of giving it away. At the very moment that I am writing, this plate, once amongst the ornaments of the King's Palace, is lying at a silversmith's shop, waiting for the hammer or the melting-pot!——Who has advised a measure like this; who, at a time when addition upon addition is made to the Civil List; when addition upon addition is made to the allowances of every branch of the Royal Family; who, under such circumstances, has advised the adoption of a measure like this, for the sake of saving (supposing *a saving* to take place) about *two thousand pounds a year*, I shall not presume to say; but, that such advice has been given I must express my regret. Very large, indeed is the sum annually paid by the people on account of the Civil List. I do not think they grudge it. But, it is in the nature of man to desire, that, about the person, to whom he possesses allegiance, every thing should wear the appearance of greatness. A sensible and generous people will never repine at parting from that which is necessary to support the appearance due to the high office of their sovereign; but, when they make, and with propriety make, large grants to him out of the fruit of their labour, they naturally; and I will add justly, expect to witness external marks of dignity and of splendour proportioned to the magnitude of those grants. If retrenchment had been necessary in the expenses of His Majesty, the establishments, the very scanty establishments, in his Palace; in *the* Palace, by way of eminence; in the Palace of his ancestors; in the Palace of which his court takes the name; those establishments should, I think, have been the last objects, whereon to lay the hand of parsimony; and, of these establishments, the very last should certainly have been the modest, the strictly economical, establishment in question; for the breaking up of which the only consolation that I have heard suggested, is that, from the source whence the Chaplains' table used to be supplied, a supply is afforded to the Duke of Clarence and *his family*, who now reside *in the Palace of St. James*.——Returning again, for one moment, to the Clergy, I submit to them, whether the want of zeal, the want of public spirit, the want of patriotism, but too clearly evinced in the endless list of non-re-

sident incumbents, in the neglect of the parishes, and in the decided preference, which, in consequence thereof, the common people give to sectarian preachers; I submit to them whether the *general feeling*, excited by this deficiency, on the part of the Clergy, may not, at least amongst other causes, have produced the measure of which I have been speaking. The Clergy (be it remembered that I speak only of *some*, only of what too often appears) seem to rely, not so much upon the good opinion of the people, as upon their selfishness, whereon they ground a degree of confidence proportioned to the general calamities, which they know must be inseparable from any material change as to their establishment and their rights. But, let the man, whom, particularly, I have in my eye; who is the rector of four parishes moulded into two; who is besides a Prebend of a Cathedral Church; who, while he hires curates, at a pitiful stipend, to read prayers and to preach in the parishes of which he receives the large revenues, generously takes upon him the offices of a justice of the peace and a commissioner of taxes: let this man, and let all men like him, reflect, if, indeed, they have the capacity of reflecting, that with nations, as well as with individuals, resentment frequently overpowers all considerations of self-interest. Or, if he, and other men, other bodies of men, other branches of authority, turn with contempt from my warnings, let them, and I conjure them to do it, listen to him, who, in these latter days, has so clearly predicted all that has come to pass. "From passive submission is it (the esta- "blished order of things) to expect resolute "defence? No! It must have warm advo- "cates and passionate defenders, which a "heavy, discontented acquiescence never can "produce. What a base and foolish thing "is it for any consolidated body of authority "to say, or to act as if it said, "I will put "my trust, not in my own virtue, but in "your patience; I will indulge in effemi- "nacy, in indolence, in corruption; I will "give way to all my perverse and vicious "humours, because *you cannot punish me* "without the hazard of *ruining yourselves*." This Mr. Burke calls base and foolish. He had seen the consequences of it in France, and, it was amongt the very last of his efforts to warn the established authorities of his own country against it.——Desultory as this article has already become, I cannot quit it without observing, that, from one end of England to the other, there prevails a grudging to render unto the Church its lawful dues; and, this grudging, as in former times, is, I am fully convinced, to be chiefly attributed to the non-residence of the beneficed Clergy. In speaking of the Reformation, in the reign of Henry VIII. we are all, and particularly the Clergy, too apt to overlook the main cause of it. We have been taught, and it is, from that teaching become habitual amongst us, to attribute the reformation to the *false doctrines* of the Church of Rome; but, if we appeal to authentic history; if we appeal to the laws, by which that Church was destroyed in our country; if we make this appeal, we shall find, that the principal, and I might say, the sole efficient cause, was the gross, the scandalous abuses of *non-residence*, on the part of those who received the revenues of the Church. Now, indeed, these abuses are not so gross; they are not so scandalous; but, let it be recollected, that, as to mental capacity, the people are not now what they then were. It is quite lamentable, and yet somewhat amusing, to hear the Roman Catholics ascribe the fall of their Church, in this country, solely to the libidinous disposition of Henry VIII.; while the Protestants, on their side, ascribe it as exclusively, to the doctrinal errors of that Church, to the worshipping of images, to the dispensing of indulgences, and to the pious frauds of the clergy. They seem, really to have come to an agreement, never to advert to the true, the grand cause; that which rendered the people eager to second all the views of their king hostile to the Church; to wit; the *impious* frauds of a state of things, which gave the hire to those who did *not* labour; which, took the hire, and, in many instances, gave no labour at all, from any hand whatever; which, while it never relaxed in its exactions of dues, suffered, in many places, the houses of God to become heaps of ruins, and left the people without the knowledge of God in the world. Yet, read the acts of parliament, by which the Church of Rome was destroyed, in England, and you will, from the first line to the last of them, find, that this was the great cause; and that, had it not been for this cause, King Henry would never have thought of those measures, which, as we all know, he so easily carried into effect, in defiance of a power which had been firmly established in England for more than seven centuries. Upon these things I once more beseech the reader seriously to reflect; and, I am persuaded, that, as the result of such reflection, he will, as I do, heartily wish success to the endeavours which Mr. Perceval is making to check, before it be too late, the progress of the *present* abuses in the Church. The bill, which he has brought in, goes not far; not nearly far enough. Its utmost ex-

tent, is to obtain, in some instances, a resident curate, in places where, at present, there is *no resident minister at all.* Is it possible, that any man can object to such a bill, unless he be ready to say, that no minister is, in any case, of any use? And, then, we might ask him, upon what ground he will maintain the justice of any longer demanding the dues of the Church? This would be a question of fearful importance; and, I do hope, that the wisdom of the government; that a due sense of their sacred *trust* (for it is no more), in the proprietors of advowsons; and, above all, that a conformity, in spirit and in truth, to their solemn engagements, in the Clergy themselves, will prevent the necessity of its discussion.

MR. FORDYCE.——This gentleman was, as is generally known, for a considerable number of years, Collector General for Scotland. It is also generally known, that, in that capacity, he became a defaulter to the amount of about 100,000l. It is, moreover, matter of general notoriety, that this defalcation has not been, in whole, at least, made good; and, that, in consequence of this his situation relative to the public, a motion was, by Mr. Creevy, made, during the last session of parliament, having, evidently, for its object, the throwing of blame upon those ministers, who had, just then, appointed Mr. Fordyce to be one of the commissioners, at the head of whom was Sir Charles Middleton (now Lord Barham), for devising the reforms necessary to be introduced into the management of the departments connected with the navy.——The debate will be found in the Parliamentary Debates, Vol. IV. page 48; and, the amount of the defalcation will be found in the Appendix to the same volume, p. xxxv.——Mr. Fox did not support the motion of MR. CREEVY, for which I, for one, greatly blamed him; and, it is because I now think, that his conduct (owing to his own fault however), was ascribed to a wrong cause, that I am now about to give that explanation, which he ought, in justice to himself, to have given, and, for the want of which, he has, by hundreds, I might say by thousands, and by myself amongst others, been thought, and been *said*, to have favoured Mr. Fordyce, *on account of that gentleman's family connection with the Duchess of Bedford*, and the only justifiable reason for stating which, thus in print, is, that, while it can scarcely render the imputation more generally known than it already is, it affords the only means of effectually counteracting it.——Mr. Fordyce was appointed Receiver General for Scotland in 1766, in which situation he continued till the year 1783; in the course of which time he employed three different agents for the transmission of money to and from the Exchequer. ——I. At the time of his appointment it was made *part of the conditions on which he received his appointment* from Lord Rockingham, that he should *continue to employ* Messrs. DOUGLAS and COCKBURN, the agents employed, in London, by his predecessor; and in this situation they continued to act, until it was discovered that they had retained a sum of above 40,000l. in their hands, which had been remitted to be paid over to the Exchequer. Upon discovering this, information was immediately given, by Mr. Fordyce, to the commissioners of taxes, and steps were taken, with their approbation, to secure as much as possible to the public from the effects of those agents. From these effects, so secured, above 27,000l. has been recovered, and paid to the Exchequer; and for the balance still due, of about 13,000l. there are effects remaining in the hands of Messrs. White and Goodenough, trustees for the Treasury; but it is not expected that they will produce more than 3 or 4,000l. For this balance, however, Mr. Fordyce does not consider himself to be personally liable, it having been made, as has been already stated, *a condition of his accepting the office*, that he should continue to employ them as his agents.—— II. A sum of money was voted by parliament for the payment of debts, due by forfeited estates in Scotland, which was directed to pass through Mr. Fordyce's office, and this money, having been paid into the hands of ALEXANDER FORDYCE, of London, (at that time a banker in the very highest credit, and in no wise privately connected with Mr. Fordyce, either by family relationship, or by trade, or by any money transactions whatsoever,) as the agent of Mr. Fordyce, it was gradually drawn for to answer the claims of the creditors on those estates; but Alexander Fordyce failed with a large sum of the money in his hands, and before payment of the greater part of the bills drawn upon him, which, in consequence of his failure, came back upon Mr. Fordyce; and the amount of the money and the bills together, came to nearly 60,000l. of which very little was recovered; as he was declared bankrupt before the writ of extent, which was, without the loss of a single hour, applied for by Mr. Fordyce, could be carried into effect; and for the sum lost by him Mr. Fordyce became responsible.——III. The third agent employed by Mr. Fordyce, was the house of FERGUSON and MURDOCH, then of un-

doubted credit; but they also fell into the irregularity of retaining the money remitted to be paid to the Exchequer; and, in the year 1781, it was discovered that they had about 58,000l. thereof in their hands. Mr. Fordyce, upon this discovery, made every exertion to get an extent upon their effects, and, with great difficulty, got it accomplished; and the whole was placed ueder the management of the solicitor of the Treasury (Mr. White), and the secretary of the Board of Taxes (Mr. Goodenough), as trustees for the Treasury. From these effects sums to the amount of about 30,000l. have been collected, and paid to the Exchequer and it is expected that from 10 to 15,000l. further may be recovered from the remainder thereof, which are still under the management of the same trustees.—The balances remaining due, independent of that of Douglas and Cockburn, which is about 9000l. are as follow:

By Ferguson and Murdoch about	£28,000
By Mr. Fordyce himself, in consequence of the losses which have been before-mentioned - -	13,000
	£41,000

For the payment of which, he proposed in a letter to the Treasury, sent at the desire of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, to give the bonds of gentlemen of undoubted fortune and responsibility, and other securities described in that letter, for the discharge of the whole of the remaining balance: for the part remaining due by himself payable in the course of the years 1807 and 1808; and for the part due by Ferguson and Murdoch in the four succeeding years, by equal instalments. ——This is the naked state of the case; but, there are some circumstances to be noticed; and, first, that, in neither of the three instances, did the loss arise from any fault, either of commission or of omission, on the part of Mr. Fordyce; for, besides, that the agents (in one instance not of his own choosing) were bankers in the highest credit, it appears that, the moment he suspected danger, he used every exertion in the power of man to prevent its effects; and, which is very material, and which, observe, clearly distinguishes him from those which we, in general, denominate *defaulters*, the loss did, in no one instance, arise from his having kept the money in his own hands, or having caused it to be kept in the hands of others, for any purpose of private emolument; but arose from the failure of agents taking place during the time, that the money *was passing*, through them, between him, and the exchequer; and, in short, that the loss must be considered as purely accidental; as being a misfortune, which no human foresight could be expected to prevent.——It was so considered by Lord John Cavendish, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1803, when the final failure took place; and, accordingly, that minister, though he thought that there would be an impropriety in continuing to employ Mr. Fordyce as collector, had it in full contemplation to give him some active employment, whereby he might be supported in reputation at the same time that he had the means of living and of endeavouring to make up his defalcation. That ministry ceased; but its intentions with respect to Mr. Fordyce were acted upon by the succeeding ministry; and, it is confidently stated, and, I believe, with perfect truth, that Mr Fordyce has given all that he has been able to accumulate to the liquidation of his debt to the public, in diminution of which he paid 8,250l. being the whole of the sum voted by parliament as one of the Commissioners for examining into, and reporting upon, the state of the woods and forests; and, he long since gave security, by bonds of undoubted sureties, for payments which became due in the months of March, July, and December last, to the amount of 29,500l.; so that the balances now remain as above stated.——It was not 'till last Tuesday, that I was furnished with the means of giving this explanation. They were furnished by a friend of Mr. Fordyce; but, they were not, on that account, to be rejected, especially when the use of them was so necessary to the counteracting of an opinion so erroneous, so generally adopted, and so very injurious to the public character of Mr. Fox, who, strange to say, was, at the time of the debate above referred to, in possession of all these same materials, and that, too, from the very same source, of the purity of which he could not possibly entertain a doubt. And, here we have an instance of the effect of that fatal, and universally lamented propensity, of disguising from men in high situations that which it is thought will be disagreeable for them to hear; for, if, amongst the hundreds of the friends of Mr. Fox, one had been bold enough to tell him what I have stated by way of introduction to this article, it is quite impossible, that he should not have found out some means or other of causing this explanation to be given.

VOLUNTEERS.

Sir,—"Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re." I am led to remind you of the former part of this excellent apothegm, which occurred to me on reading your remarks on Mr.

Windham's military plan, many of which are made with that judgment and acuteness, by which you are eminently distinguished; but when you mention the Volunteers, I am sorry to see you indulging in a severity of language, that must be highly displeasing to many of your readers, and cannot, in my opinion, be productive of a better effect than if the same strictures had been conveyed in more moderate terms. I think, Sir, the epithet you bestow on the inspecting field officers, whom you call "a swarm of toad-eaters," very indecorous. You may possibly allude to some persons among them, whose conduct may have provoked you to express yourself so harshly; but I am confident that the majority of those gentlemen, are completely above acting a part, by doing which, they would merit the meanest appellation our language affords. Permit me, at least, to rescue one meritorious officer from your unjust attack, and I have no doubt that several of your readers could produce the names of many individuals of equal probity and honour. The gentleman to whom I have alluded is Lieut. Col. Sharpe, one of the inspecting field officers of the district in which I reside; an officer who has seen much service, and of whose merits many in this garrison (Ipswich) have spoken to me in high terms. I have been several times inspected by him, and am ready to pledge you my word, that at least, on those days, he was no toad-eater; he always took the greatest pains to promote the discipline of the corps (yeomanry cavalry), and found fault with our evolutions whenever necessary, and did so upon several occasions, and only on some days did we meet with his unqualified approbation. I am not in habits of intimacy with the colonel, but merely *quote* him as having come under my own immediate observation. Why do you thank God that the volunteers are to be disbanded? The greater part of them have never had the means, as you elegantly express yourself, "*to congregate, toast, and to guttle;*" neither have I seen "*their insolence, and their violations of the law.*" Thousands, and ten thousands of them, whose conduct has been guided by a patriotic zeal, are entitled to the best thanks of their country. As one among many, I can safely say, that my equipments, and some unlooked for expenses, have nearly cost me 100l. What compensation, in a mercenary point of view, is the exemption from the horse and hair-powder tax? and do you think, Mr. Cobbett, that a married man, enjoying a fortune as I do, perfectly ample for the purposes of a country life, could be tempted to expose himself to all the rigours of the season, which I experienced during frequent field days, in Dec. 1803 and 1804, the ground being very high, and not a tree to afford shelter nearer than 3 miles; and to be present at which it was necessary to ride 9 miles, and some came 18, merely to wear a red jacket, and to be called a volunteer? I certainly coincide with you, that regular officers should have a superior rank to those belonging to the volunteers, though I see no good reason why a lieut. or ensign of the former, should have the command of the field officers of the latter. I am at a loss to know your motive for attacking Col. Birch; we have seen many men, during the French revolution, rise to the highest commands in their army, whose former avocations were as little military "*as the rolling of puffs, and the seasoning of soups.*" The yeomanry corps are chiefly composed of young farmers, nor are they often commanded by shop-keepers; nor among the infantry volunteers, at least in this county, will a gentleman be in any danger of meeting at a mess table, "*the man who in the morning had cut his hair, or sold his wife a wig.*" I trust, Sir, that with your accustomed impartiality, you will favour me with an early insertion of my letter in your valuable Register, and also pardon me, if I say, that I think it is by no means incompatible with your character, as the faithful sentry and guardian of your country's rights and welfare, that where you find cause for disapprobation, your means of expressing it should not wound the feelings of many of your readers, who are, like your humble servant,—A COUNTRY GENTLEMAN AND VOLUNTEER OFFICER.—*Ipswich, April 14th, 1806.*

THE ARMY.

SIR;——At a time when the attention of the country is directed in an eminent degree to the improvement of our military strength, and when a coalition of talent which has rarely been equalled, gives reason to hope for the most desirable result, it may be deemed a species of intrusion for an undistinguished individual to interfere with a subject which is already in such able hands. But as the space I may hope to occupy in your pages cannot be devoted to apologizing, permit me through the medium of your paper, to offer a few remarks on a work whose appearance has excited considerable interest, not more from the importance of the subject, than from the high character of the author, both as a soldier and as an individual.——It will be readily concluded, that I allude to the publication of the Honourable Brigadier General Stewart, on the Reform of the British Land Forces. There are, per-

haps, few men whose services and experience better qualify them for delivering their opinion upon the subject, and few who would have executed the task in a manner more honourable to their professional talents, to their philanthropy, and to their knowledge of mankind. Of the numbers who have written on military discipline, few seem to have pointed out so clearly as the Hon. General, the precise method in which the advantages of discipline are to be produced. Attached to established form and opinions, many have imagined that the manual dexterity communicated to the soldier, and the imposing appearance of vast bodies moving in concert, were the grand advantages arising from military discipline; while the prodigious impression which has been frequently produced by the irregular efforts of enthusiastic valour, on troops in the highest state of mechanical discipline, forms a constant and most puzzling contradiction to their system. But when we are taught to look for the effects of discipline, not so much in the physical as in the moral improvement of the soldier, we are introduced at once to the true source of military excellence. The manual dexterity which is the consequence of discipline, is undoubtedly valuable, and its effects may be made the subject of calculation; but where the effect of discipline is extended beyond the mere animal frame, its powers cease to be calculable, because they can hardly be confined within the ordinary limits of possibility. The heroes of Thermopyle made themselves immortal, not by the numbers who fell beneath their swords, but because their discipline had taught them to die with pleasure, where their country demanded the sacrifice.—The ideas of the hon. author on the importance of raising the military profession in the estimation of the public, and of calling forth those energies in the mind of the soldier, which a regular army alone seems calculated to inspire, on the inefficacy of the volunteer system, and the inadequacy of the militia to produce a force competent to the exigencies of the times, are such as might be expected from his experience and his judgment. That his suggestions on the propriety of restricting the enlistment of the soldier to certain periods, may be quickly realised, must be the wish of every friend to his country and to rational and constitutional liberty. But why does the Hon. General insist, that the rewards to be claimed by the soldier on the termination of his different periods of service, should depend on those services having been *uninterrupted?* On the expiration of any of the periods of service, it is more than probable, that the greater part of the soldiery would express a desire to return to their friends and homes. And, it is also most probable, that in a few weeks, or at most a few months, by far the greater part of these would be induced by old habits and inaptitude for civil life, to think of returning to their posts in the army. Whoever will suppose himself in the situation of the private soldier, will allow that this would most probably be his own conduct. Why then should men in these circumstances be discouraged from re-entering the army, by the consideration, that by an absence of a few months, they had forfeited all claim to the rewards and honours of their past services; or, why in justice should they be deprived of the recompence due to their service, on account of what in most cases would prove no more than an extended furlough, which it must be natural for every man in such a situation to desire? It may be urged, that if the country is to pay for services, it has a right to expect the best and most profitable years of a man's life. But, of course it is understood, that the services for which a recompense is demanded, shall have been both complete and effective, and that a proper investigation shall take place on them before their merits are allowed. If a man should enlist at such an age, that several of his last years of service must fall on the feeble and ineffective portion of his life, it is evident that he can have no claim to the rewards for full and completed services. The same would be the situation of the man, who by protracting the intervals between his periods of service, should render his latter years unserviceable; and, however harsh the idea may appear of deserting a man who finds old age advancing on him in the service of his country, it cannot be more severe than that of rejecting the claims of him who has completed his whole number of years with honour and with effect, merely because natural feelings or the love of novelty, may have induced him at intervals of six or eight years, to take advantage for a few months of the opportunity which is placed within his reach. Had these considerations occurred to the Hon. General, the liberal and philanthropic spirit diffused throughout his work, leaves no room to suppose that they would not have had their due weight.—On the subject of the purchase of commissions, it may be observed, that whatever is the case in other countries, in our own property has generally been found to be a better criterion of intellectual qualification than any other that can be assigned. The regulations on the subject of members returned to parliament, officers in the militia, and many other descriptions of persons capable of filling or appointing to offices of

trust, appear to acknowledge this principle. The general diffusion of information which engages all our countrymen to go to the extent of their abilities in the attainment of knowledge, may account for this peculiarity. In some countries nobility has been an indispensible requisite for promotion in the army; and this might be politic, if the sentiments and qualifications necessary to the officer, were exclusively confined to the order of nobility. But this is not the case in England, and, therefore, we never hear of such a requisition. A certain period is at present fixed for each rank, before the completion of which, neither interest nor property can effect the officer's promotion to a higher; and this is supposed to be a period competent to the completion of the officer in the duties of his immediate station, and of the next succeeding one. With respect to the first introduction of the officer to the army, the exigencies of the ordinary service of the British army, are not so great as to give much reason for apprehension, on account of the time which must elapse after a subaltern receives his first commission, before he is able to discharge its duties respectably. It is of great importance that officers should be advanced to the higher ranks, before their faculties and vigour decline; our enemies attack us with generals in the flower of their age, and we must do the same if we would oppose them with success. No term, or, at least, no moderate term, which a subaltern could serve before he obtained his commission, would make him equal in some points to an old and experienced serjeant; but the objects of the subaltern's ambition should be of a higher order, and are, perhaps, better acquired by passing a few years in the ordinary intercourse of life, and attainment of knowledge, than in any subordinate station which could be devised in the army. There is something very specious in the idea of examinations preceding the conferment of promotion; but to those who know how liable such institutions are to abuse, and how impossible it is to prevent this from taking place, their value will be considerably diminished. An examination of this nature takes place in the naval service, and though the vigour of the present administration gives reason to augur better things now, the writer well knows, and many who read this will know, that the certificates of service have hitherto been the principal objects of attention, and that a youth who was well recommended, was troubled with few more vexatious questions, than "when did you hear from your uncle the Admiral?" It may indeed, be fairly doubted, whether property is not in this country, as good a title to promotion as interest. Recommendations are often founded on other grounds than the merits of the object; whereas, property in this country always supposes respectability, and generally superiority of information. There may, perhaps, arise advantages to the public service, from the junction of these two roads to promotion, which would not proceed from either of them singly. Few men would feel inclined to devote a great proportion of their fortunes to their promotion in the army, who were not actuated by some desire of distinguishing themselves; and this desire is the best, or, indeed, the only pledge of exertion and success.—That the hon. author has been actuated throughout by the purest motives of regard to the public service, appears from the liberality with which he divests himself of all private interests and connexions, when they appear to him to interfere with the improvements he proposes. But, perhaps, the public will be of opinion, that the zeal of the Hon. General has carried him farther than was necessary, when it led him to sacrifice his feelings as connected with a branch of the service, which, if report says true, is greatly indebted to his abilities and exertions. It is acknowledged that perfection is best attained by the application of individual talents to particular objects; and this principle is allowed in the military, as well as in other arts, in sciences, and in manufactures. It appears to have been acted upon in the formation of the different species of force which compose the British army, into distinct battalions, as is the case with the light infantry and riflemen; from the persuasion, no doubt, that in such circumstances, the abilities and exertions of individual officers will prove more extensively useful; and from the recollection that it is infinitely more easy to divide than to combine. The rifle forms one of the most considerable modern additions to the art of defensive war, and as such is of the highest importance to this country; and if from the peculiar accuracy of which it is capable, or other adventitious circumstances, it affords room for greater skill and greater science than the ordinary weapons of defence; there must be reason to suppose, that this like other branches of the service, will be best promoted by being concentrated, and rendered the peculiar study of a particular class of officers. We might ask the hon. author himself, whether the attention which he has undoubtedly bestowed on the regiment with which he is immediately connected, could have been equally effective if that force had been dispersed in isolated companies, among battalions of light infantry? That there are peculiar features in the service of riflemen

sufficient to entitle them to rank as a peculiar service, is in some degree proved by the eagerness, which according to the accounts of officers acquainted with the circumstance, is manifested by the soldiery for serving in that, in preference to other corps; and even this is an advantage which need not be gratuitously thrown away. There is no difficulty in dividing force when circumstances may require it, but considerable disadvantage in combining troops which have not been accustomed to act in concert. If, therefore, some loss may possibly result from one proceeding, and no disadvantage from the contrary, the public will give the hon. author full credit for the disinterestedness of his intentions; but will not insist on his surrendering the offspring of his talents for the sake of furnishing a name to the company of honour in a battalion of light infantry. Marksmen, chasseurs, or many other titles might be invented, which would produce an equal effect, and might be common to the light infantry and rifle battalions.——You have yourself, Sir, been a British soldier, and will, I am sure, regard with interest every thing which relates to the welfare of the British army. And while an enlightened administration gives to every suggestion on subjects of public importance, the attention which the talents of their authors may demand, you will not refuse your indulgence to the weakest, in consideration of the good intention which directed them.—PUBLIUS.

PROPERTY, (or INCOME) TAX.

[Written, observe, previous to the opening of the New Minister's Budget.]

SIR,——Though distinguished by various modifications, the Property and Income Tax may, respecting its operation and results, be justly considered as being inseparably united. —The principles on which this tax is founded, viz. "That in times of great public "exigency every member of the community "should contribute in proportion to his "ability, *and to the stake he has to preserve;* "exempting, as far as possible, the *lower* "order of the people from additional bur-"dens," are just, wise, and humane.—If income, therefore, were, *in reality*, a fair standard of ability to bear taxation, or could by any modification become such, the Income Tax, so far from being objectionable, would become one of the most eligible and equitable imposts that government could adopt.—But equality of income, derived from sources or causes *totally dissimilar*, cannot be a just standard for equality of contribution. To enumerate the various means by which the subjects of this highly civilized and commercial nation become possessed of income would be useless, on this occasion, even if it were possible. It is sufficient, therefore, in proof of the above position, to observe, that possessors of income, or property, liable to taxation, may be generally classed under the four following heads: 1st. The proprietor of land, houses, money at interest, in the public funds, or private loans. 2dly. The merchants, wholesale dealer, in any article of trade or necessary of life, shopkeeper, tradesman, mechanic, &c. 3dly. The pensioner, or life annuitant, who is possessed of a certain yearly stipend to the attainment and continuance of which no exertion or trouble is required. 4th. All those who derive their annual income from public or private salaries, wages, or periodical payments, for which public or private *duty* is required. This last comprehensive and numerous class extends to the highest and the lowest orders of the community; including alike the first minister of state, and the lacquey that rides behind his carriage. They all (supposing them possessed of no *extraneous* property) subsist on a salary, *or wages*, which *ends* with their life, and for which they are required to perform adequate service. Thus it is evident, that in the four classes above enumerated, there are four different kinds of income subject to the same indiscriminate and heavy pressure of this boasted *standard of equality!* The following example, selected from thousands, will suffice to prove, beyond the possibility of contradiction, or even of doubt, the injustice, impolicy, and hardship of the Income Tax, in its *present* mode of operation. —A person possessed of 200l. per annum, either in landed estate, or in the funds, is assessed to the Income and Property Tax 5l. per cent. on the *interest* only of his property, which, at his death, descends to his children or his heirs, or legatees. Another, placed in a public or private department, the duty of which demands his *whole time* and attention, and probably may, if serving in the army, put his *life* to hasard in his country's cause, receives a like sum of 200l. per annum, which is his *only property*, which *ends* with his life, and which, if he a has family, must be very inadequate to their subsistence while he lives, must also pay 5l. per cent. to the Income and *Property* Tax, because the former pays so much on the *interest* of his property! A moment's reflection on this statement will convince any of your readers, that *equality* of annual income is far from being a *true* standard of ability to bear taxation, and that the *equal* pressure imposed on such very unequal powers of sustaining it, proves its *injustice*. The man of property has many advantages compared to him whose

income is the produce of his exertions, even while he lives on the *interest* of that property. Attend them both to the concluding scene of their lives! Each is probably surrounded by a mournful family, equal in number, but how utterly severe is the contrast. The property of the former descends to his widow and children, to console and maintain them; the latter can bequeath nothing to his disconsolate family but indigence and affliction! I am well aware, that this is one of the irremediable consequences of civil society; salaries cannot extend beyond the lives of their possessors; but this is surely an additional reason for their not being assessed so much beyond their proportion or ability.—It might, perhaps, be very difficult, not to say impossible, to fix on a standard of taxation so *exactly* proportionate to the different classes assessable to Income Tax, as to be exempt from error. But does it *therefore* follow, that the present inequalities and injustice in fixing the quantum of contribution, should remain? Would it not be far more consonant to reason and justice that all persons possessing pensions, salaries, or wages, or, in short, *any income for life only*, should be liable only to *half* as much per centum on such incomes, as land and stock-holders pay on their yearly income, *i. e.* on the *interest* of their property?—The only objection that could, with any semblance of reason, be opposed to a modification so clearly just and humane would be, that the Income Tax must be (*quoad hoc*) less productive.—To this I beg leave, with due deference to reply, that the present standard of contribution is not only erroneous in its principle, but inequitable in its *graduation*; and I humby conceive a modification might, in this respect, be justly adopted, which would not merely compensate for the proposed deduction on life annuities, but afford a surplus more than sufficient to pay the interest of the present loan of 23,000,000l. —Admitting, for argument sake, that *all* income is derived from the *same* origin, and is merely the annual *interest* of *real* property, it will follow, that the ratio of taxation should have a *progressive increase*, commensurate to the *income*; or, in other words, to the *ability* of contribution, and *value* of the *state* to be preserved by it.—Yet so far is this from being the case, that by the present Income Tax, though the above principle is clearly acknowledged, and in the *lowest* assessments actually adhered to, yet after the yearly income *exceeds* 150l., and precisely at the time when it should exert its most powerful and beneficial energy, its operation becomes *entirely* suspended! By the Income Tax, as it *now* stands, an income of 60l. per annum pays 1¼ per cent. one of 150l. per annum 5 per cent. and one of 20,000l. per annum no more! Thus from the scanty pittance of 150l. per annum, (perhaps, too, an *annuity*, and incumbered with a family, 7l. 10s. is taken for Income Tax, leaving only 142l. 10s. for all other taxes and demands, while from the very liberal fortune of 2,000l. per annum, the interest of *real* property, and from the *princely revenue* of 20,000l. or 40,000l. per annum, the *same* ratio of 5 per cent. only is deducted! A tax thus constituted and levied, and that too with an addition last year of 2! per cent. on the former assessment, totally departs from its avowed principle, "that every one is bound to contribute to "the public exigencies in proportion to his "*ability, and to the stake he has to preserve.*" —Nothing is wanting to render this tax (as a *war* tax) equitable in itself, and highly beneficial to the public, but to approach as nearly as possible, to this standard of justice. The wisdom of the British Legislature is, doubtless, competent to this arduous task; and may, from various plans and modifications presented to them, select and arrange a plan of an income tax, in every respect more eligible and more productive than those which have hitherto been acted upon.—Without attempting to ascertain the exact ratio of ability between the various classes assessed to the Income and Property Tax, it must be universally admitted, that if the life annuitant were to pay in all cases where his income and that of the land or stock holder were equal, only *half* the percentage of the latter, he would still pay full as much, as (or perhaps more than) he *ought*, and yet find his present burden greatly alleviated.—When the pressure of other taxes, and the rapid advance of price on most of the necessaries, as well as on the comforts of life are considered, it will surely be admitted, that no income whatever *under* 100l. per annum should be liable to assessment.—That all income arising from landed or funded property, or any permanent source, should pay for the first 100l. per annum 2l. per cent. and for every additional 100l. per annum, or the aliquot parts thereof, up to 2,000l. per annum, an addition of 1 per cent. on the *whole* income, as by the following table:

R

Per Ann.			*Per Ann.*
£ 100	at 2l.	per cent.	£2 0
150	do.	do.	3 0
200	do.	do.	4 0
250	3l.	do.	7 10
300	do.	do.	9 0
350	4l.	do.	14 0
400	do.	do.	16 0
500	5l.	do.	25 0
600	6l.	do.	36 0
700	7l.	do.	49 0
800	8l.	do.	64 0
900	9l.	do	81 0
1,000	10l.	do.	100 0
2,000	20l.	do.	400 0

The intermediate sums between the 1,000l. and 2,000l. per annum, to pay in the same progressive proportion; the *maximum* for 2,000l. per annum and *upward*, being 20l. per cent. on the *original assessment*. But the *whole progressive series* to be liable to the advance of the last year's assessment, if judged necessary, and to commence from 5th April, 1806. To include (as at present) all real and personal property, trades, professions, &c.; but life annuitants of *all* descriptions, to be assessed one half less, liable to a proportional advance, on the *original* assessment.—E. G. a proprietor of 500l. per ann. estate, at 5 per cent. £25 0 0 per ann.

Advance last year 25 per cent. on assessment	6	5	0
	£31	5	0
Annuitant of 500l. per ann. at 12½ per cent.	12	10	0
Advance for last year's assessment, 25 per ct. on assessment	3	2	6
	£15	12	6

Having already observed that an Income Tax, thus modified, would be at once more equitable and more productive than the present, I shall forbear to expatiate on the great and evident national advantages that would result from such an alteration. In tracing this *mere outline* of a plan which is capable of great improvement, it is far from being my intention arrogantly to dictate to those whom I readily acknowledge to be as much my superiors in ability as in station, and to whom every source of information is accessible; yet, I trust it may be allowable, and I apprehend it to be my duty (with all due deference and respect to the public and to administration) to avail myself of the inestimable privilege which every British subject enjoys, of communicating his thoughts on political questions or measures in which all are deeply interested.—BRITANNICUS.—*25th March*, 1806.

NATIONAL ECONOMY.

MR. COBBETT;——Although a distant, I am a constant reader of your weekly publication. I like and admire the principles on which that very entertaining and instructive work is founded. Yet, I often, (and I trust you will not think the worse of me,) differ with you in sentiment and opinion. I wish, Sir, to add my mite to our national reform and prosperity; by offering, through the medium of your Register, some subjects, the consideration of which may ultimately lead to them. If you think this worthy to meet the public eye, I may be induced to trouble you hereafter, more at large, perhaps, but not on a more important subject than on that of *national economy*. Upon this point, I have no reason to suppose we shall differ. It is *that* on which the prosperity, nay, the very existence of this country depends; and, truly happy am I to read the solemn pledge, which the Noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has given on this head. I was not an admirer of the political conduct of those gentlemen who compose the present administration, when they formed the opposition phalanx. It appeared to me, they often thwarted measures which would have greatly tended to the public good, and instead of proposing others, seceded from parliament, withheld their counsels, and abandoned their duties as representatives of the people. But, Mr. Cobbett, as I am not a party man, I was inclined to think, others, under such circumstances, would have done the same; and that the loaves and the fishes were the only objects of their contemplation. When, however, on the death of Mr. Pitt, I was told, *all* the abilities of the country were to be united, to form a vigorous and effective administration, I felt no small degree of patriotic satisfaction, and ardent hope of future national prosperity. It is certain, the cream of four distinct parties has been taken to form the present administration, and the country looked to it with anxious expectation. For my own part, I thought some, and those very transcendent abilities, were excluded, and I much doubted, whether an administration composed of such heterogeneous matter could amalgamate and long hold together. To their first measures I looked with deep anxietude; apprehensive, I confess, that each man was not appointed exactly to his proper station; and, I think so yet. I mean, Sir, such as is best befitted to his political pursuits, his studies, and his abilities. Yet, I had no right to doubt their

general good intentions, and I trust they will acquit themselves with that zeal to which they are pledged, and with that honour, honesty, and integrity, which can alone support them in the public estimation; and the want of which must plunge them and the nation in disgrace, obloquy, and ruin.—But as my present subject is that of national economy, I shall confine myself to the conduct of the Noble Lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I admire the abilities of that Noble Lord, though I by no means approve his system of taxation. That, however, is a matter of speculative opinion, and which I shall leave for animadversion on some future day. What I do approve; and I approve it most heartily; is his solemn promise, made to the representatives of the people, that his whole ministerial conduct shall be marked by the most rigid and exact economy. I ought not to suppose he will ever forget this pledge, to which he has bound himself by every tie of private honour and public faith. It may perhaps, be told, the items I am about to mention, do not, all at least, come exactly under his cognizance, or within the routine of his office. But, I conceive, Sir, the minister who has the guardianship of the public purse, must be consulted on every national demand upon it; and is accountable for its expenditure in some measure, at least, as far as his voice goes.—I shall first then, notice the immense cost of the sea fencibles, I will confidently appeal, and the appeal is reasonable and fair, to every admiral commanding at our several sea-ports, and to every commissioner in every dock-yard in the United Kingdom; if any benefit whatever has accrued to the naval service of Great Britain, by the institution of the sea-fencibles? I would ask, if the abolition of them would not greatly contribute to man our ships of war? I would then ask the revenue officers, both of the customs and excise, if the protections given to sea fencibles do not greatly promote smuggling? Should their answers be such as I expect, will ministers hesitate to abolish this, not only useless, but obnoxious corps? Let the Noble Lord, who is the guardian of the public purse, look to the expense attending it. Let him consider the situation of the Hon. Admiral Geo. Berkeley, with a salary of £1500 for doing nothing here in England. Or, if he has any thing to do, if he visits the sea-ports, musters the fencibles, and inspects the impressed men, (a new fangled part of his official duty) who have perhaps, been rejected before, he will cost the nation twice that sum in post-horses, and travelling expenses. Let ministers, I say, ask those to whom I have before appealed, if the labourer is worthy the hire? Then let them turn their eyes to Admiral Hawkins Whitshed, who fills the same post in Ireland, under the pompous name bestowed upon him by the late administration, of *Naval, confidential Adviser to the Lord Lieutenant.* Whether, with this new administration he has lost, or kept this high sounding title, I know not; but certain it is, the said admiral is just now sent back to Ireland, in the same *situation*; to call it a command would be ridiculous, and truly insulting to the navy. He enjoys too, the same appointment of 1500l. per annum, which Admiral Berkeley does here. Let them next compute the further expenditure under the various branches of this ridiculous and contemptible service. The pay of the captains, lieutenants, and a long list of others employed under them. And, sorry am I to add, these are invalided officers, who from wounds or length of service, might be entitled to attention and repose. But they are young and active, such as should be employed in *really* fighting the cause of their country, and should nor be *put on full pay for doing nothing.* I am not, Sir, personally known to, or acquainted with either of the admirals, to whom I have alluded, I dare to say, they are very worthy and respectable men, both in their private, and professional characters. But I do not like their present employ. If they were dismissed from it, I should hope they would experience no great, or long inconvenience. The one is half brother to the Marchioness of Buckingham, the other married a namesake and relation of the Duke of Portland. Comfortable *births* would therefore, most likely be provided for them; though Mr. Secretary Fox is reported to have said jocosely, (speaking of the followers of the present administration) "that they were so thick as to be stored *three in a bed* already." Be that however as it may. The whole sea-fencible establishment is what I object to. I wish it to be done completely away. An immense saving would be made to the public; many good seamen would be obtained for the real service of the navy; and smuggling would receive a very considerable check. The next object to which I would wish to turn the attention of the Noble Lord at the head of the Treasury, is that of *pensions.* I believe the evil is already so great, and increasing so fast, that it must shortly cure itself. But if it is left to work its own cure by time, it will leave, I fear, some dreadful marks and scars behind it. I highly approve the very liberal sum, I believe 90,000 l. given by Mr. Burke's Bill, to the crown annually, in order, not only to

support its dignity and splendour, but to enable the Monarch, who wears it, to enjoy the gratification of rewarding merit, and bestowing tokens of his royal munificence and personal regard, on those whom he thinks deserve them. I highly approve too, every mark of national gratitude, voted by the representatives of the people, to those who have essentially served the state, either in the cabinet or the field. The well-earned honours of a hard fought victory, would often become a dreadful charge to those on whom they are bestowed, if unaccompanied with a pecuniary gratuity. *But here let pensions stop.* No longer let each successive administration grant those pensions to the younger brothers, sisters, or daughters of rich and affluent peers, such as the Earl of Uxbridge and others; which ought to be reserved for, and bestowed only as the rewards of merit. And when the same administration retire from office, let not ALL the relations of ALL those who have given it their countenance and assistance be pensioned also. There is no end to this, Mr. Cobbett, we already see the tax-collectors sufficiently often at our doors, to levy our contributions for the necessary exigencies of the state, without being called upon to contribute towards the support of pensioned political friends, their relatives and dependents. And here, in the name of justice and reason, let me ask how the Noble Chancellor of the Exchequer could think of imposing another, and that so heavy a duty on sugar, (an article already over-taxed) as three shillings per cwt. whilst he should continue to exact from the planters of the Windward Islands four and a half per cent. on the produce of their estates, paid on the spot; and suffer the amount thereof still to be divided *in pensions?* This, Sir, in my idea, does not tally with the Noble Lord's plighted professions of economy. The duty to which I allude, was obtained by a positive compact between the mother country and her colonies: that the one should maintain an adequate, specified force for the defence of the other, the consideration of the 4½ per cent. duty, on the general produce of the latter. This agreement, Sir, has been violated under every administration, almost from the time it was made, so that no particular charge of violation can in that respect be adduced against the present one. No adequate force has ever been kept in those Islands for their defence; witness the depredations of the enemy there last year. Indeed, they have been often left to the protection, I should have said *mercy* of a *black regiment.* How much more honourable and just would it have been, how much better would it have squared with the boasted resolution of economy of the Noble Lord, if, instead of imposing the additional heavy duty on sugar, which must be the ruin of the inferior planters of the smaller Islands, his lordship had appropriated the 4½ per cent. duty to the public service, and exigencies of the state. It is true, he would thus have deprived some persons of pensions to which they have neither right nor title, from merit or service; but he would have rendered a double justice, and a double benefit both to the mother country and her colonies.——SENEX.——*East Bourne, April 6, 1806.*

WAR TAXES.

SIR;——Your financial statements, from time to time, have naturally interested all reflecting persons who have had an opportunity of perusing them.——A letter from a correspondent of yours, addressed, lately, to Mr. Fox, particularly attracted my notice; because his figures appear to me to convey irrefragable demonstration, provided the *fact* be admitted from which they are deduced. But, if I am not mistaken, both you and he have most egregiously underrated the aggregate income of the country. Not being a man of figures or calculation myself, I desired a friend of mine, who by the by, I think has, like yourself, got rather *a twist* about the funds, to try if he could extract from the newspaper reports of Lord Henry Petty's budget, how things really stand. He has just handed me the enclosed, as he calls it, hasty sketch in round numbers, presuming upon our future expenditure during the war, to be equal to what it is now taken at; and that all the taxes will produce what they are laid at; though he is pleased to inform me the latter is *impossible.* As it evidently appears that the new administration agree in opinion with their predecessors, as to the solidity of our finances; I think it is a duty you * owe the public, either to quiet the alarm you have incautiously given, by a candid acknowledgment of your error, or otherwise to defend your former opinions.—I for one would wish very much to know the truth, favourable or unfavourable: and, therefore, am extremely anxious to know your *present* opinion on this subject, which I own appears, as well as to yourself, of the first importance to your constant reader.——W. S.——*March 31st, 1806.*

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* This letter, it will be observed, was *written* previous to the publication of my article upon the Budget, in the Register of the 5th instant.

WAR ESTABLISHMENT.

Dr. England.		Cr.	
To interest and charges on the consolidated fund taken at the same amount as stated by Lord Henry Petty for 1805	29,760,000	By income of the year 1806, arising from the permanent taxes, or more commonly denominated the Consolidated Fund, estimating this year according to the produce of the year 1805, as stated by Lord Henry Petty	33,000,000
To 15-17ths of the total expenses for army, navy, ordnance, miscellaneous, &c. as stated by Lord Henry Petty, for the supply of the year 1806	43,618,472	Malt and personal estate duty	2,750,000
		Lottery	380,000
		War Taxes	19,500,000
		Deficiency	17,748,472
	£73,378,472		£73,378,472

PEACE ESTABLISHMENT.

Interest and charges on Consolidated Fund, &c.	29,760,000	Permanent taxes as above	33,000,000
Army, navy, &c. estimated at	25,240,000	Malt and personal estate	2,750,000
		Lottery	380,000
		Deficiency	18,970,000
	£55,000,000		£55,000,000

It appears by the above statements that, allowing the consolidated fund to leave the same surplus as last year, and the annual produce of the malt duty and lottery to be the same, and also, that Cobbett is right in his opinion, "that the charge for army, navy, &c. cannot possibly be reduced below 25,000,000 l," there will be a deficiency of about 19,000,000 l. on the peace establishment, *unless the war taxes be continued.*—This view is very different indeed from the declaration of Lord Henry Petty, "that the war taxes will not be necessary after the war."—It must however, also be admitted from the above statements, that if the war taxes be continued, and can possibly produce permanently about 20 millions per annum, without lessening the receipt from the old taxes, the Sinking Fund will have its full operation (whatever that may be) for the reduction of the national debt.—*March* 30, 1806.

PROPERTY TAX AND SINKING FUND.

To the Right Hon. Charles James Fox.

SIR,——To the Chancellor of the Exchequer, we look for no other than accidental deviations from the pernicious principles of finance, adopted and pursued by his predecessor in office; 1st. Because prejudice, more or less in their favour, must in a manner, have been born with him, since they were the first that presented themselves to his untutored mind. 2d. Because it is more than ought to be expected from his age, that he should have so far made himself acquainted with the bearings of these principles, as to be able to know, with something in the shape of certainty, the point to which they ought to be carried and no farther, so as to prevent their becoming a greater evil than that which they are intended to avert. And, 3d. Because he has not so far pledged himself, by his opposition to these principles, as to occasion any disappointment to the public, should he unfortunately, carry them farther than ever his predecessor has done. On these grounds, Sir, you can plead no excuse for your pursuit of Mr. Pitt's principles; for if you do not know the point to which they ought to be carried, and no farther, it is universally expected from your long and systematic opposition to his measures, on the score of finance, that you ought to know it; and, therefore, if you do not know it, the public shall not only have to lament the injury which they must sustain from your misinformation on this point; but that it shall be a crime in future to place confidence in any public character, however plausible, long, active, and systematic his opposition may be; and to make such opposition even a ground of hope, that the fundamental principles of public oppression shall ever meet with resistance from a man in power. I do not accuse you, Sir, with the relinquishment of those principles which you have so recently and repeatedly held forth to the electors of Westminster, as the criterion by which they are to judge of your title to the continuance of

their confidence; nor do I say that you will ever relinquish them; but, judging from your tacit approbation of the measures pursued in India, and the few doubts which you seem to have in your mind as to the merits of Mr. Tierney's treating bill; from your adherence to the sinking fund, funding-system, and the property tax, and from the great and unexpected delicacy, with which you would meddle with the Irish Union, or any other measure, however bad, which has once passed into law, I will say, what I fear is more than possible; namely, that before you hold your present situation half so long as Mr. Pitt has held his premiership, you will fritter away, and modify your principles so far as to make it a matter of indifference to your constituents, or the public, whether you hold them or not. I am far, however, from supposing that this apparent desertion of principles, appears to yourself otherways than the least of two evils, under all the circumstances of the case. You may justly plead in extenuation of it, that a system radically vicious requires means radically vicious to support it; that a system of fraud and plunder abroad, must be supported by a system of a similar nature at home; that the plunderers of Asia, and the blood-suckers of the Stock Exchange must be supported; and, therefore, that directly or indirectly the burden must fall upon the public. That you depend upon these characters more, perhaps, than on parliament, for the vicious means which you must have to support this vicious system; and, therefore, that you can only hold your place, and retain a chance of serving the public, by giving them bonuses and premiums at the public expense, on the loan of money, "which," as Mr. Tierney truly observes, "cost them no more than the paper on which they write." But, lamentably true as these facts are, or whatever may be your resources, still it cannot cease to be the duty of men out of power, while they endeavour to find for it every possible excuse, to watch the shades by which men in power part with the principles which they held out of power; and to hold up to the execration of a ruined and deluded public, the vices of the system which can no longer exist, than *vicious means are made use of to continue its duration*. Under these impressions, Sir, and finding by this day's newspaper, "*that "you have not yet met with an argument which has altered your opinion as to the merits of the Sinking Fund,*" I shall make no apology for calling your attention to the few remarks which I feel it my duty to make, *not* upon that fund and property tax, but *on the principles* on which they are considered by you and others, as the means of supporting public credit, with all its advantages. Credit, Sir, judging from the misfortunes of some, and the fortunes of others, rests itself solely upon two principles, *insensible* to the danger of trusting, and a *sense* of the solidity of the security on which we lend our property; and the one forms as powerful a support as the other, while suspicion of danger remains asleep. It is true, many escape ruin with pleasure, because they were insensible of the danger which threatens them; but many more are forever undone, because they were not awake to the cause of their ruin. I therefore conclude, that to make public insensibility however powerful it may be, the basis of credit, is a crime for which no speculator, state, or any other, can offer an excuse, and much less make an atonement. Let us then, Sir, since, as members of the community, we have no different interests to pursue, endeavour, in the spirit of truth and candour, to ascertain which of these two principles, *sensibility* or *insensibility*, do the sinking fund and property tax, make use of to support public credit. With respect to the property tax, you are made to say, by the reporter for the Morning Chronicle, "it may be said, and it has been said *(by Mr. Francis)* that there is no security against its being still gradually raised. But then, I certainly think, that the present mode" (doubling it at once) "is preferable to advancing it 1 per cent. one year, and 1½ per cent. another year, and so on, which would at last lead to a constant gradual advance, that might in the end *annihilate all property*." (By the annihilation of all property, I take it for granted you mean the conversion of it into taxes.) As taxes annihilate property, and as property annihilated is no security for new debts, the part remaining of our property annihilated, forms the security for every addition which may be made to the public debt. When Lord Sidmouth introduced the property tax, he gave the annual income of the nation from every source, labour, trade, land, and money, at 80,000,000 l. At that time the expenses of government, the interest of the funds, the poors'-rate, the county-rate, the tythes, and the contributions which are annually given to support hospitals, alms-houses, and private charities, amounted, exclusive of law expenses, or *the price of justice*, all of which are taxes, to about 72,000,000 l. or 9-tenths of our annual income. Consequently, there remained of it then to be annihilated but 1-10th. and that tenth is now annihilated to the amount of the property, and all other taxes since imposed upon the public. See-

ing then that all taxes annihilated the security of public credit, and that the annihilation already exceed 9-10ths of the security, is it possible to conceive that the property tax makes use of any other principle to support public credit, than public insensibility as to the extent to which the security is already mortgaged? If I have erred, Sir, in this alarming calculation, it will be found, I am confident, that Lord Sidmouth is more to blame for taking the income at too little, than I am in giving the expenditure at too much. But be this as it may, those who boast of the *security* of public credit, should take up my principle of calculation, for all others are insecure, and ascertain how far *it* is loaded, and not take the *facility* with which loans can be had for their *proof*; for that *proves* nothing but public insensibility, the facility with which promises on paper, the thinest and worst of all papers, can be blown into circulation, and the folly, if not the wickedness, of those who pursue measures which demand its support, to "*the annihilation of all property.*" Having thus, Sir, disposed of the property tax, we come of course to inquire whether public sensibility or insensibility, be the principles which the Sinking Fund makes use of to support public credit. *Annihilated* as the public security is, this inquiry is more a subject of amusement than of use, but as there is that pleasure in detecting falsehood, which the love of truth inspires, the question ought to be tried as if the public security were at this moment whole and unincumbered. Lord Henry Petty observes, that "had it not been for the Sinking Fund, we should now have been loaded with the whole charges now born by the country, without deriving any of its advantages; because, if we could borrow at all, it would have been on bad terms, and we should have created more debt; to obtain that which through the Sinking Fund we have obtained on more favourable terms;" namely, "the *indemnification for the past*, and *security for the future*," which we have derived from the "*just and necessary wars*" of the last fourteen years!!! "The Sinking Fund, over and above that it *leads* to the extinction of the national debt, has been a saving of the burden, while it seems to increase." Exclusive of indemnity for the past, and security for the future, the point of this *statesman or Pitt-like argument* is, that the Sinking Fund diminishes the public debt, and leaves the public less interest to pay; and that it keeps up the price of the funds, and therefore bears down the rate of interest. This logic is perfectly good, had the circumstances which govern the case been duly attended to. It cannot, however, mean actually that the debt is less, and that, throwing the influence of the hopes of a speedy peace on the price of the funds out of the question, the rate of interest is lower than it was when the Sinking Fund commenced its operations in 1786. For, by comparison, and allowing for the effect, on the price of the funds, of that degree of boldness, which the suspension of cash payments at the Bank, and the consequent facility (because there is no other danger of being called upon for cash) of circulating paper money have given to the loan-mongers, we shall find that the debt has greatly increased, and the rate of interest considerably risen since 1786. His lordship, therefore, can only mean that the debt and rate of interest are relatively less than they would have been, but for the influence of the Sinking Fund. He has, however, forgot the circumstances which govern the case. The annual accumulation of the public debt, far exceeds its yearly liquidation. In reality, therefore, and it is impossible to misconceive the fact when once brought into mind, the sum paid off, for instance, in 1805, is again borrowed in the loan of 1806, and so on from the beginning of the Sinking Fund. The Sinking Fund, therefore, recreates the very debt which it discharges; and the truth of the fact is proved by the conviction, that if the sum annually allowed to discharge the debt were applied to the yearly payment of the army or navy, the necessity of borrowing annually to that amount for such purpose, could not possibly exist; consequently, it is impossible, naturally so, that the Sinking Fund, relatively any more actually, can have diminished the debt or lowered the rate of interest, more than they would have been had the fund never been applied. This being the fact, all the merits which you allow to the Sinking Fund, naturally falls to the ground, and it brings us to a positive conviction that the fund makes use of no other principle to support public credit, than public insensibility, as to the impotence of its power, under an accumulating debt, even to its own amount. How then comes it, Sir, that men equally interested in the truth, and equally sincere in their endeavours to avoid error on this subject, should hold down right opposite opinions as to its merits? I will give you, Sir, what I believe even to positive conviction to be the cause, and I hope that, to prevent any suspicion of your own financial talents or political integrity, you will give your reason, in the course of the observations which you shall have to make on the Sinking Fund, before you are

able to dispose of the Property Tax; *that last great effort* "TO ANNIHILATE ALL PROPERTY," *and to save what?* Taking those who differ with me in opinion to be honest men, and leaving public insensibility on the subject to which I have so often alluded out of the question, I take the cause of our opposite opinions to be, the supposed tendency, in their opinion, which the weekly application of the sum applied to the redemption of the debt, has to create a scarcity of stock; and, therefore, to raise the value of the funds so as to enable us to borrow at a proportional low rate of interest. But, it is forgotten in this supposition that the Sinking Fund recreates the very debt which it redeems; or, in effect, that money is borrowed to purchase the sum redeemed. In this supposition, therefore, it is forgotten that the annual funding of this sum lowers the value of the stocks in the very proportion in which the annual redemption of its equivalent raises their price; and forgetting these considerations, it is not conceived that the supposition would almost disgrace the intellects of an infant, because it is false and inapplicable under the circumstances of the case, on the clearest principle of gravitation or of weight, placed against an equal weight in a balancing scale. But, granting for the sake of argument, that which in the end will prove false in all cases; namely, that, in this case, the laws of nature give way to the rules of art, and, therefore, that the bustle created weekly in the market by the redeeming commissioners, raises the price of stocks, more than the annual noise made by the funding minister lowers their value; will you, Sir, undertake to exhibit what the consequent saving of interest will amount to per cent. on the sum annually borrowed? If you will not, you are, Sir, but grovelling in the dark for your object; and your dependance upon an ideal principle, will only expose your country and fame to ruin, because a patriot and a man of information, will not hold as politically good, a *mere* principle which is morally bad, so far as it has a tendency to, nay, *actually do* create *public insensibility*, as to the danger which must sooner or later result from any farther encroachment on the less than a tenth of our property, which yet remains unannihilated.——The subject of these remarks may be thus compressed. You assume, Sir, that the Property Tax naturally helps to support public credit, because it keeps up the price of the funds, by removing the necessity of an annual loan to the amount of its yearly production. I deny this effect, and impute the contingent influence upon the funds, which I admit, to public *insensibility* of the annihilating effect which the tax naturally has upon public security; and to the facility with which millions of the promises lent may be written, and, therefore, borrowed. And, as a collateral proof, I appeal to your own conviction, Sir, whether it be *a sense* of the *solidity* of public security, or, *the fear* of one party that the other *will overbid it* for that loan, that produces *what is called their* LIBERAL *terms*; or, *your proof* of undiminished resources *. You assume, Sir, that the Sinking Fund naturally supports public credit, because it relatively extinguishes the national debt. I deny the relative extinction, because the application of the millions applied to the liquidation of the debt, creates the necessity of borrowing an equal sum for the public service. But, admitting that I am altogether mistaken on those points, am I so, Sir, on these? 1st. If the Sinking Fund is capable of discharging the debt, will not the stockholder be put into possession of the capital at present invested in the funds? 2d. Before they are put into possession of it, must not government take it from the public in taxes; and when they are in possession of it, must they not invest it in land and trade? 3d. If so invested, will not the depreciation on the circulating medium be in the proportion which the capital of the debt bears to the medium of exchange at present in circulation? And, 4th. If so, will not the evil of taking the capital of the debt from the public in taxes, added to that of the *then* depreciation in money, far outdo the oppression which at present arises from its interest; and annihilate public credit altogether? If you are unable, Sir, by fair reasoning, and in a detailed argument, to put the negative on these questions, I shall flatter myself that you have heard an argument which has altered your opinion as to the merits of the Sinking Fund; if not opened your eyes to the principle of the remedy which you ought to adopt, to prevent the annihilation of all property, or rather the transfer and re-transfer of it, God only knows how many times, by the time that the Sinking Fund extinguishes the national debt.——C. S.

* The advantages of this competition, if the false ideas of national prosperity which it gives, ever left it any merit, is now lost for ever. For the competition for the last loan is confessedly a sham, the parties themselves having confessed, if I am not mistaken, that it was priorly agreed upon to divide it between them. And to my own knowledge this is not the only case in which the plan was adopted by former competitors.

CLERGY NON-RESIDENCE.

SIR;——Being a member of the Church of England, and being such neither from accident nor necessity, but from a conviction that it is built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, I cannot but regard with peculiar interest whatever may tend to its prosperity, or to the comfort and happiness of its ministers.——That this is a time in which the enemies of our establishment, are more than ordinarily active in propagating their hostile doctrines, and in their endeavours to effect its downfall, we cannot but know from daily observation, and knowing we cannot but lament. But, in mere lamentation its true sons will not suffer their care to terminate. Such a mother expects, and, from such sons her expectations will not be vain, more than lamentation. They will not lie down on the bed of despair, but rouse themselves up for the contest, and gird on their armour; they will, when need requires, stand forth to shield her from harm, and, though her enemies be mighty and numerous, they will not fear nor be dismayed, but "be strong and quit themselves like men."—Think not, Sir, that in adopting such language, I am sounding the trumpet of discord, of blood, of bigotry, or of superstition. No! Persecution for religious tenets I utterly abhor. Fire, and faggot, and the axe for the extermination of contrariety of opinion, I cannot away with. Far other weapons, in my judgment, become the Christian soldier; weapons which the word of God allows, and which that same word and his grace supply.—But, I am extending too widely the remarks intended to be offered in this communication. One observation more, therefore, and then let us to the point. The Christian soldier will generally be a prudent soldier, and a prudent soldier will not only be prepared to withstand and repel the attack of an enemy, but he will strive sedulously totally to avert it; and, in order to this, he will avoid as far as possible giving occasion of offence.—*One* of the dangers which most imminently threaten our church at present, proceeds from the increasing number of sectaries. Never indeed, did lust of separation, and consequent hostility more abound than in these our days.—Now, as the most probable means of restraining this, I have ever regarded the Residence of the Clergy in their respective parishes.——There are doubtless cases, in which to acquire residence, would be to require almost an impossibility; or, at least, what could not be enforced without manifest cruelty and oppression. But these cases are rare.—There are also cases, where, unhappily such variance has arisen between the minister and his parishioners, respecting the payment of tithes, or from other causes; and such prejudices have been conceived by the one against the other, that the interests of the people (I mean their spiritual interests would indisputably be more successfully promoted by a curate than by the incumbent. But, these cases also, we trust, are few in number. Where, however, they do occur, let a dispensation be granted; but, at the same time, let care be taken that the cause of the dispensation (I mean, when it proceeds from want of a *proper* habitation) be as speedily as possible removed, and then let the indulgence cease. Thus much equity admits; thus much equity demands. But let not every trivial excuse; a trifling inconvenience; a house not sufficiently elegant or commodious; the want of the aid and comfort of society; or the absence from friends, be pleaded by ministers as a justification for the dereliction of their duty; or, if ministers are to be found so disregardful of their solemn engagements as to offer such pleas, let them not be admitted.—To these remarks, Sir, I have been led by a letter which appeared in your Register of March 22, (p. 422) addressed to Mr. Windham. Its purport is, to obtain that gentleman's support for the repeal of the Residence Act; which support the writer is induced to expect from the liberal ideas expressed by Mr. W. at the time when that act passed. It is signed Senex; and from the feelingness with which the supposed hardships of the clergy are described, I was for some time led to imagine that it had proceeded from the pen of a clergyman; but, upon further consideration, I could not but think that some enemy under the assumed garb of friendship, was thus labouring to impose an additional load on that burden, under which he hypocritically bewails the clergy are already suffering. We know that such insidious means have not unfrequently been resorted to; and from an attentive examination of that letter, I scruple not to pronounce that its writer is, to speak most favourably, *not* a *friend* to our establishment. From such insinuations it is that the fair character of the clergy is blackened to their foes, and even to their friends a cloud is cast over it.—That Mr. W. should be imposed upon by such an effusion, cannot for a moment be supposed. On this point I feel no anxiety. His mind, liberal as it is, is also just; and will readily discriminate between real grievance and causeless discontent. Still, Sir, I did entertain a hope that you, or some of your correspondents, more

fitted for the task than myself, would have remarked upon the letter of Senex, and pointed out to the mass of your numerous readers, the utter insufficiency of the pleas advanced by him for the necessity of the Residence Act being repealed. No notice, however, having been taken of it in your succeeding number, I feel myself called upon thus to become your correspondent; and trust that my undertaking will not prove altogether unsatisfactory.—The well established impartiality of your Register emboldens me to hope, that having presented your readers with one side of a question, you will not refuse to let the other be submitted to their inspection through the same channel. —It is said, by Senex, that "the present law "is more oppressive than the Act of Henry "the 8th., because the informer can now "recover five times as much as he could by "that Act." This is not altogether a fair statement; for by the present law the informer cannot recover one farthing, if the bishop's licence for non-residence be obtained: and, it remains with Senex to mention an instance where that licence has been refused where a sufficient plea was offered.—The parallel between the clergy, and the country gentlemen will not hold out.—That the latter should reside *part* of the year upon his estates, *may be* a moral duty, but that the clergy should reside the *whole is* a moral duty.—The law has certainly "made pro- "vision for the duties of the clergy;" but not "by allowing curates." The office of curate was originally not so much to *supply the place* of incumbent, as to *assist* him: as in the case of pluralities of livings, or where the clergyman was old and infirm.——That "*young curates*" may be "*respectable*," we are far from denying, nay, we have the honour (for an honour we esteem it) of being intimately connected with many that are such; but, why, we would ask, may not *old incumbents* be equally so? *Young* curates may have greater powers of voice; but there are few old clergymen, we believe, whose voice is not loud enough to be heard in a church in the country, where in general the churches are not very large, neither are the congregations very numerous. And, let it be here observed, that Senex alludes chiefly to incumbents in the *country*, as appears from his lamenting their wanting "the aid "and comfort of the society in towns." Besides, it happens not very unfrequently, that the curate is as old as the incumbent.—As to all the other parochial duties, it were madness to suppose that they would not be even *better* performed by the old than by the young. For, must not the former, from long habits of intimacy, be more thoroughly acquainted with the various characters and dispositions of his people; and, consequently, must he not best know how to adapt his instructions to their advantage? May we not also suppose, without any disparagement to the younger clergy, that a conscientious minister, who has long resided among his parishioners, will be looked up to with more reverence and respect? That in visiting the sick, one of the most important of the ministerial duties, his exhortations, admonitions, and consolations, will be applied more appropriately, and more effectually? and that, in fine, his general conduct, which we may reasonably conclude, will, in the decline of life, be more circumspect, will carry with it greater weight, and that it will be more readily and carefully imitated? "Bishops and the superior clergy may, "most of them, have been curates in their "younger days." But we hope that, as they rise in years and in preferment, they do not sink in their regard to their duty, or that that respectability which they possessed when young, and which perchance aided them in their advancement, is, now that they have attained the wished-for eminence, forfeited by any change of conduct. Such libellous opinions we cannot entertain.—It may be that "no complaint was ever "brought against the clergy in parliament "for non-residence." But, surely, there was abundant ground for it before the passing of the late act; and much as we reprobate the *qui tam* measures, still we are of opinion that those measures have eventually been of service: those measures caused to be brought forward the late act, and that act, inasmuch as it has caused a more general residence of the clergy, is, we maintain, salutary. Whether its powers have been committed in every instance to the most proper hands, and whether those powers have been sufficiently defined, are questions with which we are not now concerned. The only point insisted upon, is that the residence of the clergy is a duty which ought to be enforced, and every act which tends to that, unless indeed it be cruelly oppressive, is to be commended, and its supporters "deserve well of the public.——Inclina- "tion and duty" we allow are better "mo- "tives than what are enforced by an act;" but why with inclination and duty, has Senex coupled that servile term "*interest?*" If by interest be meant, the bare saving of the salary allowed to a curate, or any other such consideration, in what consists the difference between residing from such motives, and "from dread of pains and penalties?

" —It is natural for men to hope to have the " privilege of living, in the decline of life, " where they please." But, where, it may be asked, could they, " after having spent " their best days in the duties of their pa- " rish," where could they more wish to repose, than in that same parish? Where may they look for aid, if not at the hand of those for whom they have so long laboured? Where for comfort, if not in contemplating those good seeds, which they, themselves, have sown, maturing and bringing forth fruit? Where shall they find friends, if not amongst those, who are endeared to them by the strong ties of gratitude; on whom they have been conferring the most important obligations, viz. Instructing them how to secure those treasures which will never fail, eternal in the heavens. Where shall they look for society, if not in the company of those, who have so long been their fellow travellers through life, and with whom they may humbly hope still to go on, hand in hand, till they arrive at the kingdom of heaven, and their receive the reward of their labour? Surely, to a good man, his own parish cannot but afford all " the aid and comfort of society, all the " friendships and relationships," which a good man can desire.—That " the clergy " of the church of England are subject to " hardships" is but too true. We well know many hardships that exist, and, we also know some clergymen, who suffer under them; who feel, yet complain not; who sigh, yet submit. But such of them as " discharge their duty with zeal and abili- " ty" will never, we are persuaded, reckon amongst their hardships, the being required to remain at their posts, and that too in " these most critical and trying times of " public danger:" there it is that duty requires them, for there it is that their zeal and ability can be most successfully exerted. Many other remarks upon the letter of Senex might be offered, but already, Sir, your time and patience have been too much intruded upon. Without, therefore, commenting further, I shall conclude, with subscribing myself, your obedient servant, M. N.———*New-Brentford, April 2, 1806.*

TREATING BILL.

Sir,——I do not find myself frequently dessenting from your opinions, for they are founded on principles of too much integrity of independence, and matured by too much judgment and reflection, and directed to objects of too great an importance, to be easily controverted. But I cannot coincide in your view of the bill of Mr. Tierney for amending the Treating Act. As your liberal candour has rendered this Register open to every writer whose intentions and wishes are directed to the interest of his country, you will perhaps allow these few remarks to be inserted in it. I think you have not, in deciding on the merits of this bill, extended your observations to the great advantage which will result from obliging the electors who reside at a distance from the place of election, to pay their own expenses in travelling there. The consideration which presses itself strongly on my mind, and which makes me extremely anxious that this bill should pass; is this: that it will have the effect of redressing a great grievance in the representation of boroughs. The cases are numerous in which the inhabitants of boroughs possess all the claims to a representation which are given by birth, inhabitancy, and property. Claims on which the principle of representation was first founded, and on which it ought to continue, and yet are prevented, not only from participating in it, but are totally excluded; whilst, on the other hand, strangers having none of these claims to constitute their right, but in every respect unconnected with the interests of the borough, alone enjoy the privilege of returning its members. The representation of boroughs has been called the rotten part of this constitution; but I do not thus opprobriously speak of it, when I see some powerful Peer, who has by acts of benevolence secured the love and affection of his tenants and dependents, consulted by them for the choice of a representative for their borough, neither would I condemn the system, if a part of the electors were strangers, and even admitted for the sole purpose of an election. But, Mr. Cobbett, when I perceive the rights of a borough wrested from the legal proprietors and usurped by a few individuals, for the purpose of making an election dictated by the elected, who visit the place only when this purpose renders it necessary, and who contribute to none of its burthens; when these and these only exercise the privilege of electing representatives, and the inhabitants, who have property for which they claim security, that it shall not be disposed of without their consent, and who are obliged to defray all the expenses of the borough, are denied the right of joining in the election; then, Sir, I exclaim against the system as bring a rotten part of the constitution, with this consideration, that, as it is the glory of the British constitution that its foundation rests on the love of confidence of the people, we must regret whenever there is a shadow of cause for dissatisfaction.

It behoves us, Sir, when assailed by foes from without to guard against foes within. Were you to talk to these inhabitants of their representatives, you would insult their feelings, I have not exaggerated this grievance. I was passing through a small borough in the county of Dorset, a few days since, in which I witnessed its greatest extent. One of the setting members had vacated his seat, or in other words, the stipulated period for which he was to retain it having expired, he had legally resigned it into the hands of the donor to be transferred to another, and this successor was then to be elected. The right of election was vested in freemen, the greater number of whom resided at a considerable distance from the borough. The intended representative collected them on his way from London to the place of election, at which the few remaining formalities of the law had required their attendance. From the description of the electors, I should judge they had became such on this rule: that the more remote they lived from the borough, and the more alienated they were from its interests, the more qualified were they to determine the merit of him whom the constitution had appointed the guardian of the borough. Still, however, they returned the member, whilst 100 of the inhabitants, possessed of property, residents from their birth, and bearing the burthens of the town, were not even allowed to share in the exercise of that right on which is formed a branch of the government. With what confidence, they asked, can we give instructions to their own representatives, or with what hope can we consider them as the guardians of our privileges, when they become such by invading them? This is the grievance of which I have always complained in the representation of boroughs, and it appears likely to be remedied by Mr. Tierney's bill. If these *honorary* freemen were obliged to defray the expenses of travelling to the borough, when their master requires their attendance at an election, you would find that, unless the individual on whose account they are made, can render them some compensation, they will be extremely cautious of involving themselves in expense, when they can answer the reproaches of ingratitude for disregarding this maker of honorary freeman, by pleading the injustice of violating the rights of others. You will, at least, have the representatives of boroughs, not the representatives of one individual, but of that community in whom this right was vested by the constitution; and the electors will be so far from considering Mr. Tierney as depriving them of their franchises, that they will owe him their lasting gratitude for restoring them. I am, Sir, yours, &c. W. B.——*Temple, 19th March.*

AFFAIRS OF INDIA.

SIR.——The candour and impartiality of your Weekly Register, and the readiness with which, upon all occasions, you admit into it any remarks, though in opposition to your own sentiments, induce me to give my opinion on a subject, which you do not seem accurately to have understood.—— When the charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1793, the sum of half a million sterling a year was to be paid into the Exchequer, provided there should be a surplus in each year, equal to that sum, after paying a variety of expences, which were first to be made from the resources of the East India Company.——It follows, therefore, of course, that if, since 1793, there have not been assets sufficient to pay all the charges which were to *precede* the payment of half a million annually to the Exchequer, the Company cannot be said to be indebted several millions to the public, unless an unexpected change should take place prior to the expiration of the charter.—But another question now comes, which is, whether the nation was deluded by a false statement of the assets of the Company in 1793, and thereby led to expect a pecuniary aid from India, which it was impossible to realise.—To this I answer, that after the fullest investigation of the Company's affairs, it did not appear at the time, that Lord Melville had overstated the expected *receipts* of revenue *in India*, or the profits of the Company's sales in England. The *experience* of sixteen years has *proved*, that the revenues of *India* have *exceeded*, in sixteen years, the amount at which they were estimated by Lord Melville, at least in the proportion of *one third*. If, then, you should ask, why it is that the half million was paid in a single year only, the answer would be very easy; because the *expenses* in India have *exceeded* Lord Melville's calculation, in a proportion far greater than that in which the revenues have gone beyond his calculation. —It is possible that this excess of expenditure, beyond the estimate of 1793, might have been unavoidable. It is possible that it might have been occasioned by wars imprudently waged. It is possible it might have been occasioned by the unnecessary increase of an army, which many thought was, in 1793, fully equal to any service that might have been required from it. It is also possible, that the wars in which the

nation has been engaged in India, were unavoidable; that they were commenced on principles of the soundest policy, and conducted with strict œconomy, and with great military skill.—These, Mr. Cobbett, are points which are to be determined by the enquiry now pending in the House of Commons; but most assuredly, as you now think, the East India Company are free from all blame, if it should hereafter be proved, that unnecessary wars in India have been expensively conducted, or that the civil and military establishments in India have been much higher than necessity required. The *power* of fixing those establishments was actually in his majesty's ministers; and they had, in fact, the appointment of governors and commanders in chief. The Directors could not even *censure* a governor without the consent of the king's ministers. I know of no difference between the bill proposed by Mr. Fox in 1782, and that of Mr. Pitt which passed into a law in 1784, and was renewed in 1793, but this; Mr. Fox's bill threw the whole patronage, both at home and in India, into the hands of commissioners nominated by parliament. The bill of Mr. Pitt left to the Company a very considerable extent of patronage at home, but it gave to commissioners appointed by his Majesty, as complete *political power*, as was to have been given to the parliamentary commissioners under Mr. Fox's bill. It follows, therefore, that his Majesty's late ministers are entitled to all the credit, or to all the discredit, that may be due, for the good or bad government of India from 1784 to this day.—I own it has very much astonished me, to find sensible men, of all parties, so ignorant on a subject free from every thing like obscurity. Since the year 1784, the most accurate accounts have been delivered to parliament, of the receipts and expenditure, in each year, in India. If any gentleman will look at these accounts, he will see that the revenues of each year have been in a progressive state of *increase*, until they amount at present to more than twelve millions sterling a year. They will see, at the same time, that the debt of India is much more than double, nearly *treble*, the amount at which it stood in 1784. They will observe also, that from 1765 to 1784, no bullion was sent from *England* to *India*, though within that period a very considerable quantity of bullion was brought *from* India to *England*. They will observe also, that since 1784, bullion to a very considerable amount has been sent *from England to India*, and that the bills drawn upon England, by the governments in India, between 1784 and 1805, very far exceed in amount the bills drawn from 1765 to 1784. If the information stopped *here*, I should not wonder that the question was asked, how has all this happened? Yet the same accounts shew how the revenues have been expended, and how the debt has been more than doubled. A certain sum has been appropriated, in each year, to the purchase of investments, and the remaining revenues have been expended in paying the civil tand military expences of India. The result then is this, that the revenues of India have not been sufficient, from 1784 to 1805, to pay the expences of India, and for the investments sent home, in the precise sum that the debt has been increased since 1784, in the first place; in the second, to the amount of the bullion sent from England to India; and in the third, to the amount of the bills drawn upon England by the governments of India. If, upon investigation, it shall appear, that the civil and military establishments of India have been fixed upon a higher scale than was necessary, where will the censure fall? Not on the Directors most assuredly, but on the Commissioners. If it shall appear that hostilities were unnecessarily carried on against the native powers, when the expense must, in the nature of things, have been enormous, because a large army in the field, at a great distance from our own frontiers, is much more expensive than a large army in garrisons and cantonments, on whom must the censure fall? Certainly not on the Directors, who could not have been consulted as to the prudence of those wars, and whose *opinion* went for nothing after all, if his Majesty's ministers did not concur in their opinion.—For the commercial concerns of the Company, the Directors most undoubtedly are responsible; but his Majesty's late ministers, and the governments in India, who were under the controul of those ministers, are to be praised or censured, as the political transactions in India shall appear, on investigation, to have been wise or impolitic.—J. S. W.—*Brighton, 14th April, 1806.*

LLOYD'S FUND.

SIR,—Your known impartiality induces me to hope that you will insert the following observations addressed to the Committee at Lloyd's in your weekly paper.—— Impressed as I was, in common with all my countrymen, with sentiments of gratitude and respect towards the heroes who in the brilliant victories off Trafalgar, raised the British flag to an unparallelled pitch of renown, I seized with eager-

ness the earliest opportunity of offering my mite to the Patriotic Fund: a fund, both *nominally* and *virtually* endowed for the benefit of the widows and orphans of those who fell in the action. What then was my surprise when I perused the resolutions which proposed the donation of swords, and other expensive rewards to the commanders of the respective ships: and how much is that surprise now encreased, when I perceive the continuation of the same system manifested in the large sums voted to Sir T. Duckworth, Admiral Cochrane, &c. for their conduct in the late decisive action in the West Indies. Far be it from me to depreciate in the slightest degree, the merits of the gallant commanders of our fleets:—I respect them as the saviours of my country. But, I appeal to every one of them, (and I am confident in the justice of my appeal) whether they would not prefer the soothing reflection that the families of their brave departed messmates are provided with the comforts and blessings of life, to the possession of gaudy trinkets, and useless decorations? Let it not be said, that the funds are adequate to both purposes; for were it not infinitely preferable to encrease the charitable benefactions, beyond what is necessary for mere subsistence, than to offer superfluous rewards to those whose glory is elevated far above the remuneration, which such trivial ornaments can bestow? Moreover, in a constitutional point of view, I would ask, whether a self-created committee is empowered to award the recompence of military merit, which has hitherto been considered a privilege inherent in the Crown and Senate?—When the committee thought fit to promote a general collection at the parish churches, many thinking men objected to such a precedent, but the objection was overruled by the supposed benevolence of the intention. Can it for a moment be supposed, that either public or private contributions to the fund, had in contemplation the objects now pursued? and would not the ends of benevolence, justice, and sound policy, be infinitely better answered, by alleviating misery to the utmost limits of liberality, than by offering inadequate rewards to superior meirt?——
I remain, Sir, your faithful and devoted servant, W. C.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

French Annual Exposé, *at the Opening of the Session of the Legislative Body at Paris, March* 3, 1805. *(Concluded from p.* 480.*)*

The first has already enlivened all those those countries, to which it promises a new existence; the second connecting with the Loire and the Vilaine, will terminate in four channels at the sea, and will convey from all quarters to the western departments, the productions of commerce, and naval stores. Several others are projected, as that of the Censee, destined to unite the Sambe and the Scheldt; that of Ypres, which will shorten the communication of Lisle with the sea; those which are to be carried along the Haisne, the Vesle, and the Aisne; and, lastly, the lateral canal of the Loire, going from Digouin to Briare, and rendering easy and practicable, in every season, the navigation of the most beautiful and changeable of our rivers.—History has preserved the names of the princes, who, in ancient times rendered their reigns illustrious by similar works; he most flourishing states are indebted to them for their internal prosperity. What a glorious futurity is promised to French industry, by a solicitude which thus extends and multiplies them, amidst so many other cares, in every part of the empire.——
If you cast your eyes on our ports, you will see that exertions are making on both seas, to render them more accessible, more commodious, and more secure. Basins are digging at Antwerp; sluices and canals are forming Antwerp, Dieppe, Ostend, Dunkirk, and Havre. At Honfleur, Bordeaux, Nice, Hulingnen, Belle-isle, Ajaccio, and Bastia, quays are constructed, and jetties or moles lengthened or rebuilt. All these different kinds of works are carrying on at Rochelle. The cleansing of the ports of Cette and Marseilles is continued, and that of Oleron is enlarging. The ports of Diclette and Casteret are prepared in such a manner as to be capable of receiving a great number of vessels and gun-boats, which will alarm the inhabitants of the English islands of Jersey and Guernsey, as those at Boulogne menace Dover and London. The soundings taken at Bruc have afforded satisfactory results; the Rhone will have a port. Engineers have examined what improvements it is possible to make in that of Genoa. Six millions eight hundred and fifty thousand francs have been expended on the military ports. This sum has been principally applied in the excavations, the jetties of the Mole, the construction of the outer port and basin, and the foundation of the new port, Bonaparte, which, destined to complete this beautiful maritime creation, and worthy of his name, will be, on the Channel, the terror of England; at Boulogne, the basin and the sluice, the completion of the works which constitute the whole of the port, and the construction of the establishments by which it is sur-

rounded; at Ambleteuse, the works necessary for deepening the port, the elevation of the jetty, which protects it from the sand driven against it by the west winds, the line-walls, and the buildings; at Brest, the formation of an artificial island, the excavations in the rock, the hospitals, the magazines, the arsenal, the barracks, and the completion of the batteries; at Antwerp, the continuations of the rapid works, which are to form the arsenal of our marine, on the North Sea, the erection of quays and work-shops; in the road of Rochefort, the jetties on which Fort Bayard is to be erected, and the operations of every kind required by this difficult construction.——Eleven other points have constantly had works in activity; Ostend, for the completion of the batteries, and the formation of a marine hospital; Dunkirk, for cleansing and repairs; Etaples, for the establishment of a powder magazine; Havre, for the maintenance of its establishments; l'Orient, for the erection of an armoury, and the repairs of its buildings; Rochefort, for the repair of the quays, the enclosure of the arsenal, &c.; Toulon, for the construction of the general magazine which was burned, the building for the great masts, and the works for raising four vessels, by which it was obstructed. This port, one of the most beautiful works of art and nature, recovered from its disasters, will soon be free from every vestige of them; the same hand which took it from the enemy, will restore it to its former prosperity.——The erection of 125 weighing machines, 100 of which have already reached the places of their destination, decreed by the laws of the 29th Floreal, year 10, and the 25th Ventôse, year 12, will secure the roads from the injuries committed by the imprudence of carriers, by obliging them to proportion the breadth of their wheels to the weight of their carriages.—— Three telegraphic lines are formed to Brest, Brussels, and Strasburgh; and branches to Boulogne and Cape Grinez. A fourth line will, in six months, extend to Milan, through Lyons and Turin.——The organization of bridges and causeways, established on a plan more extensive, and more regular, decreed in the year 12, and executed in the year 13, insures pensions to old age, rewards to services, advancement to merit, and encouragement to all the engineers; and proportions that corps, throughout the whole extent of France, to the system of the public works. —Two new cities are rising in the bosom of a country, formerly desolated by civil war, and too long a stranger to our commerce, and to our arts, as well as to our manners. Its whole population was fixed upon the coasts; the interior will now be enlivened. In Morbihan, Napoleonville is proceeding upon the plans decreed this year; it is already advanced. Military structures and civil edifices are erecting there—the Lyceum is ready for the reception of one hundred and fifty pupils. Situated in the centre of the new canals of ci-devant Bretagne, Napoleonville will, in peace, be the centre of an extended commerce; in war, an imposing military centre, a depôt for the equipment of our marine. La Vendée hails the birth of its new capital; the city of Napoleon has beheld the foundations laid for all the great establishments which are suited to its destiny, and are capable of vivifying the department, of which it is the centre. Issuing from a forest, formerly deserted, it will summon the bustle of commerce, by the roads that will cross each other under its walls; it will behold its happy situation resorted to, by a population, faithful and devoted to the Prince, who has restored to it, religion, tranquillity, and abundance.—The Emperor has given permission for his name to be impressed on those two magnificent works, as on two unperishable medals: they will revive the recollection of great calamities completely retrieved.—But here, and it is necessary to declare it boldly to the nation, that its safety requires that a numerous army should be kept on foot; that fleets should be constructed, and seamen raised to protect our commerce, our colonies, and our rights. These circumstances require productive finances. The Emperor thinks eight hundred millions will be necessary in time of war, and upwards of six hundred during peace; as the fate of a country should never be left to the mercy of an obscure plot, nor any intrigue of a cabinet; but in all cases, it should be ready to make head against any storm, and silence the jealous clamours of its enemies.—It is the will of the Emperor, as well as the desire of the whole nation, to augment our navy; and, as we lost some ships in the late engagements, it is a new motive for redoubling our ardour. A great number of our cruizers are scouring the seas, and have attacked the commerce of our enemies in the remotest regions. Our whole flotilla shall shortly revive by the return to its banks of the conquerors of Ulm and Austerlitz. But all those warlike measures shall be nothing more than measures to peace, and even of a moderate peace, in which we shall secure the pledge of not being surprised and seized upon under the most vain and perfidious pretences; it were otherwise better to endure still the miseries of war, rather than make a peace which

would expose us to new losses, and afford fresh aliment to the bad faith and avarice of our enemies.—The union of Piedmont with France, two years ago, rendered necessary the union of Genoa, which is a part of it. That of the city of Genoa, for a long time occupied by the French, and defended by them during the second coalition, is a consequence of the will and independence of that republic. This union does not increase our strength on the Continent; England alone had the right to complain of it; nor was it the cause of the war just terminated. The union took place in June, and in the month of April, the cabinet of Petersburg had been seduced by the intrigues of England. The abasement of France, the dispossessing her of her provinces, was decreed. It was not only the kingdom of Italy, of which they would have deprived us; Piedmont, Savoy, the Duchy of Nice, even Lyons, and the united departments, Holland, Belgia, the fortresses on the Meuse, these were the conquests prescribed to the confederates by England; and to this they certainly would not have confined themselves, if they had triumphed over the perseverance of the French people.—England attaches no great interest to Italy. Belgium is the true ground of the hatred which she bears to us.—But Holland, the hundred and ten departments of France, the kingdom of Italy, Venice, Dalmatia, Istria, and Naples, are now under the protection of the Imperial Eagle: and the union of those states only affords us the means of being formidable on our frontiers and coast.—Bavaria, Wirtemberg, Baden, and several of the principal powers of Germany, are our allies. —Spain, firm to its purpose, has manifested a laudable diligence, valour, and fidelity.—In former wars, England and Russia had promised the Emperor of Austria an augmentation in Italy, to draw him into war; but that Monarch, better informed of the state of things, has acknowledged the danger of being in alliance with England, and leaves all the affairs of Italy to France: having merely gained re-possession of his states through the moderation and magnanimity of the Emperor, he knows that he can only find in the friendship of France, the repose and happiness which his subjects want more than any other nation in Europe.—The Emperor of Russia, unable to do us harm, will feel, that the true policy of his country is concentered in the friendship of France; every thing, as well as his genuine glory, is concentered in the liberation of the seas, and in the refusal to recognise principles which are detrimental even to the smallest states, and which has led them to sustain bombardments and blockades, rather than submit to acknowledge these principles.—The Emperor, after each victory, offered peace to Austria. He also offered it to Naples before the war—peace violated as soon as sworn, and which has produced the downfal of that house. He also offers it to England. He does not mean to force that power to proceed from the prodigious changes made in India, as little as Austria and Russia from the partition of Poland; but he has a right to refuse to recede from the alliances and unions which form the new federative systems of the French empire.—Turkey has continued under the yoke of Russia; and it was the Emperor's chief aim, by getting Dalmatia into his hands, to be ready to protect the most ancient of our allies, and to enable him to maintain his independence, which is of more importance to France than to any other power.—The first coalition, terminated by the treaty of Campo Formio, had the favourable issue for France of the acquisition of Belgium, the frontier-separation of the Rhine, the bringing of Holland under the federative influence of France, and the conquest of the states now forming the kingdom of Italy.—The second coalition gave it Piedmont; the third brings Venice and Naples under the federative system.—Let England be finally convinced of her imbecility: let her not try to operate a fourth coalition, if it were, in the nature of things, possible to renew it.—Such have been the exertions of government for the glory and prosperity of France; the Emperor looks only to what remains to be done, which he considers as superior to what he has already performed; but it is not conquest that he projects. He has exhausted military glory. He wants none of those bloody laurels, which he has been compelled to gather.—To perfect the public administration; to make it a source of lasting happiness for his people, as well as of an increasing prosperity; to render his acts the lesson and the example of a pure and elevated morality; to merit the blessings not only of the present, but future generations, whose interests ever occupy his mind: such is the glory which he aims to possess; such is the recompence which he promises himself, for a life devoted to the most noble, but, at the same time, the most painful duties.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX. No. 17.] LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" I shall be satisfied, if ministers (the Addingtons) will take up the matter (the seizure of " the Carnatic by Lord Wellesley) in such a way as to bring it to a full and fair investiga- " tion; but, if they do not, I pledge myself to take it up in such a way, that, if the go- " vernment of India has been guilty of the inordinate acts which are now charged upon " them, the British nation, at least, shall be rescued from the suspicion of giving counte- " nance to acts so flagrant and atrocious."——MR. SHERIDAN'S Speech in the House of Commons, 28th of June, 1802.

" I retain all my former sentiments respecting the transactions in the Carnatic; but, I have " expressed, in confidence, to the honorable gentleman (Mr. Francis), the impropriety of " introducing any subject that would have a tendency to divide His Majesty's ministers at " this important crisis. A time may come, perhaps, when the subject may be taken up " with advantage, but I do not think that the present moment is a favorable one."—— MR. SHERIDAN'S Speech in the House of Commons, 22d April, 1806.

" But, gentlemen, what ought most powerfully to attract your attention, is, that His " Majesty's ministers, that the men to whose hands are committed the receipt and the dis- " bursement of that immense amount of taxes, which are taken from the fruit of your " labour, have, from the first moment to the present, exerted their power and their in- " fluence to the utmost stretch, for the purpose of screening Lord Melville."——MR. Fox's Speech to the electors of Westminster, in Palace Yard, 3d May, 1805.

" To all these points we beg the best attention of your honourable House. We beseech " you to pursue with effect what you began with so much honor. We intreat you not to " relax in your efforts till you have brought Viscount Melville to condign punishment, and " given to all, who shall be found to have committed similar crimes, a signal demonstra- " tion, that, in the representatives of the people, instead of abettors of their iniquities, " they will find only the faithful guardians of the nation, and the zealous vindicators of " the laws. And by so doing your petitioners will ever pray."——PETITION OF THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, seconded by Mr. FOX, and presented by him, 3d May, 1805.

" When a bad system has prevailed, the best mode of remedying it is not by impeaching " an individual, but by removing the person who has carried on such a system, and to " take care that none such shall be acted upon in future..... I believe, that, in some " cases, charges against individuals may be brought forward, rather with a view to popu- " larity, than from any very ardent desire to promote the ends of justice..... No " honest man, in a criminal case before the House, would wish to use any other influence " than that derived from the force of truth; and, for this reason, I shall wait till the " whole of the information is before the House, and I highly disapprove of sounding a " trumpet in every stage of the business."——MR. FOX's Speech in the House of Commons 18th April, 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA. (Continued from pages, 171, 197, 237, 303, 368, 460, 530, and 545.) On Friday, the 18th instant, a debate took place in the House of Commons, upon a motion, made by Mr. Paull for the production of papers relative to the conduct of Marquis Wellesley towards another of the unfortunate princes of India. In the course of this debate, Mr. Francis took occasion to repeat, that, having published his speech of the 5th of April last, in which speech the conduct of Lord Wellesley was condemned in the most unqualified terms, Mr. Fox, after having read that speech, in a pamphlet, told him Mr. Francis, that the speech was *unanswerable*. This opinion, thus deliberately given, Mr. Francis certainly meant the House to compare with Mr. Fox's present conduct, with regard to Lord Wellesley; and, the effect of such comparison, the reader will already have felt in his own mind. Mr. Fox, having evidently made up his mind to go the full length, through the whole of the question, rose, and said, that, the speech referred

to, he did say was unanswerable, but, he meant of course, that it was unanswerable, "*unless some one should be able to answer it*"! Whether we should call this a mental reservation, or by what other name we should denominate it, is a question that one would like to refer to some Doctor of St. Omer's, if that celebrated seminary were not, unhappily, no longer in existence.—— He said, that, if he approved of Mr. Francis's speech upon the whole, he *particularly* approved of that part of it, wherein the honourable gentleman expressly declined the intention of impeaching Lord Wellesley.—— The whole of this speech of Mr. Fox was curious in the highest degree. Some of its most prominent sentiments will be found in the last paragraph of my motto. I have stated them as I find them in the newspapers; and I do sincerely wish, that I could doubt of the correctness of the statement; but, to my great grief and mortification, I myself heard them uttered. Upon these sentiments it was my intention to make some observations; but, having received, from a real friend of Mr. Fox; from a friend long disinterestedly attached to him, a letter, addressed to that gentleman upon the subject, I will insert the letter here, word for word, and, whatever may be whispered in the hear of Mr. Fox, however he may flatter himself, or be soothed by the flattery of others, I venture to affirm, that this man expresses the opinions and the feelings of *all*, yea of *all* those, whose attachment has hitherto reflected honour upon Mr. Fox.—— "To the Right Honourable Charles James Fox. Sir, when I first saw your name on the list of his Majesty's confidential servants, I was one of those who looked for a most happy result. I had supposed, that the æra had arrived, when the country might expect to see realized, what the promise of many years had held out: that there would be a speedy enquiry into, and a thorough remedy of all subsisting abuses. But I am concerned to find, from your late parliamentary declarations, that our hopes, here, are to be sadly disappointed: and that we are to behold the disinterested patriot, dwindling, from paltry personal considerations, into the dependant of a party, and into the defender of those abuses, which he solemnly pledged himself to reform.——I do not mean to say, sir, because you had once stood forth, as the advocate of supposed Eastern wrongs, that you should volunteer your services, without a knowledge of the subject, or a conviction of the merits of it, in the support of every case, wherein prejudice or partiality should think fit to demand them. But though you have not accepted, nor are bound by any general retainer; we surely might have expected from Mr. Fox another sort of declaration, than that which he has made; which is not only at war with all his former principles, but with every notion of justice and of right; which would not only go to discourage every enquiry, but to protect every delinquent; whatsoever might be his offences or his crimes.——You have shewn no shame,—but have assumed, Sir, rather a pride, in the public dereliction of sentiment. For you have applauded the conduct of your former colleague, (Mr. Francis) on the question of the Mahratta war, because he saught not in the investigation, to involve the advisers of that unhappy measure in the pains of a criminal prosecution. You have expressed yourself satisfied, that the author of the mischief, if it were any, had been driven from his office. Your argument deems it sufficient to cut off the existing evil, without examining how it originated, or preventing, by wholesome correctives, the possible recurrence of it.—That it is enough in all bad measures, to take away the framers of them, so as to leave, no doubt, a *free circulation* of *offices*:—that this may be convenient for placemen, we will not deny, but that this is a doctrine to be favoured by the minister of the day, is too intolerable to bear.——What, Sir, are men to be permitted to go from one enormity to another (for to such an extent does your argument proceed), and when the measure of their sins is full, that, gorged with gain, and bloated with blood, they be allowed to retire from their situations, to the enjoyment of their well-earned wealth, in peace and in impunity?——That they be dismissed in course, with

"Ediști satis atque bibisti,
"Tempus abire.'

Thus, the only security against future maladministration, is the expected virtue of the new minister; in which, it is not very impossible, as I have shewn, that we may eventually be deceived. But what, in such an order of things, should insure the right use of power in the successor? Certainly not the escape or immunity of his predecessor. He is to be left at large; and if the example teach him any thing, it is this: "Go and do thou likewise!"—To this strange doctrine of the inviolability of the persons of governors, you have added something yet more strange as to the consideration of their offences: I allude, Sir, to your declaration about *systems*. You have stated,—giving a seeming credit to the acts

of the late Governor-General of India, which you confess that you have not yet considered,—that, sick of impeachments, you are not inclined to impeach any governor, merely for the system of his government. This avowal may square, perhaps, with your present notions of responsibility, but cannot be reconciled to any received opinion of mankind.——What! if a man lay down a *rule* of rapine and of murder,—which, I think, is your argument,—and have nerve and hardihood enough to pursue it, in an undeviating course, and with laudable and persevering industry, that he shall find, in the continuation of his enormities, the exculpation and expiation of his guilt! that is—a puny, solitary sin, may be prosecuted to conviction and the scaffold; but when a bold and barefaced crime is kept in countenance by a hundred brethren of the same dye, it is to lose, in the new school of morality, the opprobrium and the name of guilt, and to be dignified with the appellation of a liberal and enlightened *system*—worthy of approbation, and exempt from vulgar sanction. This is a principle which few would dare to broach; and none, with less ability than you possess, could possibly attempt to vindicate.—I have sought not, in what I have just written, to pronounce an opinion, one way or other, on the merits or demerits of Lord Wellesley's government; but to acquaint you, that your friends have noticed your extraordinary assertions on this head, with concern and regret; for the meanest capacity must be sensible, that your new principle, in every application of it, but more particularly to the affairs of a distant government, is replete with danger. Incalculable mischief might be committed in India, before the report of it could reach the mother-country; and before the author of it could be removed, the evil might become irremediable. I think it may be added, that there can be no chance of a pure government in the East, but by teaching governors, by severe, but salutary examples, that, as the national confidence is particularly reposed in them, the abuse of their power will be visited by a punishment suitable to their crimes."—— The words, as quoted from Mr. Fox's speech in Palace Yard, I myself heard, and very much approved of. I was one amongst those who signed the petition; and what, then, must be my sentiments at hearing the speech last quoted! It is easy for the sycophants of Whitehall to impute to me "*a "love of opposition:*" it is easy for them to say, that I "*must always be in opposi-*"*tion:*" but, I can assure them, that these imputations and assertions will in no wise serve their purpose: the public will see the consistency of my conduct, and, in spite of all such imputations, they will applaud it. My wish, and my confident expectation was, not to be in what is called opposition, and, of this, I am certain the ministers themselves are well convinced; but, if the choice lies between going into opposition, and an abandonment of my principles, no one man whom I respect will think it necessary for me to hesitate. Mr. Fox's conduct has given me great pain. I do not say this by way of trick. He knows that I do not. He knows that I always expected a *change of system*, and especially a rigorous pursuit of *all* peculators, a rigid inquiry into, and correction of, all abuses that were known to exist, and particularly those abuses which tended to burden the already over-burdened people. I was always of opinion, an opinion a hundred times over expressed, that, without this, it were better that no change of men should take place. This opinion might be erroneous. I think, that it was not so. But, be that as it may, it was my expressed opinion; and, therefore, for the sycophants of Whitehall now to pretend that *I have changed*, merely from a love of opposition, can be regarded as nothing more than a proof that they have not one single argument on their side.—— We now come to the debate of Monday, the 21st instant, upon a motion of Lord Archibald Hamilton for producing, upon the table of the House of Commons, a copy of the *intended dispatch* of the Court of Directors to Lord Wellesley, dated 3d of April, 1805. This motion was, as usual, resisted by Mr. Fox. His reason may easily be guessed at, when it is known, that he was most loudly cheered by Lord Temple; or, better, perhaps, when the reader has considered the reasons for producing it, as stated in page 545 and the following. Upon this occasion Mr. Windham and Dr. Laurence stood forth in the cause of fair investigation. They broke loose from the shackles that appear to have been, and still to be, so powerful. Mr. Wilberforce and several other independent members of parliament supported the motion. The debate closed with a division, which produced only 27 votes for it, while there were 121 against it. Those who voted in the minority were as follow:

Andover, Lord	Moore, P.
Babington, T.	Paull J.
Fane, ——	Porcher, J. D.
Fonblanque, J.	Praed, W.
Francis, P.	Prinsep, J.
Fuller, J.	Roberts, J.
Grant, C.	Thellusson, G. W.
Hudleston, J.	Thornton, A.
Hutchinson, C. H.	Wilberforce, W.

Inglis, Sir H.	Windham, W.
Keck, A.	*Tellers.*
Laurence, F.	
Mills, C.	Hamilton, Lord A.
Mills, W.	Johnstone, G.

——The *intended dispatch* is not, however, to be thus kept from the light. Many persons have now copies of it, thanks to the East India Directors and to the press! Mr. Wellesley Pole has since said, in parliament, that he understands that *four clerks were employed to copy this paper, at Mr Budd's in Pall Mall.* And what then? The reason of employing four clerks in preference to one clerk is evident; namely, because four clerks can copy faster than one clerk. And, as to the *place*; why not at No. 100, Pall Mall, as well as at any other place? It is true, that Mr. Wellesley Pole might tell us, that such a thing would not have been done *in Calcutta*, especially while Lord Wellesley was the Governor-General; but, I appeal to the reader, whether, at the very outset of this struggle, I, for my part, did not caution the "Body-Guard," the famous, ever famous Body-Guard, to recollect, that they were no longer in Calcutta? I refer to page 174 of this volume, where the reader will see, that I threw out this caution. The truth is, that, if it had not been for those fine *Regulations relative to the Press*, which were established, and rigidly enforced in India, and which have so much astonished people here, since they were published in the present volume, page 374; had it not been for this dreadful system of suppression, the *intended dispatch* would never have existed; for the acts which it condemns never could have been committed; and, I fear not to say, that, from the total destroying, or, not suffering to exist, the liberty of the press in India, the people of England will have to pay millions upon millions of money. Mr. Sheridan, whom, perhaps, I shall notice again by-and-by, makes much-a-do about the liberty of the press; but, not a word does he say about the press in Calcutta, though he must, one would think, have read the Regulations referred to! Is this, too, necessary for the preservation of "harmony "amongst his Majesty's ministers" (God save the mark!) "at this important crisis?"

——Leaving Mr. Sheridan, for the present, we will come to the debate upon the production of Mr. Paull's First *Charge*, on Tuesday, the 22d instant; and, first of all, I here insert a sketch of the charge itself, exactly as I find it in the report of the proceedings, as given in THE TIMES newspaper of the 23d inst.——"The hon. member then proceeded to read from a written paper the several heads of charge against Marq. Wellesley, but with a rapidity which rendered it extremely difficult even to catch the substance with any degree of accuracy. The statement commenced with recapitulating the appointment of the Noble Marquis to the chief government of Bengal, about the middle of October, 1797, as successor to Marquis Cornwallis, and that he reached the seat of his government in May, 1798, in which he continued until he was superseded by the Marquis Cornwallis's re-appointment to the government in August, 1805; and that the said Marquis Wellesley, though he was solemnly sworn to obey the instructions of his employers, and do every thing in his power, and to the best of his judgment, to promote and support their just and lawful interests in India, yet instead of so doing, on his arrival in India, he disregarded their authority, disobeyed their instructions, assumed to himself a despotic power, turned his back upon the true interests of the Company, and did without their permission, and contrary to their instructions, for the gratification of his own caprice, with the most flagitious profusion, and for corrupt purposes, squander the money of the said Company to an enormous extent. It recited also the charter granted to the company by parliament in the year 1793, upon the express condition that, in consideration thereof, the company should annually pay to the government, out of the surplus profits of their trade, after deducting the necessary expenses of conducting their affairs, the sum of 500,000l. annually; the assets of the company in England to be answerable for such payment, and subject to an interest of 15 per cent.: but that in case of a war in India, or any other reasonable cause to prevent the regular payment of the said annual sum, upon representation from the company to his Majesty's ministers, it should be lawful to defer the payment, and the debt so due to be funded by the company, as due to the government, charged with an interest of 6 per cent. But that the company had never paid any part of that sum. In consequence, a debt to government of six millions had accrued; but the deficiency of surplus, and the consequent inability of the company to pay this sum, had not arisen from any cause of war, but entirely from the misconduct of the said Marquis Wellesley, who had most profusely, lavishly, and shamefully squandered the property of the company, and neglected those interests which, by engagements the most solemn, he had sworn to promote with vigilance and economy; whereby the said company were not only in-

" volved in a debt of several millions to the " government, but debts also, to the amount " of many millions, had been incurred in " India, at an increasing interest of 6, 8, " 10, and 12 per cent. The result of which " was, that the debt of the company, which, " on the accession of Marquis Wellesley to " the Indian government in 1798, stood at " 11,033,648l. was, on his departure from " that government in 1805, increased to " above 31,000,000l. That when Mar- " quis Wellesley first arrived in India, every " part of the company's affairs wore an as- " pect of prosperity: it had, therefore, only " remained for him to have acted with an " ordinary vigilance, and to have followed " the example and the system of his noble " predecessor, the Marquis Cornwallis. In- " stead of which, the said Marquis Welles- " ley, by wantonly and profusely increasing " the public expenditure, did not only " squander all the ordinary means in his " hand, but all the additional money he was " able to raise by loans and additional taxes, " supporting a wanton and profuse style of " living, unparalleled in the case of any " former chief governor of that country, " insomuch that he was driven by his extra- " vagance to attempt the selling of the im- " posts upon the lands of Bengal, and he so " much embarrassed the finances and affairs " of the company, as to endanger the loss of " their territory. The statement next pro- " ceeded to recapitulate the contents of the " letter received by the Court of Directors " from the Marquis Cornwallis, dated in " August, 1805, when sent out to India for " the purpose of superseding Marquis Wel- " lesley, in which he gives a deplorable " statement of the company's affairs, arising " entirely from the profusedness of his " predecessor in squandering the resources " of the company, one branch of which was " his keeping up unnecessarily an army of " irregular troops, at an enormous expense, " which the Marquis Cornwallis found it " absolutely necessary to disband, in order " to avoid losing the means of defraying the " charges indispensable for the maintenance " of the regular army. The Noble Mar- " quis, in disbanding those troops, stated, " that he adopted the measure unavoidably, " as the lesser evil, at the risque, certainly, " of their engaging in other service inimi- " cal to the company, but considering them " much less formidable to meet in the field, " than to retain them in pay, at an expense " which must absorb the means of paying " the regular army; that in order to clear " the arrears of pay due to those irregulars, " he had been under the absolute necessity " of detaining the treasure of the company " destined for the China trade, to the " amount of 250,000l. Having gone " through many other items on the letter of " Marquis Cornwallis, already before the " public, the statement next alluded to the " war which broke out in the month of " March, 1799, with Tippoo Sultan, which " ended with the taking of Seringapatam " and the death of that tyrant; that the " consequence of that war was, that enor- " mous sums of money were extorted by " order of Marquis Wellesley from the " Nabobs of Oude, Arcot, Ferruckabad, " and some others, after which commenced " the Mahratta war in 1804, which was " terminated in the course of the year; and " so far from the expenses of those wars " being the cause of those embarrassments " of the company's affairs already stated, it " appeared, from letters of Lord Wellesley " himself to the Court of Directors, that, " by the treaty of Hyderabad, the annual " revenues in the provinces that then be- " came tributary increased their income " above 544,000l. a year, and therefore " that any argument founded upon the pre- " tence of warlike expenses could not, as " would appear from Marquis Wellesley's " own letter, dated the 1st of September, " 1803, interfere with the causes of the ina- " bility of the company to pay their annual " engagements to the state. That except " the wars before mentioned, the said Mar- " quis Wellesley was engaged in no other " war during the period of his government, " except that with Holkar, if war it could " be called, and except that with the Rajah " of Bhurtpore, in which the only loss sus- " tained was the loss of lives and of ho- " nour. That therefore, not wars, but the " unexampled prodigality and wanton pro- " fusion of the Marquis, were the true " causes of the embarrassment of the com- " pany's affairs; a profusion and extrava- " gance engaged in with the most sinister, " vicious, and corrupt views, and indefiance " of the authority, and in contempt of the " orders of his employers. The embarrass- " ment partly arose from new-modelling " the Criminal Courts of Bengal; from in- " creasing, wantonly and unnecessarily, the " number of their officers, and giving large " salaries to his friends and favourites; in " the expenditure of an enormous sum for " the establishment of packets, and grant- " ing large salaries and sinecures to his fol- " lowers, (amongst which was the grant of " 1500l. a year to Sir William Burroughs), " amounting altogether to the sum of " 1,300,000l.; the erection of a College at " Fort William, without the authority of the " company, which cost 181,689l.; an un-

" necessary journey of the Noble Marquis, " in 1801, to the Upper Provinces, in which " the most extravagant expenditure has ta- " ken place, one item of which was for " 1100 boats, and the whole charge 30,000l. " There was a charge also of 220,000l. for " the erecting and fitting up of a palace for " the residence of the Marquis, which was " decorated in a stile of splendour unparal- " leled even among Eastern Princes. There " was a charge for a house and garden, for " the Noble Marquis at Bhurtpore, 15,000l. " Besides all this, there was a charge for re- " viving a body guard of cavalry, which had " been put down by Sir John Shore, who, " on a principle of economy, was satisfied " to be attended on state occasions by a par- " ty of the garrison, commanded by a cap- " tain: but Marquis Wellesley resolved to " revive this body, and to increase his own " splendour; and it was maintained, for " the first five years, at an annual expense " of 40,800l. and for the whole period, in- " cluding for horses, accoutrements, and " outfit, the sum of 240,000l. There was " also a large sum advanced by the Marquis " for building a town-house for the citizens " of Calcutta, the cost of which was after- " wards to be reimbursed by them in such " subscriptions as could be obtained within " four years; a statue of Lord Cornwallis " was designed to be erected in the town- " house, instead of which it was thrown " amongst the rubbish, in the vaults under " the building, and an expensive statue of " Lord Wellesley erected in its place, and " this at a time when an arrear of five " months pay was due to the troops. The " next charge against him was the appoint- " ment of his brother, the Honourable Hen- " ry Wellesley, in 1801, to the government " of Oude, with the title of Governor and " Commander-in-Chief, and at an expense " in thirteen months of above 26,000l. " which exceeded the annual allowance of " the company to the gov.-general. He " arbitrarily retained in his own hands, to " the exclusion of all authority or interfe- " rence from the court, to the amount of " 628,206l. per annum, and under the in- " fluence which such a patronage enabled " him to exert, he procured addresses from " every part of the country, in approbation " of his justice, conduct, and services; and " further, although the trade laws of the " country strictly forbade him to accept any " money from the people of the country in " consideration of his official authority, yet " he received for the luxuries of the table, " and other purposes of his own private " gratification, no less a sum than 120,000l. " and while he was thus misapplying such " enormous sums of the company's proper- " ty to the most corrupt and profligate pur- " poses, and for the maintenance of his " household and establishment in the most " gorgeous style of splendour and profusion, " he was supporting those extravagancies by " loans borrowed in the name of the com- " pany, nominally at an interest of 12 per " cent. but, from the manner in which they " were raised, at a real interest of 16 per " cent. Throughout he had set at nought " the authority of his employers, and acted " in direct opposition to his instructions. " Mr Paull concluded his statement (in " which, we fear, we have been able but " very imperfectly to follow him) by saying " he had read it as part of his speech, and should " now move that it be ordered to lie on the ta- " ble."—It will be observed, that the reporter himself apologizes for the probable errors that may have been made by him, and, indeed, where he mentions Lord Cornwallis as the *immediate predecessor* of Lord Wellesley, he must have been in error; for, surely Mr. Paull must have known, that Sir John Shore was that immediate predecessor; and, it appears, that so he must have been represented in the charge itself; for, in two or three of the other newspapers that I have seen, the like error does not prevail. I take the report of THE TIMES, however, because it is the fullest; and, as balance against the weight of the charge, I think it proper to state, that the friends of Lord Wellesley boldly asserted, that none of the allegations could be proved; but, on the other side, Mr. Robert Thornton (one of the Directors) declared, that he had then *in his pocket* the documents to support many of those allegations.——Now, whether these allegations can be supported, is a question, which, as yet, I am unable to decide: but, *if they can* be supported; if they *be* supported; if the *truth* of them, or of *any of them*, be established, I am sure that there is good ground for the proceeding that Mr. Paull is labouring to bring about; and, I am sure, too, that the whole of the honest and independent part of the nation will thank him for his exertions; for, blind as the people may have been; stupid as they may be thought; wretched tools as they may sometimes have been rendered of professing patriots; they will scarcely be so stupid as to approve, at one and the same time, of winking at acts like those described in the charge, and of the carpentering and smithery that are going on in Westminster Hall. " Mr. Cobbett seems " to have dropped Lord Melville," said, I am told, a Whitehall sycophant, the other day. Drop him! aye, and why should I not drop him? Have I not seen you, you

who hunted him down, making a poor feeble resistance to the resolution for building a monument, at the expense of the people, to that "excellent statesman," who, being his superior in office, winked at his transactions, and who defended him to the last gasp? Have I not seen you amongst the foremost to vote away our money to pay the debts of the man, who, being duly apprized of Lord Melville's misapplying the public money, never attempted to put a stop to it, and who himself lent 40,000l. of that money, to two members of parliament, without interest? Have I not seen you pressing forward, in perfect rivalship, to recognize the "*merits*," the public merits, of this man, and to record that recognition by a grant of 40,000l. of the people's money, without one single document, whereon to found such grant? And, after having seen this; after having seen many of you voting even for the statue, am I still to applaud your motives for pursuing Lord Melville; especially when I see what you are now doing with regard to the motions of Mr. Paull?——To return to the debate upon the *Charge*; Mr. Fox complained, that so much statement by way of *proof* was introduced into it, alluding to the very important extract from Lord Cornwallis's letter. But, surely this gentleman forgot, as completely as he did the speech in Palace Yard, that, in the Charge which he himself drew up against Mr. Hastings, *ten times as much* statement by way of proof was introduced; and, why was not Mr. Paull to avail himself of the precedent? How comes it that he has less privilege than Mr. Fox had?——Another, that the main objection, was, that there were no documents upon the table, whereby to support the Charge. Strange, that both these objections should have come from the same lips! But, this inconsistency aside, is it not notorious, that, as Mr. Paull observed, he has been over and over again reproached with calling for papers for the purpose of "*fishing* out" the means of making a charge? "Why do you not bring your charges?" This is a question, which, as the nation will bear witness, has been put to him five or six times of an evening. Well! here, then, he has brought a charge, and he tells you, that, if you give him the official documents that he calls for, he will make it good to the last syllable. No: he must *now* bring the proof first, and the Charge afterwards! The House was said, by one or two, to be in the capacity of a Grand Jury, and that, *therefore*, the documents in proof should come first. It was odd enough to hear this, after one had, only the night before, heard it agreed, upon the very same ground, that the *intended dispatch*, one of the important documents, ought *not* to be produced! But I appeal to the reader; for, where is the Englishman, to whose mind the *principles* of our jurisprudence are not familiar? I appeal to the reader whether, according to the notions which he, from his cradle upwards, has imbibed, Mr. Paull's mode of proceeding was not regular and fair? A Grand Jury! Well! and, before any evidence is called for, is not the bill of indictment, with all its awful and terrible allegations first *received* and *read?* What follows *next?* The evidence; the *ex parte* evidence, in support of the allegations. This, then, if it be (though contrary to every principle of the constitution) resolved to make the parliament bend to the rules of a mere court of law, is precisely the course which Mr. Paull has pursued. And yet a cry of unfairness is set up against him, and by those, too, be it remembered, who have, a hundred times called on him to bring forward his charges, for that his calls for *papers* appeared to be without end!——But, said Mr. Fox (for all the others we will pass over), you have called for volumes of papers relating to *other parts* of the Marquis's conduct; why not bring your charges upon them first? To express no surprize (for nothing of that sort ought now to surprize us) at a question so unconstitutional in its tendency, the answer is two-fold; first, that Mr. Paull thought, apparently, that, to bring forward this charge at the end of his list, was most likely to advance the ends of justice; and, second, that many as were the papers that he had *called for* relative to the other charges, none of those papers were, *even at that moment, in the hands of members of that House.* And here is a fact well worthy of the attention of the people, particularly the people of Westminster, those people who used to meet in Palace Yard; which is, that the papers moved for, in this session of parliament, and on the 27th of January and the 7th of February, *in justification* of Lord Wellesley, were produced in five days after the motions were made, and were, in the course of ten days, actually printed and delivered to the members; while (mark the difference!) the papers, which Mr. Paull called for *in the last session of parliament*, and which were then ordered to be printed by a vote of the House of Commons, were not delivered *until last Thursday morning*, and then only in part, though, as to the bulk of them, it is less than that of the papers, in justification, produced, printed, and delivered in the space of *ten days!* This fact I recommend to the people, amongst whom I met in Palace Yard, to petition the House of Commons

to go on in the good work they had begun with regard to Lord Melville, and not to stop till they had made *all* violators of the law feel the vengeance of that law.——In this fact there was quite sufficient cause for Mr. Paull to change his mode of proceeding. He had twenty times, at least (I myself have heard him ten or twelve times), called upon the House to enforce its orders for the delivery of the papers he had moved for. These calls produced new promises and new delays; but, they produced no papers. What was left for him, but to give up his pursuit, or to come at once with his charges? To make the charge first is, too, the regular course. It is the rational way of proceeding. It is sure to put an end to trifling. It is sure to bring forward something in the way of inquiry. And that it is a course which every member of parliament has *a right* to pursue, it were a base abandonment of the privileges of parliament to doubt. Mr. Fox said, to be sure, the honourable gentleman, or any other member, had *a right* to lay a charge upon the table against any person, but, then he did it at his "*peril;*" and so said Mr. Garrow and some others. But, what did they mean by peril? Did they mean, that he exposed himself to the loss of life or limb? What, then? Loss of liberty or property? No: "loss of *character,*" it seems. And, does the Attorney-General lose *his character,* if a criminal happens to escape through his clutches? *Peril,* indeed! Oh, no! Mr. Paull is in no peril; or, if he be, the privilege of impeachment is come to a pretty thing at last. Mr. W. Smith, in the debate of Wednesday evening, made some very just observations upon the manner, in which Mr. Paull had been treated the night before; and the public perfectly agree in opinion with Mr. Smith. The public have felt that treatment as they ought to do. They have not failed to observe upon the unanimity between the Roses the Sheridans the Castlereaghs and the Foxes. Mr. William Smith lamented that Mr. Paull had been so "*rash* as to bring "forward an affair of such magnitude *with-*"*out assistance.*" He wanted no assistance. The charge must be laid upon the table and entered upon the journals as matter of course without any seconding at all! and he was very right in asking no one to second his motion. Assistance! what assistance? We have seen enough of *party* impeachments. What assistance was wanted other than that of the integrity of the House of Commons? His opponents may laugh; they may set up a shout; but let them not think that the victory is theirs. The public will remember, that the laugh which was set up against Mr. Robson (whom I am glad to see again in parliament) was not of long duration. The Addingtons accused him of rashness. A full cry was set up against him. He was told that he had advanced *false accusations.* He was called upon to *retract* his words. He was threatened by the minister with the *censure of the House.* Yet, after all this, he made good his charge, and brought his opponents to the most pitiful and sneaking apologies, having, at the same time, given the clue to those inquiries, in the Naval Treasurer's Department, that have finally produced the erections now going on in Westminster Hall. For this the country will always remain indebted to Mr. Robson. He his worth forty party men; forty speech-makers; forty men of sounding periods and of hollow professions; forty of your men, who have one set of principles for out-of-place, and another set for in-place; forty of your men, who abandon the cause to which they are pledged, for the sake of keeping a ministry together; that is to say, for the sake of keeping their places—Mr. Paull has been tauntingly told, that he came into parliament for the *express purpose* of prosecuting an inquiry with regard to Lord Wellesley. If this be true, it adds greatly to his merit, and ought to add greatly to the gratitude of the country towards him; for, *how few* are those who come into parliament from such motives! He has already done much. Through his exertions the country has become acquainted with the affairs of the East-India Company. They now know the history of the demands upon their labour for the purpose of giving money to that Company. And if Mr. Paull persevere, he will render greater services to England than has ever been rendered to it by all the speech-makers that ever existed. He has, in no instance, been presumptuous. He has, at every stage of the business, expressed his wish to see the cause in abler hands; he has repeatedly called for aid, and he has never found it. Now he does not want it. Let him proceed steadily forward, and, if his charge, if only this one charge, or any considerable part of it, be true, he will have his reward in the lasting gratitude of every honest man in England.—The state of these proceedings, at present is this: the charge lies upon the table and will be inserted and printed in the Journals of the House; but, the motion for *printing it for delivering to the members* has been rescinded upon *the motion of Mr. Sheridan!* The reason given was, that, by getting into print, it would, for *several months,* be operating to the prejudice of Lord Wellesley, before the documents, in support of it could be produced. And Mr. Sheridan appealed

to his right honourable friend, Mr. Hiley Addington (one of the *paid* members of the Board of Controul), whether the printing of the papers, which have been ordered, would not take up some months; to which Mr. Hiley answered that *it would*; whereupon Mr. Paull observed, that this gentleman could know nothing of the matter, seeing that all the papers were to come from *the India House*, and not from the Board of Controul! When, however, the papers, or any of them, are produced, which will be *next week*, perhaps, then the Charge will be printed; and, having the Charge before him, each member will, as the documents come out, be able to see how far they support it.——Thus has this Charge brought things into a right and regular train. As far as we, out of doors, can come at the facts, we shall now know how to proceed in the making up of our opinions. We shall know how to arrange the objects of our inquiry, We shall know *what to read and to think about*, which, hitherto, we have not known. This Charge is truly a drastic potion, and Mr. Paull must be a *very* unskilful physician, if he be surprised at its gall-stirring effects.——A Quaker, in Philadelphia, used to write to me, about once a week, in these words: "Friend William, keep thyself *cool*." This advice I hand over to Mr. Paull; and, if he follow it, he will see a day when, his present pursuit being over, he will have leisure to laugh, as I frequently have done, and now do, at the ingenious turns and devices of the author of "*The Forty Thieves*."

INSOLVENT DEBTORS.——There is now before the House of Lords, a bill for the release of Insolvent Debtors. This bill was to have been brought in by Lord Moira; but, he being engaged in an official situation, the task has devolved upon LORD HOLLAND, who, in this, as well as in many other instances which have heretofore been noticed in the Register, has, in my opinion, discovered a mind well adapted to subjects above the reach of politicians in general.—— With respect to the *code* of Debtor-Laws, I once thought it (merely because it was English, perhaps) wise and just; but, a more extensive view of the subject, to which I was first led by observations made by Lord Moira, has convinced me of my error; has convinced me, that it is unwise, and unjust, and is in direct hostility with that glorious assemblage of principles, which constitute the common law of England, and which, upheld by the morality of the people, do, more than all other circumstances put together, distinguish the English government from all the other governments in the world. To these principles, breathing freedom in every accent; watching, with never-ceasing solicitude, over personal liberty; barring up every avenue to oppression, from whatever quarter it may come; so nicely and so justly distinguishing between crimes and misfortunes; to these principles what can be so outrageously hostile as that code, which, as to consequences, renders misfortune a crime, and which, for the *crime* of owing ten pounds, exposes an Englishman to be deprived of his personal liberty for life?——For the effects of this terrible code the occasional passing of Insolvent Bills is the only remedy, or rather palliative. In 1804, one of these bills was passed to clear, or, at least, to thin, the crowded prisons. They are now again teeming with tenants, and with misery greater than ever. Yet, in the face of this melancholy fact, certain merchants and traders are, the newspapers tell us, about to petition against Lord Holland's bill; alledging, that it is an *ex post facto* law, and that it will be *injurious to trade!* As to the last mentioned allegation, need I say any thing in answer to those, who would keep six or seven thousand of their countrymen shut up in prison, the wives and children of many of them starving, for the sake of the advancement of trade? Need any thing be said in answer to the expression of a desire, at once so foolish and so detestable?——As to the bill being *ex post facto*; that it is not, because the creditors were fully aware, that it was *customary* to pass acts of Insolvency. Of real injury, the creditor cannot complain, seeing that the debtor is, by the same law that releases him, compelled to give up all his property, real as well as personal, and that, *every thing he may acquire after his release* is liable to be seized by the creditor; which last provision is, in the extreme, unjust towards the debtor, and impolitic with respect to its consequences in the state. Still, however, the enemies of this bill, this act of real humanity and of justice, as far as it goes in favour of the debtor, hold up their *law*, and, like Shylock with his bond in his hand, demand its rigorous execution. But, *who* is it, that thus addresses us? In *whose* behalf is it, that this demand of strict justice; this protest against yielding to the voice of many; in *whose* behalf is it, that these are made to the parliament? In behalf of the *merchants and traders* of England; in behalf of those who have frequently come to that same parliament and asked for the means of saving *them* from ruin, which means, from the fruit of the labour of the people, that parliament have as repeatedly, and without hesitation, granted? Of *ex post facto* laws do *they* com-

plain? What was the law, which, to prevent *them* from ruin, was passed *to make bank notes a legal tender*; a law, which, in a moment, broke the contract between the merchants at the Bank and the holders of their notes; a law which rendered eleven millions worth of promisory notes (payable to bearer in specie) no longer payable in specie? What was *this* law? And yet, this is the description of persons that complain of *ex post facto* laws?——The particular provisions of this bill shall be noticed hereafter, if, indeed, any thing more can be thought necessary than merely to draw the attention of my readers to the subject.——I will just add, that I *am certain*, that the *better* part, and even the *greater* part, of the merchants and traders of England are *in favour* of this bill.

PRUSSIA.——In subsequent pages of this sheet will be found the documents relative to the war with this power. That this war can do us little harm is certain; because the same effects to our trade would have been produced without a war with Prussia. Yet, the main professed *object* of the war does really seem to be quite wild; and, as to the *principle*, upon which it is stated to have been begun by us, I shall be very much surprised, if any man be able to maintain it. The war is *for the Electorate of Hanover*. This is clear, as well from the official note of Mr. Fox as from the tenour of his speech; and, that England may be justified in entering into this war, as the *ally* of Hanover there can be no doubt; but, that she can be considered as the *party injured*, without admitting the *right of conquest*, on the part of France, it is, I think, impossible to maintain. The excluding our vessels from the ports of the North is a good ground of war, in point of right; and without more time to reflect upon the subject, I will not even suppose the measure to be, in that view of it, inexpedient. But, to enter into the war, as a *principal*, on account of the seizure of Hanover, has, as far as I am able to judge, neither right nor expediency on its side.——This opinion, I shall, in my next sheet, endeavour to support by argument; unless I should, in the mean while, hear something to convince me of my error, which error I shall, in such case, not be at all ashamed to confess.——The parliament has, I know, unanimously approved of this war; but, without attempting to trace that unanimity to its *cause*, I must say, that it does not, in the smallest degree, influence my view of the question.

VOLUNTEER RANK.

SIR,——You have several times noticed the impropriety of military rank being given to volunteer officers, as cheapening the honours and rewards bestowed upon the professional soldier, and wounding the feelings of men who have devoted their lives to the painful duties of a military life; but there are other reasons of great weight against the practice. It is wrong, not only in a military but a constitutional view. The conferring such rank serves no useful purpose, but, on the contrary, by extending court influence, has a very ill effect and tendency; the minister therefore who grants it, acts upon an erroneous or a corrupt principle; and the acceptance betrays either an unbecoming hankering after court favours, a silly vanity, or a want of constitutional knowledge. In the militia, army rank, by commissions immediately from the King, was first given in the winter of 1778, or the spring of 1779, to the colonels, many of whom were in parliament, and were not thought to rise in independent spirit, as they rose in imaginary honours. In the succeeding summer, a deputation from the lieutenant-colonels and majors of the camp on Coxheath, in Kent, arrived in the camp on South Sea Common, near Portsmouth, proposing a joint application of all the field-officers of those two ranks throughout the militia, to be made to his Majesty, for army rank under royal commissions; and, doubtless, had there been any value in the thing, those classes had as good pretensions as their colonels. The writer, then one of those to whom the invitation was addressed, opposed the application as altogether improper. Observing to the meeting, that the House of Representatives are, in a legal and constitutional sense, *the Commons in Parliament assembled*; so, he argued, that the militia, or martial representatives of the civil state, were, in a constitutional sense, *the people themselves bearing arms*; whereas the army were a body of men hired and paid by the people for their foreign wars, or other services. The very highest rank in the army was obtained by being selected as guards for the King, who makes but one branch of the government; whereas, it is the office of the militia to guard the whole and every thing vital to the constitution and liberties of the country. Even the whole of the army, the King's guards and all, may at any moment be sent out of the realm on foreign duty, so that even the title of King's guards, did not necessarily and essentially constitute them even the protectors of his person; while, on the other hand, the principles of a militia (although we have seen them since violated) necessarily make it the guardians of the whole government and state; and it is only a corrupt policy that looks for other guardians,

Again, the standing army was a body eyed at all times with so much constitutional jealousy, that this army never had, and he trusted never would have, more than an existence from year to year, wholly dependent upon the legislature, whether it should or should not have a being; whereas the arms-bearing of the people was at all times an inherent right, and essential to the preservation of their freedom. For these reasons it must be seen, that nothing but an unacquaintance with our constitution, or vanity, or a servile mind, could court a distinction peculiar to a class of men, who embracing arms as a profession or trade, have, during their continuance in the army, sold their freedom to advance their fortunes, and parted with their independence with views of ambition or military fame; and that, so far from soliciting army rank, if offered them, it ought to be rejected as a bait to break down their independence and an encroachment on their liberties. Suffice it to say, to the honour of the second and third rank of field-officers of that time, nothing more was heard of a desire for army rank.——PRO LEGIBUS ET LIBERTATE.

PAPER CURRENCY.

SIR,——The present state of paper currency is an evil of the greatest magnitude, and calls for immediate remedy. It oppresses and impoverishes the people, to support in luxury an army of speculators, quartered in every town in the kingdom, who not only circulate their paper to an enormous amount, and thereby enhance the price of every article of consumption, but charge an interest to the public for the mere exchange of paper. If individuals put their names to paper, and circulate it as a matter of mutual accommodation, they must pay interest for the money raised thereon. This is bad enough; because it puts the man of real property and him of no property upon a footing, and the speculator will engage in hazardous enterprises, to the great injury of the fair trader, possessing property of his own, who would not put it to that risk. But a country banker circulates his paper, not only without paying interest for the money received upon it, but absolutely charges interest for it. Individuals engaged in mines, iron works, large manufactories, and even traders in country towns, set up for bankers, pay all their workmen with their notes, and if they discount bills, it is done with their own paper. It is a fact too notorious to be denied, that little else is in circulation throughout the country. I have known instances myself, where the people have such an objection to bank notes, that they would not be prevailed upon to take any, not even one for commodities manufactured by them and brought to a public market, while they took the provincial notes without scruple. This arises from the apprehension of forged bank notes, which apprehension the country bankers encourage as much as possible. The cause of this immense circulation of paper, is undoubtedly the restriction of the Bank of England from paying in cash, which leaves the people the choice of the two, and they prefer the provincial to bank notes. This restriction gives a great advantage to the Bank of England, and consequently a loss to the public; and if they are suffered to continue to enjoy this advantage, surely some measures should be adopted to prevent individuals from fleecing the public in this manner. The restriction on the Bank is the cause of the increase of not only bank notes, but of the provincial paper: the increased quantity of paper enhances the price of commodities; the Bank and country bankers receive 5 per cent. for exchanging paper, that is, 5 per cent. for nothing. This produces an immense advantage to them, consequently a loss to individuals and the nation. If the government connive at, and encourage these nefarious practices, *they* will, of course, support the government, however incapable or vicious. Before the restriction on the Bank, when the circulation of paper was left to its free operation, the increase of paper denoted the increase of wealth: now the reverse, for this plain reason; the Bank, as well as every private banker, while liable to pay in cash, were obliged to keep a certain quantity of cash by them to answer the demands made upon them, which must bear a proportion to the paper in circulation; and when they increased their paper, they must keep a proportionate increase of cash on hand, consequently, the more the paper in circulation increased, the cash on hand increased also; now, not being liable to pay in cash, they may increase their paper with impunity. The quantity of paper therefore in circulation, instead of representing the wealth of the nation, indicates its poverty, and gives a most dangerous influence over the government itself; for these men are supporters of any government who will countenance this pernicious system; who are equally ready to sacrifice the liberty and property of the nation, and whilst they are rogantly denounce all persons who presume to question the conduct of any or the worst administration as enemies to the state, and set themselves up as the only true friends of their country, they break down the antient aristocracy, and destroy the constitutional rights of the crown, nobility, and people.

Such governments may be useful to such men, and such men to such governments; but if they are suffered to increase, or even preserve their present influence, they may greatly embarrass any administration, however able, who honestly consult the true interests of their country, instead of the selfish views of these men. It must be evident, that the only means of counteracting these evils would be, for the Bank, should there be no substantial reasons to the contrary, to commence its payments in cash; it would at least be one great remedy for these evils; and, at all events, as the country bankers gain 5 per cent. on all the paper they have in circulation, they should pay a high duty, equal to one, or one and a quarter per cent. thereon.——R. W.—*Winchmore Hill, April 20th*, 1806.

VOLUNTEERS.

Sir,—I have felt exceedingly concerned on reading a passage of your last Register, in which you express your determination to demolish the column, which is to be erected on Epsom downs, in honour of the Southwark volunteers. The subject touches me very closely. I will explain; you must know then, Sir, that the projectors of this erection, wisely judging that a column was of little use without an inscription, and having also been told that nothing was equal to verse in conferring immortality, applied to me to exercise my talents upon the occasion. I must confess, that I acceded to their proposal with great alacrity; but less on account of the pecuniary compensation than from the pleasing idea of having my lines inscribed, in large characters, on a beautiful slab of marble, and read by all the passers by, for, at least, a century to come. It is not often, let me tell you, that the works of modern poets secure such durability, and such numerous readers. Your resolution, however, destroys, at once, my promised gratification. It bears peculiarly hard too upon *me*. Masons, perhaps, may have no objection to seeing their labours pulled to pieces, or forgotten; but this, I can safely affirm, is not the case with poets. As to the Volunteers, you have taken good care that they shall be remembered. But what is to be done, Sir, about my fame, upon which you are so cruelly putting your extinguisher? This is a tender point indeed; yet you have it in your power to set me completely at ease upon it, and, as you have an odd kind of impartiality about you, I think you will oblige me. If you have really made up your mind to demolish the column, then print my verses in your Register, and I shall always be, your obedient, humble servant,——Tim Tagrhime.—*Type Street, April 23, 1806.*

INSCRIPTION FOR THE COLUMN ON EPSOM DOWNS.

Reader! thou wou'dst fain know why
This proud column towers on high?
Then learn that, on this barren down,
Fifteen tedious miles from town,
Fifteen tedious miles from home,
Unus'd to toil, unus'd to roam,
But burning with a holy zeal
To keep secure the common-weal,
The loyal Southwark Volunteers,
A band heroic, scorning fears,
Full fourteen days, in sunny weather,
Contriv'd in tents to live together;
Crack'd many bottles, toasted hearty;
Most bravely swore at Buonaparté;
Talk'd big, and held erect their heads;
Nay, scarcely sigh'd for feather beds:
Then back they march'd, all soldiers thorough,
The pride and envy of the Borough;
And hir'd a mason and a poet,
That all posterity might know it.

An extempore Ode to a modern Poet, on reading his "Ode to the Volunteers of "England."

Oh! no more of *such* rhime!
'Tis a sad waste of time,
At least so to me it appears,
For you to sit down,
And puzzle your crown,
Writing odes to our rare Volunteers.

If greedy of praise,
They must shine in some lays;
To the task be the bell-man deputed;
And none shall deny,
While the doggrel they eye,
That the song to the subject is suited.

What devil could induce
You to put to such use
A muse so delightful as your's?
You might just as well,
If the truth I must tell,
Have be-oded a bundle of skewers.

But when in your verse,
So neat, and so terse,
You talk of the Volunteers dying,
For their country in fight,
We swear, by this light!
You must either be mad or be lying!

Yet in justice I'll say,
Should there e'er come a day,
These heroes that calls to the field,
Sure as e'er I was born,
Not a soul but will scorn,
Himself for a prisoner to yield.

No, never the chain
Of those Frenchmen so vain,
Shall the legs of our Volunteers hamper:
For to me 'tis quite clear,
When the first gun they hear,
Away in a body they'll scamper!

When once they've begun,
Like greyhounds to run,
He who catches them sure will be cunning;
For though as to fight,
I've small thoughts of their might,
I've great thoughts indeed of their running.

As to you we all own
That much merit you've shown,
In painting your dead Volunteers,
Whose corpses so brave,
The matrons all grave
And maidens are washing with tears.

But your heart set at ease,
For o'er lubbers like these,
No tears will the women be shedding;
If a few out of breath,
Should get trampled to death,
Their widows will think but of wedding.

Then, my friend, keep your laurels
For those who the quarrels
Of England by valour must settle:
If the cits in red coat,
On a garland will doat,
Why make them a large one of nettle?

THE ARMY.

SIR ——Whether the disasters of the late unfortunate campaign arose from the incapacity of our friends, or the abilities of our enemy; from the blunders of Mack, or the talents of Buonaparté, certain it is, we find ourselves again reduced to contend single-handed against France; against generals accustomed to conquer, and troops elated with victory. If the terrors of invasion, so industriously circulated and so glowingly depicted, be founded on a conviction of its practicability, and used to rouse the courage and call forth the exertion of the people, from a sense that the *dirty channel* cannot alone afford us protection, our means of defence, our military force, becomes the object of consideration and inquiry. Is the army calculated for the exigency of the times? is it well organized, well commanded? These are questions every one puts, and would they could be satisfactorily answered. Leaving the volunteers to the disposal of those who maintain their efficiency, I shall confine myself to what concerns our regular army alone. Where, however, are we to look for this army, destined to repel our audacious invaders, and drive them back with ignominy to their servile shores? Doubtless it is assembled at some convenient spot, near the most vulnerable part of our coast, there, under the eyes of experienced leaders, incessantly preparing itself to uphold the honour of the British name; to offer to the admiring world the brilliant spectacle of courage and discipline successfully defending their altars and their homes. But no; that army to which the country mus ultimately look, for its safety and independance, is frittered away in small detachments, along our widely extended boundary. Time, so precious and so fleeting, instead of being assiduously employed in perfecting an army, is wasted on its component parts. The grand principles of the art of war are lost in the frivolous attention to the minutia of dress and parade. We have fine regiments of infantry, of cavalry, and of artillery, but by no means a well-disciplined army. Our junior generals and superior officers, instead of learning the difficult art of commanding, through the rough and thorny paths of obedience, generally aim at its offices, as it were, by the grace of God and the King's pleasure. Entrusted with the command of small corps, they are apt to forget that they are subordinate characters, destined to act subordinate parts, when united in larger ones, and either lord it away in all the plenitude of power, or too often sink quietly into the lap of indolence and luxury. And when the god of war, with his brazen trump, rouzes them from their lethargic slumbers, how are they qualified to fulfil the duties of their station; how can they pretend to answer to their country for the lives of the brave men under their orders? Indeed some dainty, well-fed aid-de-camp may tell us, that the art of war is not to be acquired; that that coup d'œil, that intuitive glance, those master-strokes which decide the fate of empires, are the fruits of genius alone, the bounteous gifts of nature. With how sparing a hand though does she distribute them. Look into the copious volume of history; see, amongst endless details of wars and of battles, how few great generals have been produced. If it record the talents and victories of a Turenne, a Marlborough, or a Frederic, of how many hundred others is it only the calendar of disgrace. An army is a complicated machine, all the parts of which require to be frequently united by the hand of a master, or it becomes inert and useless. Instead, therefore, of parcelling out the army in small bodies, it would conduce to the improvement and information of officers of every rank, to assemble it in camps of instruction, there to teach it the grand manœuvres, thus procuring, in a state of peace, all the advantages of actual warfare. This was practised with success by Lord Cathcart, in Ireland, and on too small a scale by Sir John Moore, at Shorncliffe. And perhaps when a certain office shall cease to resemble a merchant's counting-house, and dull detail give place to wise and efficient measures, these examples may be more generally followed, and the country enabled to regard with proud indifference the menacing preparations of the enemy. I have thus endeavoured to point out the disadvantages of our present mode of distributing the army, as it affects its discipline and the intelligence of the superior officers. At a future opportunity, I will offer some remarks on its incompatibility, with a well-digested plan of defence.—— ARISTARCHUS. — *Canterbury, 10th March, 1806.*

PUBLIC PAPERS.

PRUSSIA.——*Papers relative to Prussia, presented by his Majesty's Command to both Houses of Parliament, April 21, 1806.*

No. I. *Copy of a Dispatch from Francis James Jackson, Esq. to the Right Hon. Lord Mulgrave, dated Berlin, Jan. 27, 1806.*

MY LORD;——I have the honour of inclosing to your Lordship a letter, which, although dated yesterday, I have just received (4 p. m.) from Baron Hardenberg.—I hasten to forward it by Estafette to the Agent at Cuxhaven, in the hopes of its arriving there in time for the Thursday's packet. I also send to Lord Cathcart, by Estafette, a copy of the Prussian Minister's letter to me. I shall simply acknowledge the receipt of it, and inform his excellency, that I have forwarded his communication to your lordship. I have the honour to be, &c. F. J. JACKSON.

Translation of Inclosure in No. I.

SIR;—I hasten to fulfil the promise given to Lord Harrowby, on the 8th of this month, to communicate to you, Sir, as soon as a final decision should be taken on the subject, the additional circumstances relating to the security of the North of Germany, and to the guarantee by the King, of the safety of those British troops which are in that part of the Continent.—A messenger from Munich has just brought his Maj. intelligence of the consummation of the arrangements which the present conjuncture of affairs has induced him to enter into with France, in order to save those countries, and especially the States of Hanover, from the misfortunes of another ruinous war, and to insure their tranquillity. As these arrangements stipulate particularly the committing of that country to the exclusive guard of the Prussian troops, and to the administration of the King, until the conclusion of a peace between England and France, his Maj. could not delay taking the necessary measures for the entry therein of a corps of his army, which will be under the orders of his Exc. the Gen. of Cavalry, Count Schulenberg Kehnert, to whom also the King has confided the administration of the country. His Maj. animated by the most lively desire to see the importance and the urgency of the motives which have induced him to take these steps, justly appreciated by his Britannic Maj. and his enlightened ministers, has directed Baron Jacobi to give a detailed explanation thereof at London.—It would be superfluous to point out to your attention, how urgent and indispensible in the present state of affairs, the re-embarkation of the English troops in the North of Germany is become; since the retreat of the foreign troops is the condition upon which France has promised not to order her troops to re-enter Hanover, and since also it was upon this supposition alone, that the King guaranteed their security, I presume, that Lord Cathcart has already received, and is upon the point of executing the orders of his court for the return of those troops, for which transports have been waiting for some time past. I have, however, to request, Sir, that you would, for the purpose of still further dispatch, write to the commander-in-chief on the subject, and, acquainting him with the present circumstances, that you would induce him to hasten, so far as depends on him, a measure, in which these circumstances, and the approaching arrival of our troops, will not admit of any delay. I request you to accept, &c. (Signed) HARDENBERG. *Berlin, Jan. 26.*

No. 2.—*His Prussian Majesty's Proclamation on taking temporary possession of the Electorate of Hanover, dated Jan. 27, 1806.*

We, Frederic William, by the grace of God, King of Prussia, &c. &c. hereby make known, &c. After the events which have terminated in peace between Austria and France, all our endeavours have been directed to ward off from these districts the flames of war, and its disastrous consequences, which momentarily threatened the North of Germany, and particularly the countries of the Electorate of Brunswick. With this view, and as the only possible means to attain it, a convention has been made and concluded between us and the Emperor of the French, in pursuance of which, the states of his Brit. Maj. in Germany will not be again occupied by French, or other troops combined with them; and, till the conclusion of a general peace, will be wholly occupied and governed by us; in pursuance of which, we have caused the Brunswick Electoral Countries to be occupied by the corps under the command of our General of Cavalry, Count Vonder Schulenburgh Kehnert, to whom, in our name, and till the peace, we entrust the administration of the said countries, in such manner that, through him, and the commission of government which he may think proper to appoint, all affairs relating to the government of the country may be transacted, and the necessary orders thereto communicated to the interior magistracy and magistrates.——We therefore charge, as well those, as the prelates, nobles, citizens, and all subjects and inhabitants of the said country, without exception, to conform themselves duly to these dispositions

made for their welfare; and also to the commands of our before-mentioned commissaries of administration, and the commission by them to be appointed, as well with regard to civil as military affairs; not only not throwing any impediment in the way of our troops which are to march in, but to assist and afford them all the information in their power; and in the high or more general affairs of the country, and also in propositions and petitions thereto relating, alone and only to address themselves to the beforementioned commissaries of administration, as standing highest under our immediate orders.—As by this measure we have in view the repose and tranquillity of the North of Germany and of the Brunswick States, so we have resolved to pay out of our Treasury for the necessaries for our troops, according to the peace establishment, and leaving the extraordinary expenses of a state of war to be defrayed by the country; while we, on another hand, shall take care in general, that its revenues, during our administration, after deducting the expenses of govt., shall only be appropriated to its advantage.—We further promise, that our troops shall observe the strictest discipline; that attention shall be given to all just complaints; and in general, that every quiet and peaceable inhabitant shall be maintained in his property and rights, and, in case of need, be vigorously protected; but that, on the contrary, those who may refuse to conform themselves to the dispositions concluded on, and the meadures which have been taken, or who may sare to counteract them in anywise, will have to reproach themselves for the rigid and disagreeable consequences which will unavoidably result to them. Given under the signature of our hand, at Berlin, the 27th Jan. 1806. (L. S.) FREDERIC WILLIAM. VON HARDENBERG.

No. 3.—*Copy of a Note from Mr. Secretary Fox to Baron Jacobi Kloest, dated 17th March*, 1806.

The undersigned is commanded by his Maj. to state to Baron Jacobi Kloest for the information of his court, the great anxiety felt by his Maj. at the manner in which possession has been taken of the Electorate of Hanover. If his Prussian Maj. judged it expedient, in order to prevent French troops from approaching so near that part of his frontier, to take to himself the military occupation of the Electorate, it does not appear to his Maj. that it was by any means necessary that the civil govt. of that unhappy country should be subverted, or that an army more numerous, and consequently more injurious to the inhabitants, than necessity required, should be maintained there. His Maj. relies, with the greatest confidence, on his Prussian Majesty's declaration, that the present occupation is merely temporary; but his Maj. cannot but express a wish, that the declaration on this point were more solemnly made in the face of Europe. The honour of the Court of Berlin, as well as the consideration mutually due to each other from two princes, so nearly connected in blood and alliance, seem to call for a clear explanation on this important subject.—His Maj. on his part desires to be equally explicit, and to put an end to all hopes, if such indeed have been entertained by the Court of Berlin, that any convenience of political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, will ever induce his Maj. so far to forget what is due to his own legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the Electorate.—His Maj. learns with concern, that it is in agitation to give up Anspach and other parts of his Prussian Majesty's dominions to Bavaria, in consequence of a convention with France; but he does not pretend any right to interfere, or to give any opinion, with respect to the propriety of the measures, whatever they may be, which his Prussian Maj. may deem eligible for the interests of his crown and people; at the same time it is to be observed, that his Maj. whether in his capacity of King of Great Britain, or in that of Elector of Hanover, was in no wise a party to the convention alluded to, or responsible for its consequences. The cessions, therefore, which his Prussian Maj. may make to his Majesty's enemies, can surely never be alleged as a justification of taking to himself his Majesty's lawful inheritance.—His Maj., therefore, hopes that his Prussian Maj. will follow the honourable dictates of his own heart, and will demonstrate to the world, that whatever sacrifices the present circumstances may induce him to make, with respect to his own territories, he will not set the dreadful example of indemnifying himself at the expense of a third party, whose sentiments and conduct towards his Prussian Maj. and his subjects, have been uniformly friendly and pacific. Downing-street, March 17, 1806.

(*Translation of No.* 4.)—*Note Verbale.*

Until the explosion of the last continental war, his Prussian Maj. had no other object in view, than to secure the tranquillity of his monarchy, and that of the neighbouring states.—He was then able to effect this upon terms which met the entire approbation of every court. He has been desirous of doing the same since the breaking out of the present war. But the choice of

the means has no longer been in his power. France has considered Hanover as her conquest, and her troops were on the point of entering it for the purpose of disposing of it definitively, according to the pleasure of the French Emperor, without the possibility of his Britannic Majesty's preventing it.—The occupation of that country by his Prussian Maj., and the shutting of the ports in the German seas, and that of Lubeck, against the British flag, (as was the case during the possession of Hanover by the French), were the indispensible conditions of an arrangement by which the country is secured against the entry of foreign troops, and the quiet of the North of Germany preserved.—This has not been obtained without painful sacrifices on his Majesty's part. Those of the House of Hanover are in no degree to be attributed to the King's measures, but are the inevitable consequences of a war, which his conciliating policy has in vain endeavoured to prevent. This war might have produced still more serious consequences. The treaty between Prussia and France at least protects the Northern States from farther evils, and could every power but duly appreciate how much they are indebted to the system he has adopted, the King would with justice obtain the gratitude of all.

No. 5.——*Proclamation of Count Schulenburgh, announcing the Shutting of the Ports of the North Sea against the British Ships and Trade, dated Hanover, 28th March,* 1806.

In a treaty which has been concluded between his Maj. the King of Prussia, my most gracious Sovereign, and his Imperial Maj. the Emperor of France and King of Italy, it has been stipulated, that the ports of the North Sea, as well as all rivers running into it, shall be shut against the British ships and trade, in the same manner as when the French troops occupied the states of Hanover. In conformity to the orders I have received, I make this known to those whom it may concern, that they may guard against the consequences, as the troops of the King my master have received orders to warn off and not to admit such English ships as may endeavour to enter these ports and rivers, and as all necessary and proper measures will be adopted to prevent the introduction and transit of British goods. (Signed) The Compte de Schulenburg Kehnert, His Prussian Majesty's Gen. of Cavalry and Commander-in-Chief of the Corps d'Armée, Hanover, 28th March, 1806.

No. 6.—*Proclamation of his Prussian Maj. for taking definitive possession of Hanover, dated Berlin, 1st April,* 1806.

We, Frederick William III. King of Prussia, &c. hereby make known what follows: The wish to preserve and to secure to our true subjects, and to the states of the North of Germany bordering upon our provinces, the continuance of the blessings of peace, was at all times the object of our unceasing efforts. We flattered ourselves that we should attain this desirable end, by the resolution which we took in consequence of late occurrences, and which we made known by our patent of the 27th of Jan. by which the states of the Electoral House of Brunswick Luneburg were to be occupied by our troops, and taken into our civil administration. But as, since that time, the actual occupation of the states of Hanover, in exchange for the cession of three provinces of our monarchy, has become indispensibly necessary to the permanent tranquillity of our subjects and of the bordering states, we have signed a convention with his Maj. the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, in conformity to which, the legal possession of the states of the Electoral House of Brunswick Luneburg, belonging by the right of conquest to his Imperial Maj. is granted to us in exchange for the cession of three of our provinces, and in virtue of farther solemn guarantees on each side.—In conformity to this, we hereby declare, that the countries of this Electoral House of Brunswick Luneburg in Germany, from this time forth, are to be considered as being in our possession, and subject to our power alone. From this time forth, the govt. and administration of these states will be administered exclusively, and alone in our name, and under our supreme authority. We require accordingly hereby the different magistrates dutifully to continue the functions confided to them, in our name, and under the superior controul of Gen. Count de Shulenbourg Kehnert, who is named our commissioner, and of the commission formed by him. We expect no less from the nobility, the prelates, the burghers and subjects of these states, that they submit themselves willingly to this new order of things, from which a new epoch of tranquillity and of happiness will shine forth, and give thereby a proof of their devoted attachment and love for their country, and of their sentiments towards us; as we on our side shall certainly neglect no means of demonstrating our paternal solicitude for them, and our wish to render them happy. So given at Berlin, 1st April, 1806. (Signed) Frederick William. Schulenburg. Haugwitz.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IX. No. 18.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1806. [PRICE 10D.

" It is peculiarly the duty of the House of Commons to watch over the purse of the nation; and, it is the " duty of the nation to come forward and encourage the House of Commons to proceed with activity and " rigour in its laudable efforts to bring to punishment all those who have wasted the public money, " especially in cases, where, to such waste, is joined a daring violation of the law."——LORD TEMPLE'S Speech at the county meeting in Hampshire, on the 16th of May, 1805.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AFFAIRS OF INDIA. (Continued from pages 171, 197, 237, 303, 368, 460, 530, 545, and 609.) Since the state of the proceedings against Lord Wellesley was given in page 624, there has been but one debate, in the House of Commons, upon the subject; and that was on Monday, the 28th instant, upon a motion made by Mr. Paull for *printing* the *Charge*, which he, as the reader was informed, laid upon the table on the preceding Tuesday, and a report of which charge, as given in the newspapers, will be found in page 615.——Mr. Paull, in making his motion on the 28th, began by producing several precedents, showing that he was perfectly regular in bringing forward his Charge previous to the production of any documents, or other evidence, in support of it; and, from one precedent, it appeared, that so perfect is, or *was*, the right of impeachment in every member of the house, that any member had a right to prefer a charge against any subject of the realm upon the ground of mere report, or *rumour*! Yet, be it recollected, that, on the 22d instant, the " Man " of the People" told Mr. Paull, that he preferred the charge " at his *peril*!" This is a phrase that ought never to be forgotten. It is the boldest attack that ever was made upon the privileges of the people as well as of their representatives. What! does a member of parliament speak at his *peril?* And what is the difference between a charge made verbally and a charge made in writing? Many are the attempts, which, at different periods of our history, have been made to pare down the privileges of members of parliament; but this is an attempt to cut them up by the roots. The privileges of parliament that are really useful to the people, are those of the *individual* member; but, of late years, particularly, the great object of ministers seems to have been to fritter these away, and to make a loud noise about the privileges of the *House*; that is to say, of the *majority*; and that is to say, of the ministry. Mr. Paull might, indeed, speak; he, who had seen that which he came to complain of, might speak, he might complain, he might even make a Charge; but he did it " at his *peril*." Oh! what an excellent motto to write up over the door of the Whig-Club room!——In the last debate, the Marquis of Douglas and Mr. Windham expressed their decided disapprobation of the manner, in which Mr. Paull had been treated at the time of bringing forward his Charge. The public had expressed their disapprobation before; and, whatever may be thought of it, the feeling which that treatment has excited, from one end of the country to the other, will not be easily done away.——Mr. Paull, in the debate, to the subject of which we will now return, reminded the House, that, in the papers which had been delivered the day after his Charge was laid upon the table, there was evidence in support of his Charge, and that, upon this ground, he now *demanded*, as his right, that the Charge should be printed. He went into a very long, and a very able statement, to show how those papers bore upon the subject of the Charge. He clearly shewed, that this was the sort of evidence which Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan had represented as necessary to render the printing of the Charge proper; and, after much manly animadversion upon the conduct of his opponents, he concluded by saying, that he had asked no one to second his motion, being resolved to leave it to the House to second it, or not, just as they pleased; whereupon MR. MARTIN of Tewksbury, following the so much applauded example of SIR WILLIAM GEARY, who seconded the motion for taking the Charge into consideration, rose and seconded his motion. This conduct reflects great honour on these two gentlemen. It affords us an instance of the value of independent men, though they may not be given to make long speeches. This is the proper mode of proceeding. A member of parliament sees cause to impeach a man. He brings his charge. He calls for the evidence to support it. Both come before the House; and, when the House are in possession of them, it is for them to do what they please.

This is a thousand times better than impeachment by a *party*; which, besides that it can seldom be kept distinct from party motives, that is to say, motives very closely connected with the hope of getting into place, is pretty sure to be embarrassed by cabals, intrigues, and compromises.——Once more to come back to the debate; Messrs. Fox, Sheridan, Lord Henry Petty, Dr. Laurence, and several others spoke, and, though they wished the motion to be withdrawn, for the present, said they would vote for it, if the House divided. The two former did, however, still adhere to their former complaint, that Mr. Paull, after having moved for, and obtained, volumes of papers relative to other parts of Marquis Wellesley's conduct, had passed over them, and had now brought a charge without any papers at all. But, they forgot to answer what Mr. Paull had before said, and which was perfectly true, that the papers relative to no one of his other intended charges were yet, in a complete state upon the table, though some of them had been moved for in the last session of parliament. The papers relating to the Oude Charge, for instance, consist of Nos. from 1 to 5; and, No. 3, which is by far the most bulky, is not delivered to this day. With what reason, then, was he reproached for not bringing some *other* Charge? And, what was left for him to do, but to bring a Charge first, and call for the documents afterwards? But, there is something so unfair and unjust in this representation about "*volumes* of papers," that I must descend to particulars in order to expose it. Mr. Paull had moved for papers, in the last session of parliament, he had moved for some in this session. Obstacle upon obstacle, delay upon delay, had intervened; and, at the time when he laid his charge upon the table, at the very time when Messrs. Fox and Sheridan were reproaching him with having got volumes of papers without grounding any charge upon them; at that moment, the whole of the papers, called for by *him*, and delivered, amounted to no more than *fifty-four* pages! And, at the moment when I am writing, the papers, thus called for and delivered, amount, in the whole, to only *two hundred and thirty-three* pages! The papers are now lying before me; and, as to the delay in the printing, there are twenty printing offices in London, at either of which the whole could have been printed in forty-eight hours.——Where, then, are we to look for the candour, for the justice, which dictated the cry of "*volumes* of papers?" And, where are we to look, too, for the real cause of the *delay* in producing these two hundred and three pages of papers?——It was, to be sure, with singular propriety that Mr. *Sheridan* joined in this cry! Mr. Sheridan, who, so long ago as the year 1802, called for volumes of papers relative to this same Lord Wellesley's conduct in the Carnatic. He obtained these papers. *Volumes* indeed were they. They have been upon the table of the House of Commons ever since 1803. Not a motion has he yet made upon them, though he has repeatedly pledged himself to prosecute the inquiry to the utmost. Now he comes and tells the House, that he still thinks the transactions in the Carnatic most flagitious; but, that he will not stir the subject, lest he should thereby divide the ministry! And yet this, this, this is the gentleman, who, in that same House of Commons, stands up and reproaches Mr. Paull with having called for papers without proceeding to ground a charge upon them! What could make a man think of acting thus? Why, I should be glad to know, is Mr. Sheridan to be allowed this latitude any more than Mr. Paull, or any other man? Is it, that Mr. Paull is not a *brother*? It would seem as if he were regarded as an alien; an intruder; an evil-minded person come to disturb the order of the combat for place and emolument.——Mr. Fox said, in the debate of Monday, that Mr. Paull had called for "volumes of papers, none of which had been "*refused* him." No: not *refused* in words, but in *act*. Granted to him, but not put into his hands. And, besides, did Mr. Fox forget what had passed on the 19th of March, when Mr. Hiley Addington, seconded by Lord Temple, brought forward a motion to authorise the ministers *to withhold, at their discretion, any of the India papers that had been ordered by the House*. Mr. Fox was *not decided* as to the propriety of this motion: he found there were *precedents* for it; and, reader, observe, that these precedents were set by *Lord Castlereagh!* This made Mr. Fox hesitate. He sat down without giving any opinion; and the motion was, at last, withdrawn, when it appeared, that there was a general feeling of indignation rising against it. Not "*refused*," not actually refused, to be sure; but, the public will now be quite able to judge of the readiness, with which the papers have been granted.——The motion of Mr. Paull was, as it has already been observed, seconded by Mr. Martin of Tewksbury. Mr. Bragge (of whom we have not heard much since the 10th Report appeared) moved the previous question. His motion was seconded by Mr. Corry, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland. Both motions were, at last, with-

drawn; and the *Charge* remained in the state, where we before left it, with these additional circumstances, that the bringing of it forward was now shown to have been perfectly regular, and that the adherents of Lord Wellesley exhibited new and striking proofs of their sincerity when they professed to wish for the production and the publication of every paper relating to the conduct of Lord Wellesley! What can there be in this same charge? Mr. Paull has been spoken of as a person not adequate to the task he has undertaken; and thus the MORNING CHRONICLE (which I lament to see fast becoming what the SUN and the COURIER used to be) has, by its most unfair reports of the debates, endeavoured to represent him. Yet, it does seem, that he has produced a Charge having some weight in it; else why not let it go forth to the public? Why bring Mr. Sheridan down to prevent it from going even into the *Votes* of the House? Why make such efforts to *prevent* its being *read*? "Oh, that mine enemy had written a "book!" So say not the advocates of Marquis Wellesley; so say not the advocates of "the Most Noble the Governor General." They seem anxious, to the last degree, to hide the book of their enemy from the world. What, a' God's name, can there be in this Charge? And, why are we not to see it; especially as the gentleman, to use an Old-Bailey phrase, has brought it forward at his *peril*. It would be curious, were Mr. Paull to *stop* here, to see *what* would be *done*. To see how he would be made to experience the *peril* of having produced this Charge. To see how this new doctrine can be made good.——To stop, however, does not appear to be his intention; and, when the documents in proof are upon the table, we shall have the Charge in the public prints; for, it has been decided, in the Court of King's Bench, that, when papers have been printed by either House of Parliament, any man, out of doors, has a right to print and publish them; of which Mr. Sheridan, that distinguished friend of the *Liberty of the Press*, could not have been ignorant, when, on the 23d instant, he made his motion for rescinding the order, made by the House, to *print* the Charge! *This* gentleman it is, that we have to thank, that the Charge is not now before the public. "*Ex-parte!*" And are not all charges *ex-parte*? Must they not necessarily be so? If there is never to be any thing *ex-parte*, how is it possible for any inquiry ever to take place? If the Charge were now in the public prints, is not the same channel open to the denial? Are the *daily* prints leagued against Marquis Wellesley, or *for* him? Who, that is conscious of his innocence, need care about the publishing of a Charge against him, provided the same vehicle be constantly ready to convey his defence? As to matters in private life, the case is different; but, if this principle be not permitted to be acted upon with regard to men in public stations, in the service of the public, the liberty of the press is a mockery; it is ten thousand times worse than nothing; because the liberty of the press being presumed to exist, a reliance upon its vigilance being placed by the people, its silence, as to the misconduct of public men, tends to deceive them; and, the more especially, because this same press is allowed to say as much as it pleases *in praise* of public men, and, indeed, much more than the consciences of the editors, if left to themselves, would permit to be said.——On Tuesday, the 29th instant, the papers, in manuscript, relative to the siezure of Furruckabad, were laid upon the table of the House; and, after they had been ordered to be so laid, Mr. Paull, in moving for the printing of them, reminded the House of what had been said about "the Volumes" that had been produced; whereupon Mr. Creevy (the new Secretary to the Board of Controul) rose to say that Mr. Paull was under a mistake. Mr. Paull was proceeding to defend the correctness of his statement (it being the uniform custom for the maker of a motion to be entitled to reply), when, as the Morning Chronicle tells us, he was called to *order* by the Speaker. Mr. Paull contended, that he was strictly in order; and, that he could not help observing, that he was the only person, who was kept to strict order in that house, he being scarcely ever suffered to say a word by way of explanation, whilst others were suffered to make explanations of half an hour long. Upon which the Speaker appealed to the House, whether he deserved the imputation now cast on him; and, it seems that several members did cry out, *no, no, no!*——With the conveying of this appeal to the public, I shall now take my leave of the affairs of India for the present; and, probably, for several weeks, seeing that nothing further can be done with regard to the Charge, until the documents in support of it come before the House; and, as to *other* Charges, M. Paull will scarcely think of preferring any, until he has brought the first to a decided vote." "Divide, and you govern." So it is with men; and, if you divide the attention of the public, you destroy it; or, you greatly weaken it, at least. To the first Charge, therefore I hope, Mr. Paull will confine him-

self, until it be disposed of.——In the mean while, however, there are certain facts, certain undeniable, undisputed facts, which it will be useful for us to bear in mind. 1. That the East-India Company, according to the act renewing their charter in 1793, now owe the nation more than 6 millions of pounds sterling, not one shilling of which they are able to pay. 2. That Marquis Wellesley, according to his own letters to his employers, the East-India Company, acquired, in their behalf, great revenues and emoluments, from his extension of their sway and their territory in India. 3. That, notwithstanding these gains, the debt, which the Company owes in India, was, during his administration, augmented from 11 millions to 31 millions of pounds sterling. 4. That, notwithstanding all these immense receipts, from conquests as well as from loans, the finances of the Company, in India, were, upon the arrival of Marquis Cornwallis, as successor to Marquis Wellesley, in a state of the greatest embarrassment, the pay of the troops being no les than five months in arrear and every department connected with the army still more in arrear; in so much that Marquis Cornwallis was compelled to take the Company's money, destined to China for commercial purposes, wherewith to satisfy the urgent demands of the army. 5. That the finances of the East-India Company are now in a state, which Mr. Robert Thornton, one of the Directors, has described at "the *brink of beggary*;" and 6. That the Company, if at all rescued from this situation, must be so rescued by the means of taxes, raised upon the people of this country, 1 million of pounds having been what is called *paid* to the Company this year, while that Company is indebted to the nation to an amount upwards of 6 millions of pounds.——This was the topic, upon which, in the debate of Monday last, the Marquis of Douglas dwelt with so much force and effect. He said, that, "had he been present the former night, he would have opposed the rescinding the original order for printing the charge. The printing of the charge would not injure the accused, as it would be considered as standing only on the assertion of one of the members of the House, who, unsupported by any party, ought to be presumed to be acting from pure motives. The charge was a dead-letter till it was proved, and besides, the printing of it was necessary to enable the House to consider it. He had himself lately turned his attention to the affairs of India, and he was sure that there was great blame to be attached to some one or other. The people of this country were already heavily burdened with taxes, and yet *they were now called upon for money to support the East-India Company.* It would be necessary to protect England against India as an hon. gentleman (Mr. Francis) had said, for the child which promised by proper care and nurture to become the support of the parent, was now hanging at the mother's bosom, and sucking the vital drops of her political existence"——And, will our representatives, will the "*guardians* of the nation's purse," grant our money by millions to the East-India Company? Will they suffer the vital drops of our political existence to be thus sucked away? And, will they do this, too, without inquiry, without strict inquiry, into the *causes* that have produced this great addition to our burdens? When they see one of their body endeavouring to obtain such an inquiry; when they see him rise, in behalf of the people, and prefer a charge against the man, whom he regards as the principal cause of these calamities; will they tell him, or suffer him to be told, that he prefers such charge *at his peril?* Let us hope not. Let us hope, that the same principles, which led to the measures, adopted with respect to Lord Melville, will still be predominant in the House of Commons. At any rate, let us hope, that Mr. Paull will persevere.

Church Affairs.——The *Stipendiary Curates'* bill (see page 560), brought in by Mr. Percival, was thrown out in the House of Commons, on Friday, the 25th instant, upon a division of 29 against 17.——The bill was supported by Mr. Percival, Mr. Fellowes, and Mr. Wilberforce; and was opposed by Sir John Wrottesley, Lord Porchester, Mr. Barham, and Mr. Fox.—— The provisions of this bill gave too great encouragement to *Curates* to reside, by compelling the incumbents, at the discretion of the Bishop, to make certain allowances of glebe, house, and salary, to such Curates as might choose to reside. The main object was, and, I think, the effect would have been, to cause, in many cases, the incumbent to reside, and, in many others, a Curate to reside, in those parishes, where, at present, to the great injury of the Church, and the scandal of the nation, there are no resident ministers at all, and where, of course, the people have to choose between a meeting-house and a total neglect of attendance at places of divine service.——I shall be told, perhaps, that, though, in these parishes, there be no *resident* minister of the Church, yet, there is divine service regular-

ly performed, once, at least, every Sunday. But, I ask, whether a poor Curate's walking or riding into the parish of a Sunday, hurrying over the service, and then hastening away again, leaving the people for another seven days without the means of baptism, or of visitation to the sick, and without the possibility of deriving any advantage whatever from the advice or admonition or example of a minister of the Gospel; I ask, whether it be thus that divine service can be performed; and whether this practice be at all consistent with the well-known and self-evident objects of ecclesiastical institutions and endowments? To lessen the magnitude of this scandalous abuse was the object of the bill, the objections to which were, that it trenched upon private property; that it was unjust in its principle, because it awarded to the Curate a compensation, not in proportion to the service performed, but in proportion to the worth of the living; and that it lodged too great a power in the hands of the Bishop.——As to this last, it was always an objection with me. I agree with Mr. Wilberforce, that it ought to have been made imperative, and not discretionary in the Bishop; for, many, too many by far, are the instances, in which we have seen Bishops heaping preferment on preferment upon their relations, and, at the same time, excusing them, by one means or another, from the due discharge of the duties thereunto attached. But, with respect to the other objections, I can see nothing solid in them. "Trench upon *private* property!" In Volume VII pp. 788 and 809, it was, I think, shewn, that Church benefices are *not* private property; that the advowson is a *trust*; and that the benefice has attached to its tenure a condition of service, to which service residence is indispensably necessary. This is a branch of the subject, which, to do it justice, would require a good deal of time and room; but, I am firmly persuaded, that the day is not far distant when it will and must meet with a full discussion, unless the Church is, in the mean time, destined to fall under the weight of its accumulated abuses, of which abuses, that of non-residence is the principal cause of all the rest. ——Of the other objection, that the compensation to the Curate would not be in proportion to the service performed, but in proportion to the worth of the benefice, we may observe, that it would be equally good against the inequality of the benefices themselves. For the propriety of this inequality the clergy in general have strongly contended, upon the ground, that, in the Church, as in all professions, there ought to be degrees of opulence, or of income; and, if this reason be good, as applied to incumbents, why should it be bad, as applied to Curates? Mr. Fox said the bill was good for nothing; that it professed to provide for what it could not effect; that the evil was in the existence of pluralities; and that, until they were done away no efficient remedy could be applied. I grant that the evil does not lie here, and that no remedy for the abuse can be quite efficient, until pluralities are done away. But, this bill would have done *something*; and, if the discretionary power of the Bishop had been exchanged for an imperative command upon him, it would have done *much*. I should prefer the radical cure; but, will Mr. Fox give us this cure? I imagine not; and, I imagine, too, that he will not stir one step towards it. The giving of pluralities is connected with politics and parties. It is a species of jobbing. It is one of the means by which a ministry obtain a corrupt support; and, for this, amongst other reasons, every good man must wish to see it put an end to. If the strict performance of the duty of a parish were inseparable from the receipt of the income of the living, the gift of a living would not be so valuable a thing. A sinecure is always worth more than an active office.——The way to bring this subject before the public, with a fair chance of producing a great and good effect, is, for some man, who has a few hundred pounds to spare, to refuse to pay tithes, upon the plea, that the incumbent, by not residing, does, agreeably to the will of the founder, and the very nature of the foundation, lose his right to the tithes. The defendant would lose his cause; statute upon statute would be quoted against him; but, he would awaken discussion, he would incite to inquiry; and these would lead to a reform of the monstrous abuse. Am I told, that non-residence has *always* prevailed? I deny the fact. And, if it has prevailed, in a greater or less degree, for seven hundred years past, in England, have we not, in more than one instance, seen the Church overturned by it? It prevailed in France, too; and in other countries of Europe it now does prevail; but, is the state of the Church, in those countries, such as to encourage us to continue the abuse here? It is in vain to hope, that the clergy themselves will begin the reformation. They have always been opposed to it; and, at the present day, they appear to be more opposed to it than ever.——What prevents the adoption of an effectual remedy (for all men see and acknowledge the *evil*), is, the connection, which the Church, by the means of

pluralities and consequent non-residence, is made to have with politics. A partizan is to be rewarded by a benefice given to his son, or some other relation or friend; but, there is no *gift*, if strict duty be required to be performed. A living of 500l. a year is worth something, while the duty can be performed by a Curate at the price of 30 or 50 pounds a year; but, if the whole of the time of the incumbent be taken up by the living, it is worth nothing. Thus, are the people, not only deprived of the services, in consideration of which tithes are paid, but they are further injured by the political influence which is obtained by the means of that deprivation! Mr. Fellowes stated, that, from the returns upon the table of the House of Commons, it appeared, that, out of 11,000 parishes (I take only the round numbers), there were 2,000 *without any resident minister at all*; and, there are, I believe, nearly 6,000, in which the incumbents do not reside! *Ought* this to be so? *Can* it long continue so; especially when we consider, that, of the people, who are constant in their attendance at divine worship, nearly *one-half* have left the Church and have gone to the meeting-house?

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. (Continued from pages, 353 and 449). This title has been given to the remarks upon MR. TIERNEY's bill, because there is not, in my opinion, any one so likely to remind my readers of the former opinions and conduct of that gentleman. It is not pretended, nor is it to be supposed, that the honourable gentleman has not seen good reasons for the change; but, he certainly will have too much candour to impute to us, who differ from him, any motives other than those arising from a conviction that his bill, if passed into a law, would be attended with mischievous consequences.——The bill was committed after the debate, which was noticed in page 449; and, on Tuesday, the 29th instant, upon the report being brought up, a motion was made for a recommitment, which produced a division of 24 for the recommitment and 14 against it. Shocking disregard of the great measure, by which Mr. Tierney seems to have thought, that he should convince the ministers and the country, that he was still alive! In the course of this debate, MR. TIERNEY said, "that "he wished the bill should be recommitted "for the sake of some amendments which "he meant to propose. It had been *suggested to him by a learned friend*," that the "bill went *somewhat farther than was intended originally*. Its object *was* to de- "*clare* the law. But there had been no "doubt that a candidate might provide a "carriage for the voter, though he ought "not to give money to the voter himself to "procure one. By *this bill*, however, the "candidate *could not even provide a car- "riage* for the voter, and thus far it went "beyond declaring the law. He wished to "amend it in this point, and therefore "moved that it be now recommitted. The "other amendments were merely verbal. "——SIR ROBERT BUXTON thought that "the candidate ought to be at no expense "with respect to the voters, and would ra- "ther have the law as it was, than agree to "pass the bill with the amendment.—— "MR. PAULL thought that, however the "bill might be disguised, its effect would "be to *diminish the number of voters*, and "for that reason he would oppose it.—— "LORD ARCHIBALD HAMILTON said that "his objections went to the principle of "the bill; and as to the recommitment, "there was only one clause in the bill, and "that one involved the principle itself. He "was against it, therefore, though he "believed the honourable gentleman could "have no motives in this business, except "such as were pure and honourable.—— "MR. TIERNEY observed that the noble "lord did him no more than justice. He "himself could gain no advantage from the "bill, as the law was perfectly declared in "the place which he represented, and his "only object was to extend the advantage "to other places. If all expenses to the "candidate could be done away, he would "be very well pleased. But he had, at "first, carried the provisions of the bill "beyond the mere point of explanation. "When money had been given, the ques- "tion in the courts had been whether it "had been allowed for carriage money. "His object was to establish the point that "no money ought to be given at all, and "this, he apprehended, was the case as "the law stood at present. But nothing "was said in the law about carriages, and "if the bill was to prevent carriages from "being provided, it would be more than "an explanatory one.——MR. FRANCIS "thought that the amendment would alter "the principle of the bill considerably. "Carriages were to be allowed to convey "the voters, but how were they to be con- "veyed—alive or dead? An honourable "gentleman behind him whispered *dead "drunk*. Well, be it so, but if you gave "the voter nothing to eat or drink, in a "journey of 200 miles, he would scarcely "be alive by the time he came to the place "of polling, or, if he were alive, he would

" not be able to vote."——Old George Rose was decidedly for *the bill!*——" More than an explanatory bill "! Why, Mr. Tierney, did not you, from the very first, say that it was your intention to make it *more?* Was it not, by its very title, more than an explanatory bill? Was it not professedly to *alter* the act of William? And, was it not with a view of justifying this alteration, that your ingenious argument founded upon the *depreciation of money*, was introduced? And did it, Sir, require the suggestion of a " *learned* friend " to convince you; that the bill went farther than you yourself intended it should go? To hear you *now*, one would be ready to imagine, that the bill did not originate with *you*. Indeed, Sir, it would have been better to let it go off at the second reading; for now, like the miller with his ass, you have both the advocates and the opponents of your bill finding fault with it: Sir Robert Buxton, on one side, and Mr. Francis, on the other, join in condemning it. Its enemies assert that it is still mischievous; and the very best that its friends say of it, is, that it is good for nothing; while those amongst the public, whose attention the subject has attracted, in perceiving that you will fail to effect a virtual disfranchisement of a considerable portion of the present voters, are perfectly disposed to take the will for the deed, and to give you credit for it accordingly. The thing now to be considered, however, is, how this bill is to be *got out* of the House. When one cannot possibly live any longer, the only object of consideration is, how to make a decent exit. Into this deplorable situation the bill has been brought, not so much by its own unworthiness as by the doctrine with which it was introduced; for, if the arguments, founded upon the depreciation of money, had once become a ground of legislation as to the right of voters, it would not have been easy to say where its effects ought to stop. For a clever gentleman, like Mr. Tierney, therefore, to broach such doctrine, and for such a purpose, must be matter of astonishment with every body.——In opposing the principle of this bill, a weekly print, called the Independent Whig, has borne a part unworthy of its name. It has not entered much into Mr. Tierney's philosophy of politics; but, it has siezed fast hold of the prominent features of the proposed measure; and, I am inclined to think, that, if he has many of Mr. Tierney's constituents amongst its readers, he will find, that this *attempt* of his has not been without its effects.——" What!" said Lord Archibald Hamilton, " commit, and *re-commit*, a bill which has but *one clause*, and that clause, of course, " involving the principle " of the bill!"——But, my lord, if you objected to this, why not point out a way, in which the bill might be got out of the House? It is easy enough for a young man, like your lordship, to break out in exclamations of this sort; but, when you come to bring forth bills yourself, especially if they be a last resort for the reviving of your consequence, you will know how to feel for others whose offspring have come to an untimely end.

Military Affairs. (Continued from pages, 385, 513, and 552).—— On Wednesday, the 30th ultimo, Mr. Windham moved, in the House of Commons, for the second reading of the bill to repeal the act, commonly called the *Parish Act*. There was a debate of some length, which ended in a division of 235 for the repeal, and 119 against it. Sir James Pulteney and Mr. Canning spoke against the repeal; Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Hawthorn, Mr. C. Dundas, and some others for it.——The opponents of the bill made this an occasion for discussing the merits of Mr. Windham's Plan; " because," said they, " before we repeal the parish " bill, let us see what we are likely to have " in the place of it." But, this was proceeding upon a presumed admission, that the parish bill was good for *something*; whereas, it had, on the other side, always been contended, that it was good for nothing, and not only good for nothing, but that it was an evil unmixed with any good. To stop, therefore, as Mr. Canning proposed, till we saw what we were likely to have in the place of the parish bill, would have been as absurd as for a patient to cry out to his physician: " stop! before you cure me of the plague, " let me see what I am to have in the place " of it." The parish bill is at once a torment and a disgrace to the country. The head, in which it was conceived, was made for 'Change Alley. It was the last of the fooleries of the shallow Pitt and his fry of youngling statesmen. All the men who it is pretended, were procured by it, have been procured by *crimps;* crimps have, under this bill, been, by Royal Authority, sent into every part of the kingdom; though, it will be remembered, that one of the professed objects of the scheme was, to put an *end* to crimping; to " the *infamous* practice of " crimping," as the Grand Operator himself called it. One of the dangers which we have most to apprehend, is, that the people will become, at last, so weary of the many burdens and vexations, to which they are subjected for, as is told them, the sake of

their country's defence, that they will say to themselves: "what change can possibly "be for the worse?" This is a state of the public mind, to which every one must look forward with apprehension. Every possible means of preventing it should be adopted. And, I appeal to the reader, whether any measure, since the days of the famous Poll-Tax, was ever so unjust and so vexatious? It has disturbed the economy of every parish in the kingdom: it has imposed upon parish-officers duties, which, if they had been performed, would have almost deprived them of their personal liberty: it has, as far as it has operated, produced such confusion that never was before witnessed in this country. The Lord Lieutenant of Berkshire (Lord Radnor) showed wisdom and firmness in not being made the tool of an illegal request. He had no power, no lawful power, to call the parish officers together; and one cannot help being pleased to see, that all men in his situation, are not to be twisted about as the caprice of a shallow-headed minister, or some of his missions may dictate. The repeal of this weak and mischievous measure the country will receive as a boon; but, I agree, with Mr. Canning, that, viewing it in the light that I do, the repeal of it should have *come sooner*. I do not say, that the new ministers should have come forward with their plan sooner; but, regarding the parish bill as a mere curse upon the country (and as such, I think, they must regard it) there appears to me to have been no more reason for hesitating about getting rid of it, than for hesitating about getting rid of the caterpillar from amongst your cabbages, or the Hessian fly from amongst your wheat. Why the long hesitation and delay have taken place I know not, except we are to ascribe it to a system of "checks and balan-"ces," in the ministry, similar to those (only much more *efficient*) that Mr. Canning thought he discovered in the varieties of our military force.——This procrastination furnished the opponents of the repeal with a fair handle for entering upon an examination of the plan of Mr. Windham; because, from it they inferred, and not without reason, that the parish bill had been kept in hand, until a *substitute* was ready; and, it followed, of course, that, previous to the repeal of the bill, the merits of that substitute ought to be duly considered.——I agree with Mr. Canning (or rather, he agrees with me), that the plan of Mr Windham is likely to be, as to the raising of men, *inefficient!* and that for the reasons which I have before stated, in page 522; but, I think the objection of Sir James Pulteney of very little weight. He is afraid, that the service *for term of years*, instead of for life, will produce a relaxation of discipline; because the officers, in order to keep their men on to a second or third term, will be more kind to them than is consistent with the good of the service, with that subordination, that prompt obedience which is essentially necessary, not only to the duties, but even to the existence of a regular army. If this were to to be the effect of the proposed alteration, I should be opposed to that alteration; but if the desire of the officers to retain their men should lead them no farther than to act justly, mercifully, and impartially towards them; if it should tend to ensure to the men a full and punctual payment of every thing that is their due and that is raised upon the people for them; if it sould operate as a preventive of all acts of fraud committed upon the soldier, of all unjust detentions of his pay, his cloathing, or his provisions; if it should effectually prevent a system of never-ending attendance at parade, or elsewhere under the immediate command of some one or other; if it should give the soldier some hours in the twenty-four, wherein he might stretch his limbs and raise his voice at his own discretion; if, in short, it should for ever keep from the English service, every thing unjust, petty, and vexatious, what man, who is not as to mind, a mere GERMAN CORPORAL, will not receive the alteration with applause? And, who does not perceive, that, in producing the effects here spoken of (supposing Mr. Windham's alteration to be efficient for that purpose), it would produce another most important effect, that is to say, the *prevention of desertion*, that desertion, which I verily believe, now costs the country annually more money than will be wanted to meet all the additional expenses proposed by Mr. Windham; and, I further believe, that the number of men who now annually desert, is greater than the number that would annually quit service at the end of their first or second term, provided even the plan of Mr. Windham, defective as I think it, were adopted, and heartily acted upon.——Besides, how does Sir James Pulteney reconcile this argument of indiscipline with Mr Canning's argument of non-retaining? The first confidently tells us, that, in consequence of the term-system, the soldiers will be spoiled by the means which their officers will use to retain them in the service; and the latter tells us, with equal confidence, that the soldiers will *not be retained* after the expiration of their term. Each of

these gentlemen may say, "my argument "is a good one;" but, we must be allowed to insist, that either the one or the other is good for nothing.——Mr. Canning strongly urged the danger that might arise from the term system's letting loose a great number of men *at the breaking out of a war*. If this had any meaning at all, it was, that, at the breaking out of a war, the soldier would be likely to have a stronger desire to quit the service than he would have in time of peace. And here, one might, if one were inclined to join in the rabble-courting cant, ask, whether any thing so degrading as this has ever been said of the people of this country? Mr. Canning may be excused for a sentiment like this; but I appeal to any man acquainted with the dispositions of soldiers, whether a prospect of war is not, to them, always a cheering prospect? and, I appeal to Sir James Pulteney, whether the *soldiers* did not march against *Ferrol* with much greater satisfaction than he ever saw them march to a lingering parade or inspection, though, upon these latter occasions, entertained with the whistlings and creechings and jinglings of a score or two of fantastically habited Germans and Blacks? Soldiers always rejoice at the prospect of war. A regiment for foreign service may, at any hour, be filled up by volunteers from other regiments. A regiment going abroad, and especially in war time, is an object of *envy* with other regiments; and this is so notorious in the army, it has been so frequently witnessed in every garrison in the kingdom, that one would really wonder where Sir James Pulteney can have imbibed the notion, that the men would, if at liberty to choose, quit the service because they saw war and foreign service approaching. But, the army, according to Mr. Windham's plan, would, to place no reliance upon the war-loving disposition of the soldiers, be so constituted, as to leave nothing to apprehend upon this score. At the War-Office it would always be known what number of men *could*, in such or such a year, leave the service in consequence of the expiration of their terms; and, of course, care would be taken to have others to supply their place. A few years' experience would render this a matter very nearly of certainty. What are war-offices for but to furnish thought and care as so such matters? Certainly, to the holder of a *sinecure* place; to one who is so fond of a sinecure, that, notwithstanding he has plenty of property of his own, he can continue to hold such place at the mere pleasure of the man of whom he is daily and hourly expressing his contempt; to such a person the idea of labour and of attention seems quite inconsistent with official emolument. But, to others, it may surely be allowed to ask: what are war-offices for but to furnish thought and care as to such matters? And, if this be permitted, the answer is, that it would require but a small portion of either effectually to guard against any such danger as that which Sir James Pulteney and Mr. Canning have here conjured up.——The objection founded on the supposed difficulties that will arise in the *colonial service*, is a mere bug-bear. Suppose, for instance, there be 3 regiments serving in Jamaica, of 1000 rank and file each. Sppose that the men, upon an average, leave the service at the end of the 2d term. One fourteenth part of the men (supposing none to die, and also supposing the regiments never to come home) would have to be brought home every year, and an equal portion sent out in their place; and, where would be the mighty difficulty in sending out to Jamaica 214 men every year, and bringing home a like number? Three times the number might pass and repass in the steerage of the merchant ships! Not a single ton of transports ever need be employed for the service, even supposing that there was not, as there is, an exchange of King's ships, every year upon the station. But, do we not know, that the men sometimes die? Do we not know, that the *regiments* are, *now*, frequently changed in that service? And, in both these cases, are we not, without a term-system, obliged to send out fresh men? Every Island has, in proportion to its importance, and nearly in proportion to the strength of its garrison, merchant ships passing to and fro, and that, too, at all times of the year; and, after a very minute examination into the means of changing the men, I really cannot perceive any difficulty that will arise, in this respect, from the term-system, unless it be a difficulty to make the persons employed in the war-offices attend to their duty, and to do *something* for the immense sums of money that they receive from the public.—In a subsequent page of this sheet, the reader will find a project, which, it seems, has been presented to the present as well as the late ministry, relative to the defence of the West-India Colonies. The writer, whom I heard deliver his sentiments in the House of Commons, is entitled to great praise for the zeal he has shewn; and, if black troops are to be employed, I think his project the best. But, I must confess, that I see no necessity for black troops in the West-Indies any more than in St. James's Park. A slave-army has in it something so revolting, that I

cannot bring myself to bear the idea; and especially as I am convinced, that there is *no necessity* for it. The waste of Englishmen's lives is what no one can treat lightly; and, I am aware, that, as to the drain upon our population, the argument that might be applied in favour of voluntary emigration, will not apply to the army; because, in this latter case, the drain is upon the immediate *strength* of the country, whereas, in the former, the drain is upon that part of the population that is not moulded, and, in a great proportion that never can be moulded, into national strength, and here, therefore, the drain finds a natural counterbalance in the subsistence which it leaves behind, and which subsistence is sure to produce a corresponding population. But, though I agree, that the colonial service is a real drain upon the strength of the nation; yet, the security, both to the colonies and the mother country, from that drain arising, is, in my opinion, more than a compensation for it; and especially would it be so, if *a course of preparation* for the colonial service were adopted, and for which course, his Majesty's colonial possessions are most happily adapted. I have not room to enter here into much detail; but, I, for my part, can see nothing more easy than to give the necessary number of regiments, a preparative tour to Nova Scotia first; next to Bermuda; next to New Providence; and next to the West-India Islands. This would be attended with some expense; but what would this be in comparrison with the torment, the continual torment, attendant upon an establishment of Black Troops? And, as the West-Indians have themselves suggested, why not agree with the colonial assemblies upon a scheme for *settling* in the islands such soldiers as might choose to remain there? But, alas! all this requires zeal and disinterestedness in the public service, somewhere or other. It requires labour and care in those offices, at home, which, having been *earned* (by what means I will not say), the holders but too often regard as a mere channel of pecuniary emolument. There are many sinecures, rich sinecures, in the West-India islands. There is the large annual amount of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per centum duty, paid by some of those islands. Why not resolve to appropriate these exclusively to the making of provision for the officers who have served in the West-Indies, or for the widows and children of such officers as may have lost their lives in that service? Would not this be more just than to bestow these emoluments on persons who have never passed a sleepless hour, the back of whose hand has never been tanned, not only in the service of the West-Indies, but, in any public service whatever? "Oh! "you jacobin!" perhaps Mr. Canning, the famous anti-jacobin writer, will exclaim. Well, Sir, be it so; but, at the same time, be you assured, that, unless a principle of action such as is here implied, be speedily adopted, and steadily adhered to, there will arise events, before which all your waking dreams of ambition will vanish like the illusions of the drunken tinker.——There is one passage in Mr. Canning's speech (as reported in the Morning Chronicle), which, considering the quarter whence it came, has, I must confess, excited, in my mind at least, no small degree of surprise.—— "Without too great a veneration for "the establishments and opinions of our "ancestors he" (Mr. *Canning*, observe), "might disapprove of carrying the regular "army to an unlimited extent without any "thing to *balance* it. In emergencies, our "regular army might be thus augmented "along with our other forces. But he was "proceeding with it in a manner that *would* "*sap all the checks upon it constitutionally* "*established.* He might say that our "checks were nothing, as our militia and "regular army could never be drawn out "against each other. God forbid that they "should. But look at the analogy of our "civil establishments. What were they "but a system of checks and balances, which "had a silent operation? If the right hon. "gent.'s system was to have its full effect, "10 *years hence a member might rise in* "*that House, and declare his sentiments* "*with very different feelings from those by* "*which he was actuated.* A standing ar- "my, therefore, was still to be regarded "with jealousy. But, at the end of the "war, the militia too was to be renewed by "bounties, and by that means, it would be "equally in the power of the crown as the "regular army, and he maintained that the "great objection to this bill, was, *that it* "*put too much in the hands of the crown*; "and, therefore, in some measure, super- "ceded the use of the militia. For the "first time since the revolution, the sup- "plies were voted before the estimates "were presented, and it became the House "to consider the more, what sort of "army we were to have. The Mutiny "Bill would *not be a sufficient check on* "*the regular army thus constituted.*"—— ——In the sentiments, expressed by the words which I have marked with *Italicks*, I agree, for the reasons stated in pages 524, 525, and 526, I perfectly agree with Mr. Canning; and, if the reader has referred to

those reasons, and has duly weighed them, he will, I think, join me in the opinion, that, in answer to such an objection, *something*, at least, should have been said by Mr. Windham, or by Mr. Fox. The notion, however, of balancing this power of the Crown by the influence of a *variety* in the species of our military force, I do not, by any means adopt. I am for a balance *in the constitution of the army itself*; for, while the army is so large as it now is, and while the power of appointment, of dismission, of exaltation, and of degradation, is lodged absolutely and exclusively in the Crown, to the exclusion, too, of all *responsibility in the adviser*, the real liberties of the people must always be in an exact inverse proportion to the strength of the army and to the honours and emoluments thereunto attached.——From the present ministers (to say nothing about the *Council of War*, which they moved for last year) some alteration, in this respect, was expected. General Fitzpatrick, in the case of Colonel Johnstone, stood *pledged*, firmly pledged, to propose some specific measure upon the subject. Since he has been *in office* himself, he has, I suppose, found out that all is right enough; for he has *withdrawn his notice* of a motion, in like manner as Mr. Sheridan has given up his promised motion relative to the transactions in the Carnatic. This absolute power is, too, as in the case of Major Davison, allowed to be exercised by the East India Company and their Governors; and, considering the great number of persons, who are now, either directly or indirectly, become subject to this species of power, where is the man, not having made up his mind to abject subjection, who can remain unalarmed? This power, General Fitzpatrick will *now* tell us, this absolute power, is the acknowledged and undoubted prerogative of the Crown; and that so it was in the best days of Whiggism. But, the General must not forget, that there is some *difference* between this power, when exercised with regard to an army of 10, or 20, or 30 thousand men (the militia being officered by the counties), and the same power, when exercised with regard to an army of from 150 to 300 thousand men. In short, if this be rendered a country wholly military, as with a force of this amount it must be; and, if the officers of the army are wholly dependent upon the will of the crown; if this should be the case, what will this government then be? Anxiously, therefore, do I hope, that, if Mr. Windham's plan (which will place so much additional honour and emolument at the disposal of the crown) be adopted, some means, some *effectual* means, will be found out and adopted for rendering the officers less dependent, or, in other words, for rendering their situations, their means of living with reputation, their very existence, so secure as not to be affected materially without some sort of legal proceeding.

It was my intention to have offered some remarks upon the Slave Trade Bill, now before parliament; and also upon the subject of the *Hanoverian War*; but, I have not room; and, besides, the reader will find, here below, a letter upon each of these subjects. Upon the subject of the Hanoverian war, I do not quite agree in some of the more general notions of my correspondent; but, with respect to the particular points relating to this war, I perfectly agree with him. The letter upon the Slave Trade Bill is worthy of particular attention.

SLAVE TRADE BILL.

Sir,——The sentiments you have on several occasions expressed on the subject of the Slave Trade, and the readiness with which you, at all times, introduce into your valuable Register communications intended to be useful, lead me to hope, that you will favor this letter with insertion, which has for its object to point out the nature and effects of the bill, which has been introduced into parliament by the attorney general, for prohibiting the supply of the colonies surrendered to his Majesty during the present war, with slaves, in a greater number than is deemed necessary to keep up the existing black population: and also for prohibiting British subjects form being directly, or indirectly, concerned in the Slave Trade, with any foreign settlement or country whatever.—To those who reflect on the importance of a trade which occupies nearly 150 ships, carrying 30,000 tons, and employing from 4 to 5,000 seamen; in which is engaged, a capital of upwards of 2 millions; which gives bread to many thousands of men, women, and children, employed in our manufactories; and contributes so largely to the revenue; it will not require much argument to prove, that a measure which will annihilate at one blow, nearly one half of that trade, and greatly injure the remainder, should be maturely considered, and that the benefit to result from it should be well ascertained before it is carried into effect; it would, however, appear from the reception which this bill has met with in the House of Commons, that, by the generality of the members, it is deemed, what, no doubt, the honorable author intends it should be, an act of hu-

manity to the slaves; a boon to the old British colonies; and a measure of general expediency: while, to me, it appears to be just the reverse of all this, and as far as respects, the surrendered colonies, a breach of faith on the part of this government, which I am not aware, that any policy can justify. —And first, Sir, as to the trade on the African coast.—The trade in slaves being open to all nations, no act of the British parliament can prevent foreigners from obtaining a supply; the question then is, whether, with a view to the comforts of the negroes, and to the interests of this country, it is more adviseable that we should be the carriers, or oblige foreigners to go to the fountain-head and supply themselves? the answer I take to be obvious; that, while the trade is unrestrained, the merchant is encouraged, by the great demand, to bring to our colonies a greater number of slaves than is required for their cultivation, and in consequence, the British planter has all advantage of pre-emption, while the foreigner is obliged to take his leavings at a higher expense: on the contrary, if the bill should pass into a law, nearly one half the trade would be transferred to foreigners, and the remainder permitted under such discouraging circumstances, as must render the supply from our own islands extremely precarious and very expensive.—It is, therefore, a matter of astonishment to me, to hear gentlemen of extensive knowledge and great respectability, argue, that this bill is one of the best measures that can be adopted for the interest of the old West-India islands. That it will prevent foreigners from procuring slaves, and by confining the British supply to our own islands, render them cheaper to ourselves.—As before observed, both the eastern and western coasts of Africa are open to all nations; there is nothing to prevent the French, the Americans, the Portugueze, the Danes, the Spaniards, or the Dutch, from buying slaves on that coast as well as the English: there was a time, indeed, when these traders were considered by our Guinea captains as the most contemptible opponents: their trade extended only to the purchase of refuse slaves; it could not be otherwise; they had bad cargoes, and did not understand it: but see what industry and encouragement from the state can produce; a short time, previous to the late war, the French had made such wonderful porgress, that they drove us completely out of the Angola and Whydah trade; they became our most formidable rivals, not only in the Bight and on the Windward coast, but even in the midst of our own settlements on the Gold coast; and what is more, they went round the Cape of Good Hope, and brought thousands of slaves from the eastern coast of Africa; a trade, which we are not permitted to attempt; and there is not a doubt, had the peace and tranquillity of France and its colonies continued for a few years longer, but with such great encouragements as they enjoyed, and such heavy discouragements as we suffered, they would have wrested the whole of it from us.—Now, Sir, there is nothing extravagant in supposing that other nations may be encouraged to imitate what the French effected with so much success; there wants only the occasion, or the necessity to induce them to make the trial: our dereliction of so much of the trade will be a strong temptation to others to profit by our folly: to the French whenever the return of peace will permit it; to the American states immediately; but the necessity must have a more powerful operation on the Spaniards in particular; they have already learned how much it is their interest to purchase slaves for themselves, and not to depend upon a precarious and humiliating supply from the refuse of others: sensible of this truth, they have held out the most tempting offers to people in this country to carry on the trade from their ports, which, if the present bill should pass, there will, it is to be feared, be numbers ready to accept as soon as apportunities shall offer: under such circumstances, can it be imagined that any act of the legislature of this country will be a means in the smallest degree of hindering their supply.—The whole of the British export of slaves from Africa amounts to about 36,000 annually; of these, about one half go to the service of the established British islands; one fourth to the surrended colonies, and the remainder to foreigners. chiefly the Spaniards and Americans. The present bill, therefore, is intended to deprive us of the trade (allowing 5000 for the annual supply to the surrendered colonies) for 13,000 slaves, of which 9000 will be provided by other nations. The effect of such a measure upon our West-India colonies must necessarily be this, that the competition against us being so greatly increased, and on the other hand, our influence in the market proportionably lessened; it will be impossible for us to obtain either so good an assortment, or at so moderate a price as formerly, all which must fall upon the West-India planter; and further, that the restraint in the West-India market will discourage the slave merchant from risking his property even to the extent necessary for the supply of our

islands, and more especially Jamaica, because if he cannot sell there, he will have no ulterior resort.—I think it, altogether, unnecessary to say any thing more to shew that it behoves the West-India planter, above all others, to oppose the present bill, which in every point of view is injurious to his interests; because it not only renders more uncertain and more expensive the supply of labourers for his estates, but after having got them, it renders those very labourers of less value to him, by limiting his market, if he has occasion to sell them.—It is a most erroneous notion, that our islands have but little concern in the discouragement of the British slave merchant; the planter must share in the burthens of the merchant; one strong proof of this is, the present enormous price of slaves, occasioned in a great degree by American competition unrestricted by limitations.—The length of this letter deters me from offering observations on the consequences, that must result from the loss of those valuable returns, of bullion, dying stuffs, &c. which are so important to our colonies and manufactories; I cannot, however, dismiss the subject without adding a quotation from a letter which the last packet brought me from a respectable gentleman, who, encouraged by his Majesty's proclamation, established himself as a planter at Surinam.—"The clamour here (against the order in council in August last for prohibiting the importation of slaves) is universal; the Dutch say, and very truly, that when they surrendered to the British, their faith was pledged that Surinam should enjoy the same privileges with the others (his Majesty's) colonies. The new beginners, on estates, are ruined by the order; and the holders of uncultivated lots, that they have paid for, and upon which they have paid all the taxes, &c. are *pour ainsi dire*, deprived, if not of their property, of all the value of it; namely, the right of cultivation. From the construction our lieut.-governor has put upon the order and the conditions annexed to obtaining the limited supply, the order amounts to a prohibition, insomuch, that I do not expect to see any more negroes sold here publicly. If there exists a cause stronger than another that makes the negroes dissatisfied, it is the want of women, particularly upon the new plantations in the Saramacca, where you will frequently find estates with 100 men and 5 women. In fact, government must extend the importation here, for a short time, or else the colony had better be in the hands of the French, the Dutch, the Spaniards, or the devil."—I have been induced to give you the above quotation from having heard it mentioned in the House upon the report of the bill, that the planters themselves had evinced no dissatisfaction at the prohibition.—I am, Sir, your constant reader, and obedient servant.—C. S.—*26th April*, 1806.

MR. WINDHAM'S PLAN.

SIR,——Your indulgence to my letter of the 8th instant, emboldens me to attempt a few further observations on the proposed change in military affairs. However much the vain and the weak may feel the loss of their empty titles, and gaudy trappings, by the change of the volunteers, I am persuaded the principal cause of that ferment now existing in the country is, the idea of the distinction admitted by the new plan, by which the richer classes are to be allowed to amuse themselves in the present trifling system; and which gives to the training, which if borne by all, would have been a hardship to none, the odious appearance of oppression on the lower classes. An absurd outcry has been raised against the plan of mixing all ranks and conditions of men at these drills. I should like much to know what infection in body or in mind, the most delicate or conscientious can inhale, by standing or moving in a line, where silence and order must be the basis of every operation. It surely cannot be any of those, who as officers of the volunteers, have been in the daily habit of coaxing, begging and beseeching every shoe black in their corps to *favour* them with their attention, who are so squeamishly scrupulous. But, Sir, without forming any asylum, merely for the convenience of such men, they have the option of another species of service, in the ranks of the yeomanry, which under proper regulations will in time of need be found a most useful description of force, and well adapted for every purpose of desultory warfare. These corps should be arranged in squadrons, under the command of an officer with rank of captain, and a certain number of these squadrons should be placed under the direction of an officer of cavalry; not a general, followed by inspectors, aids-de-camp, &c. &c.; but under an intelligent and active officer, who would be more properly termed an instructor than an inspector, whose duty and authority should enable him to act, not to look and bow to these men. This officer of course should be appointed by his Majesty, *and in the army*. The abuses that have taken place in the appointment of the inspectors, will shew the necessity of this latter regulation. The rules

under which these were appointed will be found in the Register, Vol. IV. page 499. And after reading these rules, I would ask any man, if he should expect to find in the list of these inspectors, field officers whose laurels were gained in the fencibles or militia; officers, who in the midst of a war had sold out of the army to the best bidder; or, least of all, officers who had been *ordered* to quit the service? Can we wonder, Sir, at the complaints against these men, or at their fulsome compliments? Who can have so perverted the meaning of *distinguished reputation*, as to recommend such appointments? I do not pretend to say, but I cannot suppose it possible that the commander-in-chief could be the person. If he had advised such a measure, I cannot think Mr. Windham would point him out as the fittest person, in whose hands the rewards and honours of the soldier are to be deposited. Before I conclude this letter, I cannot help joining my regret at the adoption of the German troops, more particularly at seeing British dragoons, at this moment dismounted, to be sent to defend colonies, and delivering their horses to Germans to defend our own country. This is not the system to which we looked forward, when under the enlightened and liberal genius of Mr. Windham, nor can I help suspecting that the same temporising policy, so strongly pourtrayed in the other branches of the government, cramps his energies in the military department.—— I am, Sir, your most obedient servant. MILES. *April* 28, 1806.

HANOVERIAN WAR.

SIR,——I am induced to trouble you with a few hasty remarks on Mr. Fox's late speech, on occasion of his Majesty's Message to Parliament. Whether my observations may coincide with your opinion on the subject, I know not; but in one point, I think we shall agree; that discussion must lead to good inasmuch as it tends to the ascertainment of facts, and the establishment of political truth; and that these are times, which demand, on great public occasions, a manly avowal of opinions, without regard to individual advantage, party prejudices, or public clamour. ——With all the impressive eloquence that could flow from elevated genius, and an ardent and generous mind, Mr. Fox held out to merited censure, the disgraceful policy of the Prussian cabinet. The people of this country are (nationally speaking) animated with a spirit too similar to his own, not to feel, as he would wish, a general sentiment of indignation. But, Sir, let me call your attention to one part of his Majesty's declaration, rendered still more important by its cordial adoption by Mr. Fox, who avows that he felt particular pleasure in announcing it to the Prussian minister. I mean his Majesty's explicit assurance, that "no convenience of political arrangement shall induce him to consent to the alienation of the Electorate."——Now, this leads to a conclusion, which cannot fail to be highly alarming to every man who feels the pressure of the war; (and who is there that is not tremblingly alive to such feelings?) for it holds out to us the *comfortable* prospect, that our cabinet will be little inclined to any negociation, which shall not have for its *basis* the *restoration of this Electorate*. To how formidable a distance does this throw our prospect of peace! And, after all, Mr. Cobbett, does the object appear to any man of plain understanding to be attainable, unless under circumstances, and in consequence of events on the Continent, which do not, at this moment, present themselves as at all probable to the most sanguine imagination? —Sir, what I would wish to depreciate, is the very thing which seems now aimed at, as if by general consent of all parties; namely, an attempt to interest the generous feelings of Englishmen at the expense of their judgment: "never give up the loyal inhabitants of Hanover," cries Mr. Fox, and Lord Castlereagh echoes the injunction. When they do agree at St. Stephens, as Mr. Puff says, "their unanimity is wonderful."—— But, Sir, is it consistent with a genuine spirit of loyalty and patriotism, to ask these orators of congenial fire to descend from the clouds, and inform us in the first place, how the restoration of these territories is to be effected, and in the next, (if we may be allowed to whisper the question) how far the object is worth attaining? That his Majesty must feel a fond attachment to the dominions of his ancestors is naturally to be expected; and every man of a generous mind must sympathise in his grief and indignation, at the unprincipled aggression which has torn them from his possession. But, were not the advice more sage, though perhaps less palatable, that should rather endeavour to reconcile him to an inevitable loss, than encourage wild and rash hopes of redeeming it? In spite of local attachments, true British interests must ever be the primary object of a British Sovereign; and it were almost treason to suppose it possible that his Majesty could wish, his cabinet advise, or his people acquiesce in, the protraction of a hopeless contest, or the sacrifice of any great national object, for the redemption of continental dominion.——Sir, these times of

strange event are pregnant with incidents of calamity, with losses, and privations. In those of an humbler station the progress of its deterioration is less observeable, but not less constant and oppressive, while those in the highest, who could in happier periods, almost mock the inconstancy of fortune, are now subject to its most terrible reverses. When we contemplate empires reduced to comparative insignificance, kingdoms torn from their ancient dynasties, and free nations subjected to a foreign yoke, we shall the less wonder and repine at the separation of Hanover from the Crown of Great Britain; and if we can preserve to our Sovereign the *latter*, unimpaired in splendour, dignity, and power, though we may regret the loss of the *former*, as an evil, we ought to be grateful for the comparative good.—Unhappily, there appears an unavoidable necessity for our Sovereign and his people, for the present, to give way to the dreadful change in the state of the Continent, produced by events, which the sagacity of Mr. Fox foresaw, and which an administration conducted by him might have averted, but which *now* are not to be cured and controuled. At the same time this necessary acquiescence should be coupled with a firm, steady determination to defend all the blessings and advantages, which our insular situation has hitherto preserved to us, and which it cannot fail ever to secure, if we unite prudence with energy, and husband our ample resources. But, Mr. Cobbett, I protest against all fits of philanthropic fury; against all wild denunciations; against all rash vows of continuing to make war for *unattainable*, or *unimportant* objects.—— What I had intended for the loose occupation of an hour, has grown to unallowable diffuseness. I had intended to touch on the consequences of the present change to his Majesty's Hanoverian subjects, for I must be allowed to doubt, whether, in the actual state of the Continent, it is altogether so much to their disadvantage as has been supposed. I should also, *with reluctance*, advert to a sort of *side wind* inuendo, in Mr. Fox's speech, as to the importance of Hanover as *an appendage to Great Britain*: a position which, I think, it would require all his ingenuity to maintain *seriously*.—If this letter, subject to such compression and alteration as you think fit, or any part of it appear worth notice, it is at your and the public service. If not, my object will be gained, if it only leads you to reflect on, and discuss the subject it contains with your usual keenness of research, and boldness of remark.——BRITANNICUS.

COLONIAL SERVICE.

SIR,——In a letter addressed to you, under date the 30th of March, inserted in your Register of the 5th of April, Major Cartwright puts the following queries to you.—"But now, Mr. Cobbett, let me, in my "turn, ask you, if you have duly considered, the demands of men for all foreign "services, before the residue becomes applicable to home defence? Where you "shall have provided garrisons for Gibraltar, Malta, the Cape of Good Hope; armies for Canada, New Brunswick, and "all our West India Islands; other armies "for our widely extended Asiatic dominions; and our Asiatic wars; others "again for Guernsey, Jersey, and Ireland; "besides a disposeable force for Mediterranean or other expeditions; how many of "your 200,000 men will be left at home; "and after making the necessary deductions for raw recruits, remain as our efficient defence?"——Forcibly struck with difficulties, similar to the preceding; a gentleman who, for some time, had a seat in the present Parliament, was induced to submit the following ideas to the House of Commons, and there, though they were uttered with some degree of confusion, from his want of the habit of public speaking, or ability to arrange them, they so far attracted notice, that one of the late ministry, in his own name, and in that of his principal, desired to have them in writing; and they were accordingly, hastily thrown upon paper and delivered to him.——Previously to the gentleman's vacating his seat, the substance of them was also transmitted to Mr. Fox.—I am not without apprehension, Mr. Cobbett, from the contempt with which, if I recollect right, you have in some part of your work, spoken of the people, of whom my opinion is very different, that these ideas may meet with but an unfavourable reception from you, and I have an additional reason to suspect this, from not having observed any subsequent notice bestowed on them, by those to whom they were originally submitted.—— ——At all events, however, I will now venture to lay them before you, confident that you will endeavour to dismiss, as far as in your power, all undue prejudice from your mind, and after obtaining information from those able to furnish it, afford the subject a candid consideration. They were then as follows: viz. "From what has passed lately in the Island of St. Domingo, our West-Indian colonies appear exposed to new and imminent danger, both internal and external, and it is, therefore, the part of prudence to

make early provision to meet its occurrence. —It is impossible to suppose the Negroes of our colonies unacquainted with the success of their brethren, or unanimated with the hope of being able at some period or other to imitate their example *.—The West-Indian islands have hitherto furnished few, or no resources of offensive war to their European masters, and their exterior means of defence can no longer be relied on as formerly. In the event of an attack from without, abetted by internal commotion, it would certainly be found insufficient, except provided on a scale much larger than can be afforded, consistent with the pressing necessity of keeping our forces, as much concentered as possible at home. The destructive ravages which the climate of the West-Indies have ever been found to make in the constitutions of our countrymen, must also render it extremely difficult to keep up, even our present establishment of troops in them; for, I imagine no circumstance opposes so strong an objection to the regular military service of the state, both amongst the officers and privates, as the idea of being ordered to the West Indies. "Quæ nempe et nostro lethum miserabile fratri attulit. Hic misero frater adempte mihi."—It was these considerations that induced me at the close of the last session of parliament (on the 10th of August) to hazard a suggestion, which if adopted, I fondly hoped, might in a great degree provide for our colonial demand for troops, both for defensive and offensive purposes, and consequently, add materially to the disposeable strength of our own country. —I assumed that we held a dominion in the East, over a population of fifty millions of enlightened and obedient subjects; which population of itself, probably, was not inferior in number to the host, under the command of the government of France. I stated, however, that I did not pretend to aver that our fellow subjects in the East, were physically equal in energy or strength to the hardy sons of more northern regions, in which I would on no account, propose to bring them to combat †. That as they were nevertheless capable of a very high degree of military discipline, possessed great bravery, and had manifested a fidelity to our cause, in difficulties unexampled; and, as his Majesty possessed other dominions situated in climates similar to their own; I was of opinion, that in these, a large proportion of the force entertained, *if raised for the express purpose, and under due precautions*, might be advantageously drawn from our possessions in the East. That this part of the force would be found the best adapted to the service. That it would prove alike capable of resisting the vertical sun of the day, as the pernicious damp of the night. That by becoming a counterpoise to the Negro population, it would afford security to the planters against their insurrections; and scour the mountains and woods when they might retire to them. That were these troops encouraged to take their families with them to the islands, aided also by other means, that might be adopted, of peopling them in part from the East, in process of time they would produce a race of orderly and industrious freemen, both to cultivate and defend them; and, in the end, do away the necessity of having recourse to the odious and atrocious practice of the slave trade. Finally, that it would materially economise the valuable lives of our own countrymen. The following are a few of the particular propositions that immediately suggest themselves; others, no doubt would be required for bringing the plan to maturity and perfection.——I. That the troops destined for the West-Indies might be best qualified to resist the effects of the climate, they should be levied from the maritime or most southern parts of Bengal, especially Chittagong, Orissa, the Coasts of Coromandel and Malabar; the air and climate of which places, I am persuaded would be found to correspond with the West-Indies. The natives of the upper and dry regions of Hindostan, would prove as little able to resist their effects, as Europeans.——II. That the several corps should be composed of young able bodied men, as many of whom as could be induced to do so, should be encouraged to take their families with them.—III. That they should be enlisted for a term of years (probably not less than seven) with the certain assurance of being furnished with the means of returning to their own country, when their time of service had expired, by the vessels which might bring recruits for their several corps. *(To be continued.)*

* E. G. Late occurrences in Trinidad.

† I am as well aware as the author of the Inquiry into the State of the Nation can be of the difference between European and Indian troops, although I do not think the difference now prevails to the degree which it did, when the Roman Historian wrote, from whom he quotes, or that our Indian battalions would disgrace themselves if brought in contact with the troops of Naples, or with some others of Italy. Vide page 88, in the note.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" To all these points we beg the best attention of your honourable House. We beseech you to pursue with " effect what you began with so much honour. We entreat you not to relax in your efforts till you " have brought VISCOUNT MELVILLE to condign punishment, and given to all, *who shall be found to have* " *committed similar crimes*, a signal demonstration, that, in the *representatives of the people*, instead of abet- " tors of their iniquities, they will find only the *faithful guardians* of the nation, and the zealous vindica- " tors of the laws."—PETITION OF THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER, seconded by MR. FOX, and pre- sented to the House of Commons by him, on the 3d of May, 1805.

TO THE

ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

LETTER I.

GENTLEMEN,—A year and some few days have now passed, since we (for I was one amongst you) met in Palace-Yard, upon the subject of the proceedings then going forward, in the House of Commons, against Lord Viscount Melville. I need not recal to your minds the marks of approbation, with which, on that day, we received the speech of MR. FOX; and, more especially that part of it, where he expressed *his suspicions as to the sincerity* of the ministers, who had just then proposed to establish a board of Commissioners for the purpose of inquiring into the abuses in the MILITARY Department. Consonant, in principle, with this speech of Mr. Fox, was the Petition, which we resolved upon, which we signed, which we authorised him to present to the House of Commons, which he did so present in less than two hours after we had signed it, and the closing words of which I have taken as a motto to this letter, being the first of a series, which it is my intention to address to you, upon matters connected with the receipt and the disbursement of the public money, a liberty which I am sure you will excuse, when you consider that a just application of the heavy taxes that we pay, is absolutely necessary to the preservation of whatever we now have, whether of property or of liberty, and also to the preservation of the monarchy itself.

The Commission above-mentioned; that is to say, the Commission of MILITARY INQUIRY was, soon afterwards, formed and established by act of parliament, being the act 45 Geo. III. chap. 47. Mr. Pitt the then minister, nominated the members of this board, which has proceeded in its functions, and its First Report has been upon the table of the House of Commons nearly *two months*, it having been laid there on the 20th of March last, and having been ordered to be printed on the 21st of March. The whole of this Report, together with the Appendix, are comprised in 113 pages of loose print; and, this is a quantity of printing, which, at any one of the great printing offices in London, can be brought forth in the space of twenty-four hours.

The important facts brought to light by this Report it shall next be my endeavour to state to you; but, first of all, it will be proper that we retrace, and fix in our minds, what has happened as to changes in the offices of government; because, we shall find occasion, as we go along, to take these changes into view, in connection with the proceedings relative to the public money. Mr. Pitt died in January last, whereupon a change in the ministry took place; and, to our common satisfaction, this change introduced into the king's councils, Mr. Fox, Mr. WINDHAM, Mr. GREY (now Lord Howick) and LORD HENRY PETTY, all of whom had eminently distinguished themselves in those laudable efforts, of which we so highly approved and with so much gratitude acknowledged, in the case of Lord Viscount Melville. But, Gentlemen, in the expression of these, our approbation and gratitude, by what feeling were we animated? By that of personal hostility? By hatred of the *person* of Lord Viscount Melville? By an envious desire to come at his *places* and his *emoluments?* No: but by a love of public justice; justice upon the principles of the ancient and righteous laws of England, which respect not persons, but the vengeance of which falls with equal weight upon the high and upon the low, and which, in admitting, out of reverence to the person of the King, that *he* can do *no wrong*, fall, with undiminished weight, upon the person of those counsellors, who may advise wrong, under the royal authority, to be done.

Acting, ourselves, from an impulse so disinterested and so perfectly consonant with the principles of impartial justice, we, in hailing the above-mentioned change in the councils of His Majesty, hailed the day

when those principles, vigorously acted upon, were about to work a reformation in every department, connected with the receipt and expenditure of 46 millions of money, now annually raised out of the fruits of our labour; and, amongst these departments, our eyes were naturally directed, as to a great and primary object, to the result of the inquiries to be made in the MILITARY Department, in which department there is now annually expended upwards of 18 millions of money. I will not say, Gentlemen, that we have looked *in vain*. I will not say, that our expectations in this respect, have actually *been disappointed*. But, I cannot refrain from saying, nor from endeavouring to draw your attention to the fact, that the First Report of the Commissioners of Military Inquiry has been before the House of Commons for nearly two months; and that, as yet, no proceeding whatever has thereon taken place, though, as I think, you will be fully convinced, this Report contains matter full as worthy of parliamentary proceedings as any of the matters contained in the Tenth Report of Naval Inquiry.

The subject of this First Report of the Military Commissioners is an inquiry relative to the money concerns of the BARRACK DEPARTMENT, of which LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DE LANCEY was at the head, under the title of "Barrack-Master General," from May 1794, until November 1804, when he resigned his office. A person of the name of GREENWOOD, an army agent, was, until the resignation of De Lancey (whose titles we will, for brevity's sake, now omit) Agent or Treasurer to the Barrack-Office.

It appears, from the Report and the accompanying documents, that the money for the public service, in the Barrack-Department, was, as it issued from the Treasury, not lodged in the Bank of England, but was held by GREENWOOD; and, it further appears, that this GREENWOOD, who received a salary of £530 a year, had in his hands an average sum of 32,500l. of the public money during the whole of the time that he was the Treasurer. The interest of 32,500l. for one year, at 5 per centum, is 1,625l. and, when we consider *the length of time*, we shall find, that, by this mode of lodging the public money, the *gains* to GREENWOOD, or some *other person*, must have been immense, and that the loss to the public must have been of correspondent amount.

But this is a mere trifle compared to what has come to light with regard to the public money appropriated and used by De Lancey himself, who, under the pretext of *securing himself against losses*, made, at different times, great charges under the head of *contingencies*, and thus drew out of the Treasury great sums, which still remain unaccounted for, and which are now *actually due to the public*. But, lest I should be accused of misrepresentation, I will here quote the Report itself, requesting you, gentlemen, to pay great attention to it.——

"In answer to the precept of the Board, "Lieut. Gen. De Lancey furnished us with "certain statements and accounts, from "which there results a balance due to the "public of 6,805l. 4s. being so much which "Lieut. Gen. De Lancey has drawn from "the Treasury beyond the amount which "he states to be due to him; but, on refe-"rence to the items of these accounts, it "appears to us that a much larger sum is "due to the public. Lieut. Gen. De Lancey "takes credit in every year for allowances "and emoluments under three heads:— "1. His pay as Barrack Master General, "and General Officer on the Staff. 2. His "travelling expences. 3. His contingen-"cies for additional charge and responsibi-"lity upon unsettled accounts, at one per "cent. on the expenditure of the barrack "department in each year.——The two "first heads have been made subjects of in-"quiry, and the observations which may "arise on them will be hereafter noticed; "the third is the transaction to which we "have before alluded; and it is of so im-"portant and singular a nature, that we "have been greatly influenced by the con-"siderations which arise on it, to make "this partial report. The Lieut. Gen. in-"forms us, that he takes credit for this "sum on account of contingent charges, "such as, "upon the making up and set-"" tling his accounts, he shall bring against "" the public;" and in an explanatory pa-"per on this subject, he adds, "that feel-"" ing most acutely the critical situation "" in which he has been placed, not only "" with respect to the losses to which he "" must be subjected from the mode to be "" applied to the settlement of his ac-"" counts, but likewise from the delay "" which has taken place, and which has "" deprived him of the means of recover-"" ing disallowances from the subordinate "" accountants; he therefore, in order "" to indemnify himself from losses "" which may arise upon the settlement "" of his accounts, found himself under "" the necessity of availing himself of the "" authority granted to him of making "" contingent charges, and stating a sum

" " in his contingent account for additional " " charge and responsibility to which in " " justice he ought not to have been sub- " "jected." Admitting that losses are " likely to accrue, and for the cause assigned, " it yet does not occur to us that Lieut. Gen. " De Lancey can indemnify himself against " such losses or disallowances, by appropri- " ating to himself so considerable a sum of " the public money; since this appropria- " tion must, in passing his accounts, be dis- " allowed equally with any other charges " for which no voucher nor authority is pro- " duced. It is observable that Lieut. Gen. " De Lancey introduced a similar charge " of one pound one shilling per centum on " the barrack expenditure into his early " accounts, submitted to examination in the " war-office in 1795; which charge, from " the year 1794, he justifies on the ground " that the " War-Office had charged him " " with large sums which he had never " " received;" and for the period previous " to 1794, on the ground, that he consi- " dered his " increased responsibility to " " take place from the commencement of " " his account." But the fact of the in- " troduction of this charge at a time when " no delay had occurred; its being after- " wards withdrawn from the accounts " which were passed at the War Office " (withdrawn, as he states, by himself, that " " no delay might have taken place in the " " settlement of his accounts by any " " questions arising);" and his total si- " lence on this subject in any communica- " tions made by him to the Select Commit- " tee of Finance in 1797, tend to invali- " date the reasons adduced in its justifica- " tion; and Lieut. Gen. De Lancey not " shewing *any authority* for this charge, " amounting to 88,923l. we are of opinion " that this sum should be added to his ac- " knowledged balance of 6,865l. 4s. before- " mentioned, *and the total amount repaid* " *without delay to the account of the present* " *Barrack Master General at the Bank of* " *England.*—It further appears to us, that " there is an error in Lieut. Gen. De Lan- " cey's personal account, the correction of " which will add to this balance. Lieut. " Gen. De Lancey takes credit for 1,570l. 1s. " the amount of a warrant granted him by " the War Office for his pay and allowances " for the year 1793; these charges are al- " ready included in the two first items of his " account, and amount to 1626l. 16s. which " credit must therefore be cancelled, and " added to the balance, making the total " sum due by Lieut. Gen. De Lancey to the " public 97,415l.!" Mark the amount, gentlemen! And, let us, presently, hear the sentiments of the ministers with regard to the absolute, the hard, the cruel *necessity*, of the new taxes which they are now imposing upon the people.——After the above statement the Commissioners proceed thus: " The appropriation of so large a " sum to an unauthorised use, and especi- " ally of so great a proportion of it in the " last ten months of Lt. G. De Lancey's " holding the office of Barrack Master Ge- " neral, afforded strong grounds to presume, " that the statements given in by the Bar- " rack-Office, on which the Lords of the " Treasury proceeded in the issues of money " for barrack services, were *not the correct* " *documents* we should have expected them " to be; and, our inquiries have *justified* " *that presumption.* The current services " were provided for by monthly statements, " and the extra, or unforeseen services by " subsequent requisitions or estimates; but " the existing balances in the hands of the " Treasurer were no where noticed, nor was " any allowance or deduction made for " sums received for rent of canteens, and " sale of dung, and re payments to a con- " siderable amount. It is obvious; there- " fore, *how funds have been found* to answer " the drafts of Lieut. Gen. De Lancey *on* " *his personal account*; and by reference to " Mr. Greenwood's examination, it will be " seen in what manner a part of the sums " drawn by him in the years 1803 and " 1804, has been appropriated." This is, indeed, obvious enough; for, from the examination here referred to, it appears, that, during the years 1803 and 1804, of the sums drawn out of the Treasury, and received by GREENWOOD on account of the *public service*, four sums, amounting to 11,090l. were immediately carried to DE LANCEY'S *private* account, instead of being applied to meet demands upon the barrack-department! And, observe, gentlemen, that, while this was going on, De Lancey was receiving pay from the public. that is to say from the people, that is to say, in part, out of our labour; from this source he was receiving pay, 1st, as Colonel of the 17th regiment of dragoons; 2d, as Barrack Master General; 3d, as *a Lieut. Gen. upon the Staff*; and 4th, for travelling expenses as Barrack Master General, at the average of about 1000l. a year! So that, in the whole, he was receiving, in *pay* and *travelling expenses*, about 5,000l. a year, and in mere pay alone about 4,000l. a year. But, before I proceed to draw the comparison between this case and that of Lord Viscount Melville and Mr. Trotter, I must stop for a mo-

ment to beseech your attention to the nature of the several offices, for the filling of which this person was receiving pay out of the pocket of the people. As colonel of the 17th regiment of dragoons, it was, unquestionably incumbent upon him, to superintend the affairs of that regiment; for, to what end is a colonel appointed to a regiment; to what end is he paid a thousand or two a year for filling that office; to what end is there any such rank, unless there be some duty attached to it? We shall be told, perhaps, that this is, from usage, become a post of mere emolument; that it is now a mere sinecure; that a man, by holding such a post, does not regard himself as bound to do duty with the regiment, but that he does not regard himself as bound ever to *see* it; that many offices about the court and at Whitehall, requiring constant attendance there, are filled by men, who are, at the same time, colonels of regiments, and who, of course, can scarcely ever see such regiments. As an illustration of this, we may be reminded, that GENERAL FITZPATRICK, who is now *Secretary at War*, and who has more than a hundred clerks under him, has during the few weeks that he has been in that office, become also *a colonel of a regiment*, a post given him, of course, by the *advice of the Duke of York*; and, it will, perhaps, be added, that the General has withdrawn his notice (which was given during last session of parliament) for a motion relative to the advice given to the king to dismiss officers, as in the case of Colonel Cochrane Johnstone, whose *Letter to the Duke of York* the public are in possession of. But, Gentlemen, these colonelships, though it would appear, that they are concerns of mere profit, are not sinecures for life, it being in the power of the king to take them away at any moment that he pleases; so that, there being now about 200 regiments, there are, of course, 200 men, many of whom are members of parliament, from whom his Majesty can, at any moment he pleases, take an office worth about 1,500l. a year; and, observe, that, in the case of the army, there is *no responsibility in the adviser*, the dismission of officers of the army being an absolute prerogative of the crown.——The office of Barrack-Master General you have already some idea of, from the circumstance of the officer's being required to travel so much as to cost the public about a thousand a year in travelling expenses; but, you will have a still better idea of it's importance, when I tell you, that, in this department, and under this officer, there is expended annually about 1,500,000l. of the public money.——Yet, to this office was added in the person of DE LANCEY, that of a Lieutenant-General *upon the staff*. THE STAFF, gentlemen, is not in this application of the word, a very intelligible name. It means an establishment of Generals and other officers, whose business it is to command, not particular corps, but *the army*, or parts of the army. These generals and other officers do, indeed, bear rank and receive pay, in their particular corps; but, they are selected from those corps, and taken away, for the time being, for the purpose of directing the operations of the whole of the corps considered as an army, and acting as such; they are relieved from the performance of their regimental duties, in order that they may be able to devote the whole of their time, attention, and talents, to the more important services of the army in general, upon which talents and industry so employed, the safety of a nation may frequently depend. Accordingly, at the head of OUR STAFF is the Duke of York, and, upon the same establishment, are, I believe, *five* of his royal brothers, unless the Duke of Cambridge be still upon THE STAFF of Hanover. The Duke of Gloucester is also a general upon the Staff; and, upon the same establishment was Lieut. Gen. De Lancey, though, as we have seen, he was, at the same time, Barrack-Master General, having the care of the expenditure of 1,500,000l. a year, and expending while travelling about the country upon the Barrack business, about a thousand a year of the public money. The *reasons* for the Duke of York's putting De Lancey upon this establishment were, we must suppose, as cogent as those which produced De Lancey's selection of GREENWOOD for a Treasurer. The *fact* of De Lancey's being a Lieut. Gen. upon the staff, and of his receiving *pay* for filling that office is all that, for the present, we have to do with. I will just add, that the charge upon the public, on account of staff officers and officers of garrisons, was, in the last year only, 289,027l. and yet that "unprin-"cipled *plunderer*" of *foreign* nations, Buonaparté, has the impudence, the intolerable impudence and insolence, to tell us that we have "no generals," and to laugh at our staff establishment! Were he to come *here*, Gentlemen, were he to dare to come, he would soon be made to laugh on the other side of his mouth!

Begging your pardon for this long digression, I now return to the First Report of the Commission of Military Inquiry; and the best way to view the matter, it appears to me, is to take it comparatively with the facts com-

tained in, and the parliamentary proceedings upon, the Tenth Report of Naval Inquiry.

From this last-mentioned Report, Gentlemen, it appeared, that large sums of the public money had, during the space of 16 years, been drawn out of the Treasury for alledged naval purposes, and had been applied, for a considerable time, at least, to *other* than naval purposes; for instance, to the discounting of bills, to the liquidating of private accounts, and, as in the case of the loan to Boyd and Benfield, to the accommodating of merchants (those merchants being members of the House of Commons) with the means, *interest free*, of paying their instalments *upon loans made by them to the public*, and upon which loans they were *receiving interest from the public!* This last, however, was, it would seem, an act of merit, rather than a crime, seeing that Mr. Fox and the other persons who have been chiefly instrumental in bringing Lord Melville to trial, have, very recently, voted for a grant of 40,000l. of the public money to pay the debts of Mr. Pitt, and that, too, upon the express ground of Mr. Pitt's *public merit;* and, we all know, that the naval money lent to Boyd and Benfield without interest, was lent with the knowledge of, and was, in fact, actually lent by Mr. Pitt's consent, and with the approbation and participation of Mr. Pitt. As to the two other characteristics, namely, the discounting of bills, and the liquidating of private accounts, with the public money, the Naval and Military Reports bear a pretty exact resemblance; for, though, as to the first, there does not appear any direct evidence to prove, that the public money which was drawn out of the Treasury on account of the Barrack-Office, and which lay at GREENWOOD'S, or *elsewhere*, was employed in the discounting of bills, it would be very unreasonable to suppose, that it was not employed in some way or other for purposes of private emolument; and, as to the second, there is direct and positive evidence, that, in the years 1803 and 1804 only, the sum of 11,096l. which had been drawn out of the Treasury on account, and in the name of Barrack Services, *was transferred to* DE LANCEY'S *private account* with his agent GREENWOOD. Thus far, Gentlemen, the two Reports proceed pretty nearly, if not quite, upon a parallel; but, there is one striking and most important dissimilarity in *favour* of the persons inculpated in the Naval Report; and, Gentlemen, I must bespeak your patience, while I endeavour to give you a fair description of it. You must remember, that it was frequently urged, by the defenders of Lord Viscount Melville, that his account with the public was settled; that it was cleared off; that he had actually paid the balance due upon his account; that, in short, the books clearly shewed, that *he owed the public nothing*, and that, therefore, nothing has the public *suffered* by him. This, said *we* (as we still say) is sophistical; it is a misrepresentation; it is a deception; for, though, at the *end* of his holding the office of Treasurer of the Navy, he made his accounts square; though he *then* brought and paid into that Treasury all the sums of public money that were in his hands; yet, that, during the long continuance of his treasurership, he had constantly large sums in his hands, or permitted such sums to remain in the hands of others, instead of leaving them in the Bank of England or in the King's Exchequer till wanted for naval services, and that he did thereby cause an injury to the public equal to the amount of the interest of such sums, to say nothing about the means, which, by the use of such sums were afforded, of procuring influence as to matters connected with politics. But, Gentlemen, while you will not fail to perceive, that this reasoning applies with equal force to the case of DE LANCEY and those *who are concerned with him*, I beseech you to remark, that DE LANCEY has *not settled his account;* that he has *not paid in his balance due to the public;* that, leaving his gains by *interest* out of the question, he *now* OWES, upon the face of his own accounts, 97,415l. to the public; that he has *in his hands* this immense sum of money, which, as you well know, has been raised, in taxes, out of the fruit of our labour; and, accordingly, as you have seen, in the part of the Report which I have extracted for your information, the Commissioners of Military Inquiry state, that he ought to be made to pay, without delay, the said sum back into the Treasury of the nation.

Thus, Gentlemen, having, with what degree of clearness I am able, placed the case before you, I might leave you to apply what has been called to your recollection at the beginning of this letter; but, it seems necessary to make an observation or two tending a little further to illustrate what was there pointed out. You remember how, in the case of Lord Melville, the MORNING CHRONICLE (then the *opposition* newspaper) vociferated for *justice*; speedy justice; no delay! And you must remember, that, even *before* the Report was printed, what broad hints it threw out upon the subject. Yet, *now*, it is as blind as a mole, or, at

any rate, as mute as a fish! Why this difference, Gentlemen? Why this foul, nay, I must call it, this base partiality?—What is it to you and me, Gentlemen, whether a man be in place or out of place, so that he has our money in his pocket? What is it to us, who wants his place, or by whom he is protected? What is it to us, *whom* he has lent our money to, so that we have been deprived of the use of it? Bear in mind, too, that, in the case of DE LANCEY, there is a certain specified sum; the fixed sum of 97,415*l.* now due to the public, and recommended by the Commissioners to be immediately ordered to be paid into the Treasury; and that, as yet, not one word has, any where, been said about *acting* upon this recommendation; or, that, if a word has any where been said about it, it has been said so very softly as for it not to have reached your and my ears. In the case of Lord Viscount Melville and Mr. Trotter, you remember, Gentlemen, that it was strongly urged by our Representative, Mr. Fox (who is now *a minister*), by Mr. GREY (who is now also *a minister*), by Mr. WINDHAM (who is now also *a minister*), and by LORD HENRY PETTY (who is now also *a minister*), that, one way, in which the public had been injured by Lord Viscount Melville and Mr. Trotter, was, the *risk* which the public ran in consequence of its money having been held in *private hands*, instead of being safely lodged in the Treasury or in the Bank of England. Let us apply this reasoning (very sound reasoning) to the case of DE LANCEY; and, where shall we find the *cause* of 97,415*l.* being now quietly left in his hands, or in the hands of *others* of his choosing, without any security at all; or, at least, without any security that you and I have ever heard of?

It now remains for me to remind you of the public pecuniary circumstances, of the state of our national money-affairs, at the moment that this great sum is left in the hands of DE LANCEY, or of *others*, to whose keeping he may have confided it. And here, Gentlemen, I shall trouble you with nothing of my own; I shall not (even suppose it necessary) remind you of the endless and pressing calls of the taxgatherers of numerous descriptions, nor shall I exhort you to look at the 1,200,000 paupers, who now inhabit this fertile island, cultivated by all the means that the greatest degree of ingenuity and of industry combined are capable of producing: I shall content myself with just noticing two instances of taxation brought forward during the present session of parliament, namely, the addition to the INCOME-TAX, and the new tax upon PIG-IRON; and, as to the former, I shall merely insert here a debate upon the subject, as I find it in the Morning Chronicle newspaper of Thursday last, the 8th instant, the debate having taken place on the preceding day.—"Mr. W. "SMITH stated his objections to the bill, "which were, that it operated most unjustly and unequally, inasmuch as it taxed, at "the same rate, incomes which arose from "different species of property totally dis"tinct in their nature and value. It was a "gross insult upon sense, to tax at the same "rate income from capital, and income "depending solely on personal exertion; "income from property not worth 3 years "purchase, and income from property "worth 30 years purchase. The title was "false and delusive, for the tax was not "upon property, but upon income, and it "was to all intents and purposes an income "tax. He also objected to it on account of "the principle of disclosure which it in"volved, and which afforded such inquisi"torial and vexatious powers to the officers "of govt. as rendered it to the last degree "grating to the feelings of Englishmen. "This principle of disclosure had, however, "been much modified by a noble lord (Sid"mouth), now in the other house, and for "this he deserved the thanks of the coun"try. But still the principle remained and "vitiated the whole bill. He had no great "objection to the rise from $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to "10 per cent. He was aware of the *diffi"culties with which his friends had to strug"gle*. They were placed in a situation "which *compelled them to adopt measures "which they themselves might not consider "as the best*. The *money must be raised*, "and the difficulties attending the execu"tion of a real tax on property, or of rais"ing the necessary supplies in any other "way were so great that he was not sur"prised that they had not been able, in "the first instance, to get over them. But "he thought the tax a grievance of an into"lerable kind, and he would not have done "his duty had he not stated his objections "to it.—Sir ROBERT BUXTON opposed "the bill on the grounds of its involving an "unequal principle of taxation. He hoped "that some relief would be given to the "landed interest, especially to country gen"tlemen with incomes of about 2,000*l.* a "year.—Sir HENRY MILDMAY also op"posed it, on the ground of its imposing a "duty of 4*s.* in the pound on the landed in"terest instead of 2*s.* It bore peculiarly "hard on one description of people! men "of small landed property who had large fa-

" milies, and he hoped that some abate-
" ments would be allowed on their account.
" ——Mr. Perceval supported the bill,
" on the ground that it was impossible that
" an equal sum of money could be raised so
" equally, upon the whole, on property of
" every description. *The money must be*
" *raised*, and this was, in fact, the best plan
" that could be devised. It was a tax on
" profits, and so the title implied. He
" hoped, however, that exemptions would
" be allowed in many cases, otherwise the
" measure might become *so odious*, that we
" might be in danger of losing it altogether.
" ——Mr. Wilberforce agreed with his
" hon. friend who spoke last, and hoped that
" exemptions would be allowed in all cases
" where the necessaries of life were con-
" cerned. It would be hard if, when one
" part of a ship's crew were enjoying every
" sort of luxury, the other should be put
" upon short allowance. He stated the
" cases of the officers of the army and navy
" under a certain income; but what had
" been done for the latter, and was to be
" done for the former, might preclude the
" necessity of any exemption for them.
" But the case of clergymen under a certain
" income must be considered. He knew
" *large supplies must be raised*, and if the
" tax should fail in any degree on account
" of abatements to persons of a small in-
" come, he would be willing that it should
" be made up by an additional rate on the
" higher classes.——Lord Henry Petty
" said, that the opposition which had been
" that night expressed to the bill, it was not
" necessary then to answer. He *did not*
" *mean to say that the measure was the most*
" *equal, or the most perfect*, that it was
" possible for human ingenuity to devise;
" and perhaps a tax on capital, or a variation
" of the tax, as applied to the different spe-
" cies of property, would be preferable;
" but, *under the present circumstances of the*
" *country*, it would be wrong to relinquish
" a tried system, for the sake of embarking
" into a new and complicated arrangement.
" The principle of exemption, he was con-
" vinced, was one by which the individual
" gained least, and the public lost most;
" and, in proportion as the operation of an
" act was simplified by great and general
" rules, its produce was secured. It would
" become his duty, *however painful*, to op-
" pose all exemptions proposed; and when
" gentlemen were told that by acceding, as
" he had, to the representation lately made,
" as far as regarded small annuitants, the
" loss of the country would be 350,000l. he
" trusted they would no longer press exemp-
" tions, which struck at the root of the tax."
——Thus, then, *necessity*, hard *necessity*;
an absolute *necessity*; a want of money; a
want of money, and nothing else, is urged
in support of this tax, which, Gentlemen, I
need not characterize, my only object being
to remind you, that, it is in this state of our
affairs, that one individual holds in his hands
97,415l. of our money, which he owes the
public, and which the Commissioners ex-
pressly declare that he ought to be made to
pay immediately into the Treasury!——
The same all-powerful argument, Gentle-
men, is urged in support of the tax upon
Pig-Iron. This tax was attempted to be
laid by Mr. Pitt, but was by him abandoned.
This iron, the produce of our own mines
and the raw material of a most extensive
branch of our manufactures, is worth, upon
an average, 5 pounds a ton; and the proposed
tax is 2 pounds a ton! It will create about
120 *new excisemen* to watch the furnaces,
besides those that will be necessary to watch
over the packing of iron and steel goods for
exportation, in order to ascertain the amount
of the draw-back. The persons employed
in the trades and callings connected with
this proposition, alledge, that these trades
will be ruined; and, every man must be sa-
tisfied, that they will be *greatly injured* by
the vexations of an excise system thus ex-
tended to a staple produce of the earth. The
persons employed in this branch of our ma-
nufactures are computed to be 500,000 in
number; and, the manufacture itself is, in
point of national importance, *second* to none
but that of *Wool*. Yet, while our ministers
are imposing a tax like this, which, even
upon their own estimates, will produce only
419,000l. a year clear money, and which will
put 20,000l. a year into the pockets of ex-
cisemen, who, by the same operation, will
be withdrawn from the labours of the work-
shop or the field; while this is the case, the
sum of 97,415l. of the public money is lying
in the hands of Delancy, or of *others*, to
whom he has committed it.

Here I stop, Gentlemen, for the present.
I have done little more than lay before you a
statement of such facts as you may not have
been acquainted with. The opinions to be
therefrom drawn I leave to yourselves.

I am, &c. &c. Wm. Cobbett.

May 6th, 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Under this head I must be very brief.——
Upon India Affairs there was an impor-
tant debate, in the House of Commons, on
Thursday, the 8th instant. Mr. Banks,
having suggested the propriety of sending

Lord Wellesley's affair to the Court of King's Bench, the suggestion was decidedly disapproved of by several members, particularly by Dr. Laurence, Mr. Francis, and the Marquis of Douglas, which nobleman afterwards moved for the production of several papers relative to the conduct of Lord Wellesley, amongst which was the famous *instructions for regulating the PRESS in India!* The debate was of great importance indeed; the House appeared decidedly for the mode of *impeachment*. A full account of the debate shall be given in my next. In the meanwhile I beg leave to refer the reader to a letter upon India Affairs, in a subsequent page of this sheet; but, I cannot help saying that I differ from the writer as to what he has said respecting Mr. Francis; and, though I have inserted his letter, I think it proper to apprize him, that any future communication, marked by insinuations such as are contained in the first part of his present letter, will certainly be rejected. I would further apprize him, that, when facts or arguments are valuable, they stand in need of no *name* to induce me to insert them; and that my fixed opinion, is, that, in assuming the language of a *monitor*, a correspondent should take care to discover information, or talents, more than ordinary.—— Every argument that I have heard in favour of the Slave-Trade Bill is, in my opinion completely answered in a letter which immediately follows below. It is to be hoped, that those who have this bill in their hands will *pause* and *reflect*.

*** My correspondents may be assured, that I pay attention to all their communications, and that, as fast as room and suitable occasions present themselves, I will not fail to use the best of my exertions to prevent their labour from being lost. It is not my custom to make notifications of this sort; but, the many valuable letters which are at present in my possession render this notification necessary.

☞ In the preceding sheet, amongst many other errors of the press, the following are pointed out as causing the expression of a meaning precisely the contrary of that which was intended to be conveyed. In page 648, line 19 from the bottom, the "*too*" should have been left out. In page 650, line 10 from the top, the "*not*" should be left out; for, God forbid that I should say, that ministers of the Church can be *too* much encouraged to reside in their parishes; or, that pluralities are *not* the cause of non-residence!

SLAVE TRADE BILL.

Sir;——It appears to be highly necessary to place in a just point of view, a measure now depending in parliament, for abolishing forever the foreign slave trade. The zealots for a total abolition, will derive great gratification at finding that the plan in question has succeeded; they will consider that they are in the high road towards the attainment of their ultimate object, they will observe, that the ground on which their opponents formerly stood, has been much undermined, and their expectations will lead them to think that the same legislature, which has sanctioned a partial abolition, may be prevailed on without much difficulty to advance one step further, and by so doing to complete the work so auspiciously commenced according to their notions. If an encroachment be once suffered, it will be an arduous undertaking to prevent a repetition of it; and, when the business of abolition shall again become a subject of discussion, which will happen at no very distant day, the legislature will be gravely told, true it is you have done a great deal towards the accomplishment of a total abolition, but there is a little still left undone, and that little unperformed deprives you of the merit of proclaiming that you have purified yourselves, from what the abolitionists call, the contamination of the Slave Trade.——It should be remembered, that it is an old artifice often employed to endeavour to weaken the force of united opponents, by sowing dissention among them; and by pointing out, to different individuals of the common body, that their private interests will be promoted by seceding from the union. To separate and divide the general body connected with the British West India Islands, is the ardent pursuit at present of the abolitionists, and disunion once established, they are confident that the scattered and divided ranks can afford no substantial resistance to their future attacks. It is anxiously desired by them to create a diversity of opinions among the West India interest, and they rely that, standing on the vantage ground gained by prevailing on the legislature to adopt the bill now under consideration, they will have no reason to dread hereafter the exertions of an enfeebled opposition, when it shall be thought discreet and adviseable for them by and by to apply to parliament for a total abolition.—It can be shewn that the bill now depending, will ultimately produce a total abolition. The African merchants have uniformly advanced, and offered to prove, that if the slave trade should be confined solely to the supply of

our own colonies, such a restricted and narrowed commerce would not be worth pursuing. They have urged that this trade requires the united encouragement, derived both from the foreign market, and from the supply of the British colonies; and that, if a great proportion of the encouragement hitherto open to them, should be taken away, they will withdraw their capitals intirely from this business. But, supposing even that British merchants should be induced not to retire immediately from the trade, after the foreign markets shall have been closed against them, it is plain that a few experiments would soon drive them from it. If Jamaica should be chosen as the scene of their commercial adventures, they would shortly find, that their dealings would be altogether regulated and controuled by the will and pleasure of the purchasers, who knowing that no foreign competition could be raised against them, and that their markets afforded the only place of sale, would be enabled to prescribe their own terms to the sellers. If the British colonies should, however, be hereafter supplied with African labourers, they must in such event be contented to pay a very advanced price for them; for the African merchants convinced that no speculation could be carried on without placing them too much in the power of the purchasers; would require that their profits should be ascertained to them * * * * by contracts executed in Great Britain. The effect of this will be to render the supply at best very precarious, to advance the price considerably to all, and to render it impracticable for the majority of settlers to obtain any labourers, on account of the very exorbitant prices demanded for them.—— Some of the supporters of this bill assert, that their plan will confer a benefit on the old sugar colonies, by repressing the cultivation of foreign colonies, who are their rivals: because, they alledge that whilst Britain continues to carry on the foreign slave trade, the improvement of those colonies is promoted by their being abundantly supplied with slaves by British traders, and that such supply will cease when it shall be unlawful for British subjects to be concerned in the foreign slave trade. It is also proclaimed in loud language, which declares open hostility against all sound argument, that it is necessary to interpose this measure, with a view to check the growth of the maritime strength of our rivals, which is increased by augmenting the prosperity of their colonies. Let a little calm reflection be employed, and then let us mark the result. Experience has manifested the extreme anxiety of foreigners to enjoy a considerable share of the African trade; they are most vigilantly seeking to obtain it; and, if a British act of parliament should oblige British vessels to withdraw from the foreign slave trade, foreign bottoms will supply their places, and foreign colonies will still be amply supplied with slaves, by foreigners trading even with British capital, notwithstanding all the precautions which can be devised by Parliament Our regulations will not then have the effect of stopping the improvement of those colonies; and it is therefore evident, the measure cannot be supported on the ground of policy. It is also to be remembered that, as our abandonment of the trade will throw it into the hands of foreigners, their shipping will thereby be increased, and their marine consequently benefited. The bill cannot be defended on the ground of humanity, as foreigners who will be employed in conducting the trade, will not be bound to adhere to the wholesome regulations provided by parliament, which take care that the number of slaves carried in a British bottom, shall be duly proportioned to the tonnage of such vessel.——It may be useful to take another view of this most important subject. During the present reign many measures have been adopted for carrying on a commercial intercourse between the British West Indies, and the Spanish colonies, by establishing free ports; but, if the bill should be passed into a law, this beneficial trade will be lost by prohibiting one of its principal articles, and by the operation of certain vexatious regulations, which shall be afterwards adverted to. This intercourse enables Great Britain to find a vent for considerable quantities of British manufactures, which the Spaniards are desirous of buying at the free ports, provided they can at the same time purchase a proportion of slaves; and it is well known, that vessels whose cargoes consist principally of British goods, are permitted to enter at Spanish ports, only when it is ascertained that they have also on board Negroes for importation. They constitute the sanction, under which our goods find their way from the free ports to many parts of the Spanish territories in America. In return, indigo, cotton wool, dye woods of various descriptions, hides, tallow, and bullion are obtained. This intercourse furnishes the British colonies with their chief supply of specie, which is afterwards either remitted in considerable quantities to this country, or is expended in contributing to enable the planters to pay for provisions and lumber from America. Without the free

port system, some of those islands would be destitute of specie —It may be proper here to observe, that independent of the free port trade, Great Britain enjoys great commercial advantages from a trade carried on through other channels, which would altogether cease, by precluding her subjects from being concerned in the foreign slave trade. If the government of this country are prepared to give up a commerce, which affords considerable employment to great numbers of her artizans and manufacturers, and which pours riches into her lap, without providing a substitute for the loss; and, especially at a time, when unusual clouds hang over the commercial horizon from recent events, and when the empire is bleeding at every pore from the pressure of immense taxation. It is the evident object of the bill, through all its various provisions to subject the African trader to multiplied penalties and dangers, if he shall be hardy enough to pursue the trade for the sake of supplying our own colonies, and to fetter it by such formidable impediments, as will deter almost every one from embarking in it.—The spirit of the bill, though attempted to be disguised, is at war with the whole of the trade, and seeks to do that covertly, which the abolitionists have failed to accomplish openly. In substance the effect is the same, whether the trade is totally and at once abolished, or whether the remaining branch of it is so weighed down by such oppressve regulations as warn a prudent man to retire from it.—There are other objections of a very serious nature, which may be offered against other parts of the bill. It contains a clause, which provides that no slaves shall be removed from one British colony or island to another, until a licence shall be obtained by the owner of them permitting him to remove them, and specifying the place of their destination; that previous to their removal such owner shall give a bond in a penal sum, equal to the sum of fifty pounds sterling, for every slave so to be carried, and that the condition of the said bond shall be, that the proprietor shall faithfully and truly land or deliver such slaves at the place to which he shall be authorised to convey the same.—— It may with great propriety be contended by the colonial legislatures, that this provision contains matter of internal regulation, which is sought to be carried into effect by an act of the British parliament, that it tends to subvert the constitutional rights of the colonies, *who have always claimed the exclusive power of legislating for themselves in all questions which involve considerations of domestic economy.* It has been understood by the colonists that their legislatures alone are entitled to impose rules for the government of property situated in those countries, but the bill attempts to restrict the use of such property, by proposing to enact that the proprietors of slaves in the West India colonies shall not be allowed to dispose of their Negroes, with the same degree of ownership as they have hitherto enjoyed; and it even does more, as it endeavours to impose pains and penalties, which are to be enforced there in case the intended law shall be transgressed. To declare to the inhabitants of our West India possessions that parliament has established particular conditions, which must be complied with by them before they can exercise the right of removing a part of their property, even from one British settlement to another, is surely an infringement of the colonial constitutions. All this is done without the consent of the legislatures of the colonies, who in all other concerns of internal management, are acknowledged to possess supreme power. The right of emigration is materially effected by the measure in question, and in proportion as the use of property is restricted, its value is certainly diminished. It is worthy of consideration, whether it be prudent or wise at any time, and more especially at this juncture, without any real cause or adequate motive, to originate discussions, which my embrace points of the most serious controversy. It is provided by another clause of the bill, that if any slave shall be employed on a voyage from a British colony or island, to a foreign settlement, their names and descriptions should be inserted in or endorsed upon the clearance or permit to depart of such vessel, and if any slave shall be found on board, whose name shall not be inserted in or endorsed upon the clearance or permit, or, who shall be untruly or fraudulently described therein, with intent to violate any of the prohibitions, or regulations of the act, every such slave may be seized and confiscated. The bill also gives a right of seizure to his Majesty's vessels of war.—Those who are conversant with the nature of the foreign trade carried on in the West Indies, are aware that British vessels when thus employed, are in general navigated by slaves. And it is apparent, that this provision of the bill will afford ample scope for making numerous seizures, and thereby frequently defeating the purposes of the merchants who are engaged in that branch of commerce. Such a restriction bill ultimately annihilates all intercourse between the British West India islands, and

foreign settlements; and it is also highly objectionable, as containing matter of internal regulation.—W. W.—*7th May*, 1806.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

SIR,——I have read with attention and satisfaction, your several publications which contain your opinions and observations on the Affairs of India; and am truly concerned to find, by your last Register, that you are about to take your leave of the subject, until certain documents shall be laid before parliament, in support of a charge recently preferred against the Marquis Wellesley.—That *you* will return to the charge, I confidently hope; that Mr. Paull will pursue his present inquiry, as soon as he is enabled to proceed, I wish and expect; but, I have been so much disappointed in my hopes, wishes, and expectations, that I shall scarcely be surprised, if Mr. Paull should follow the example of Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and others; or, if you and your Register shall change your politics, like Mr. Spankey and his Chronicle.—It is true that the Affairs of India have at length forced themselves into notice, and have agitated the public mind; they have occupied the attention of parliament; awakened the dormant faculties of the East India Directors, and roused the latent energies of many of the proprietors; but whether these effects are to be ascribed to the real importance of the subject, to a conviction of the injustice of the system recently pursued in India; to a sympathy with the sufferings of deposed princes and imprisoned chieftains; to a feeling for the ravages of war and the desolation of provinces; or, to the situation of the company, described by Mr. Thornton in parliament; or, whether a demand of money from this burthened country, to prop the tottering empire in India, has caused the present sensation, concerning our Eastern governments, is, as you say, immaterial.—If the public and its representatives in parliament, will but investigate soberly and impartially, the transactions which have happened in India, during the administration of Lord Wellesley, I care not whether the inquiry be occasioned by Mr. Paull's assertions of his lordships guilt, or by Lord Temple's bold declarations of the justice and policy of the measures in question.—As it is yet likely, that Lord Wellesley's conduct will be submitted to the grand national inquest, I will not anticipate, from an examination of the papers before parliament, the probability of his inculpation. But, after what has been said by his friends and relations in both houses of the legislature, in justification of his measures in India; after they have invited, and even challenged an examination of his administration; I hope, for the sake of decency, that no means will be used, similar to those we have lately witnessed, to smother inquiry, or defeat investigation.—I mean not to compliment you, Mr. Cobbett, in stating, that next to Mr. Paull, the public is indebted to yourself, for the pains you have lately bestowed on Indian subjects. And, I am persuaded, that if you will continue your observations, and direct your thoughts to objects connected with the administration of our Eastern Empire, not immediately in discussion, your future communications, will instruct and gratify your readers; and, I trust, that the present suspension of Indian inquiry in parliament, will not abstract your attention from a subject of so much interest and importance.—You will be pleased to recollect, that there has hitherto prevailed, in the minds of persons in and out of parliament, a repugnance against every subject connected with India, its finances, or its politics. In the House of Commons, it has been declared, that India and every question relating to it, were irksome to parliament; the attention of which has diminished in proportion as our empire has increased; and Lord Castlereagh or Mr. Francis, could never obtain an audience of more than twenty members, when the Indian Budgets were discussed! With respect to the public, the transactions of our Eastern governments, could not become the subjects of popular observation, except as related to wars, battles, victories, and repulses; the building of palaces, or endowing of colleges; and for this plain reason, Mr. Cobbett, that until the Indian correspondence and papers were laid before Parliament, the public in India as well as in England, was ignorant of every information, but of the naked events which happened. The want of intelligence abroad is imputable to the state of the press in India, which you have correctly described, and to the despotism of the government, which threatened with immediate banishment from the country, any person who dared to discuss the measures or politics of Lord Wellesley; and, it is an undoubted fact, that of the number who subscribed the fulsome addresses to his lordship on the conclusion of peace with the Mahratta chieftains, there were not ten persons who had ever heard of the causes of the war!——You will not, I hope, be offended, at any seeming mistrust, which this letter may betray of Mr. Paull or of yourself. If Mr. Paull shall *cooly* and *advisedly* persevere in his system of inquiry; and if you shall continue staunch in the opinions which you have promulgated; the

country will have occasion to rejoice that there is one man in parliament, who is free from the trammells of party, and who dares to be independant *there;* and that there is an individual in England, possessed of talents to be feared, whose integrity can maintain the freedom of the press, and prove that every man has *not* his price; and this too, at a season when dirilection has become the order of the day.——I should have abstained from these observations, but I have been lately so disappointed and disgusted, by the conduct of public characters, that I now consider principle and power as convertible terms. I have remarked, that the most eminent, and (who have hitherto been considered) the most *honest* men of the day, have suddenly abandoned every rule of their former political character; have deserted principles, which for years they avowed and boldly supported; or have frittered away and qualified their previous opinions, until they cannot be recognized. I have heard our leading senators, in the teeth of consistency, maintain doctrines, which some months ago they would have resented with indignation; and I have observed the chiefs of the late opposition, members of the present administration, as ready to adopt the principles, as as they were eager to fill the places of their predecessors.—In support of what I have advanced, I shall not in this letter, advert to many instances, with which the public is familiar, and which you have ably and clearly pointed out; but, I cannot refrain from noticing the relinquishment of opinion, and inconsistency of conduct, manifested by several members of parliament, more especially in respect to the affairs of India.—First, I shall call your attention to Mr. Francis, who, in my humble opinion, most certainly deserves the high eulogium, bestowed on him by Mr. Fox, when he said in parliament "that there is no one character in his Majesty's dominions, whose merit, with regard to the affairs of India could be put in "competition with that of Mr. Francis."—But, when I acknowledge the vast local information, parliamentary knowledge, and transcendant abilities, which this gentleman possesses, the more am I entitled to inquire, why he has abandoned the affairs of India? "After passing six years in Bengal, then a "wretched passage of 12 months to England, and from that time a continued labour of two and twenty years, unsupported and alone, without thanks or reward, "in the maintenance of right against "wrong," why has he now resolved to suffer wrong to overcome right? "After "endeavouring 30 years to support the lawful authority of the East India Company "over their nominal servants, and labouring to preserve the peace of India, and to "shelter its native princes from injustice, "conquest, and oppression," why has Mr. Francis now refused to take any part in the prosecution or censure of any Indian delinquency whatever? After a continuation of meritorious exertions, in and out of parliament, to confine the government of the East within the bounds prescribed by legislative wisdom, and sound policy, and to teach the East India Company and the nation, the real and true advantages to be derived from Indian commerce; will Mr. Francis, close the career of his active and useful life in sullen indifference, or discontented exclamations? Has he abandoned his former situation of *standing counsel* for the company and for the nation, on the subject of India, because he has laboured too long "without fee or "reward?" Was it then for the sake of lucre, or of preferment, that he undertook that unthankful and invidious office? Have all his exertions in favour of suffering India, and its injured princes, proceeded from a hope of reward? And is it, that because he has not been remunerated with place or pension, that "his *spirits* are exhausted," and "his "mind is subdued?" Did he expect any *gratification* for the part which he took in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, the failure of which he laments, beyond the satisfaction arising from a conscientious discharge of a public duty? As he did not succeed in that impeachment, is it an honest or a parliamentary reason, for his abstaining from the prosecution or censure of all subsequent delinquency? As well may he say, that because any man accused at the Old Bailey has been acquitted, the functions of the judge and jury shall not be exercised on other criminals?—Mr. Francis, I grant, "is his own "master, and excused from giving any ac"count of his future conduct to any man." But, if he continues to fill his seat in parliament, his conduct there he must expect to see a subject of public observation. Although the compliment I have quoted, is all he has received, or will obtain from Mr. Fox; notwithstanding the Court of Directors have been ungrateful, and the present ministry have taught Mr. Francis the practical lesson "take care of yourselves," notwithstanding he has had abundant cause of complaint, and has complained abundantly of the cause; yet, I will venture to tell him, that if he adheres to his avowed resolution of withdrawing "from the discussion

" of political questions, purely and properly " Indian, &c." he will forfeit the high character, which the impartial public has hitherto entertained of his principles and parliamentary conduct; that he will deface the favourable impressions created by his long active and meritorious life; and he will confirm, what his late murmurings have led us to suspect, (which an observation of Mr. Sheridan's has lately strengthened) that his political principles and labours, have been wholly directed to the objects of ambition and power; and that he has resolved to abandon the one, because he despairs of obtaining the other.—Mr. HUDDLESTONE is a member of parliament; an East India Director; and from a residence in India, has had the advantage of much local experience. His opinions as a legislator, respecting the Mahratta wars, have been delivered in the House, and have been committed to the press. He has pronounced, that the system of Lord Wellesley, " was fraught with se- " rious evils, teemed with dreadful hazard, " without any commensurate object; that " it set our life upon a cast; that it staked " our existence in India on the issue of pro- " jects and pursuits directly foreign to our " truest policy, and to the policy enjoined " by the legislature; on splendid schemes " and enterprises of which the failure would " be destruction, and even the success " ruinous; of which nothing was certain, " but the enormous expense of blood and " and treasure which it created, and the ha- " tred which it inspires."——" That there " appeared to have been engrafted on our " military successes in India, a scale of ex- " penditure to which no exhaustible reve- " nue was adequate;" and " that Lord " Wellesley's system in all its branches " should be abrogated." Such are the sentiments which Mr. Huddlestone has delivered in parliament; and in the dispatch, which the Court of Directors intended to have sent to India, (and which I shall particularly consider in a future letter) this gentleman, as a Director, has censured and condemned the conduct of Lord Wellesley, on many points connected with the details of his administration. In common with the other 22 directors, Mr. H. has accused Lord Wellesley, of wilful and positive disobedience of the orders of the directors, in several instances; which we all know is a misdemeinour." His lordship is also charged in the dispatch with a lavish and profuse expenditure of public money, at a period when he had drained the company's treasury in pursuing schemes of conquest; an expenditure as unlawful as it was unnecessary. Yet, Mr. Cobbett, we have not seen Mr. Huddlestone take any step to promote inquiry or censure against Lord Wellesley, whom he has blamed as a director, and condemned as a legislator, for persisting in a system, which was contrary to the policy enjoined by law; a system which placed in jeopardy the existence of our Indian empire. I forbear to observe particularly, on what has recently happened in parliament, respecting the *dispatch*, of which I have slightly spoken. We have yet to learn, what reason Mr. Huddlestone can give for suddenly changing his opinion of the propriety or necessity of producing this paper. We have, however, strong grounds to suspect the influence that occasioned this sudden change, and lament that Mr. H. could be so influenced.——The next person I shall notice on the score of consistency is MR. GEORGE JOHNSTONE, who has also acquired a considerable share of local knowledge in India; who has hitherto been sufficiently forward in all discussions connected with our Eastern governments; and who, if I am rightly informed, from *the result of practical experience*, can explain some of the transactions at Oude, so as to justify an assertion made by him in parliament, to which I shall presently refer.——In your Register of April the 12th, you have given to Mr. Johnstone, what Mr. Francis has never received, a *refresher;* and I shall rejoice if the recollection of it, shall serve as a *flapper* to his senses, when he shall be present at any future discussion of Indian subjects; and to assist his memory, I shall remind him, that in March, 1803, when the Indian Budget was brought before parliament, he declared, that no man could be found to say, that our increased dominion added to the security of our possessions or the stability of our empire; that no man would be hardy enough to deny that these acquisitions were made in defiance of the positive enactments of the legislature, and of the deliberate and recorded opinion of every eminent person, who had considered the nature of our empire in the East " As to the *manner* in which these acquisi- " tions had been made, upon a *deliberate* " *judgment*, he did not scruple to say, that " they were obtained by violations of na- " tional faith, and by deviations from jus- " tice, as flagrant as any of those, with " which we are accustomed to reproach the " French government." To reconcile the subsequent conduct of this gentleman, with the previous declaration, proceeding from his deliberate judgment, will be, I believe,

a more deliberate task, than even Mr. J. can perform.—Mr. Sheridan's *consistency* has been strongly pointed out in the extracts you have lately given to the public, in your Register of April 26th, from two speeches in parliament; the one made by Mr. Sheridan while he was in opposition; the other since he became a member of the present ministry. The *contrast* is most palpable; and I shall merely say, that any man capable of blushing, could never countenance such incongruous declarations; declarations which shew to France and to the world, that the national justice must wink at the perpetration of "acts, however flagrant and atrocious," rather than hazard the division of a ministry, composed of discordant but pliant principles!—I shall hereafter address you at length on the subject of Mr. Sheridan, and his connexion with the Carnatic question. I must now hasten to conclude this long letter with a few observations on Mr. Secretary Fox.—It will be in your recollection, that on the 5th of April, 1805, a long discussion took place in parliament, respecting the policy of the system which had been pursued in India by Lord Wellesley; and many of the observations made that day, by Mr. Fox, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Huddlestone, deserve to be recorded in letters of gold. "As soon "as we had destroyed Tippoo," said Mr. Fox, "it was then stated to be very desirable to form a close connexion with the "Mahratta powers. This connexion we "soon formed with them, and we gave "them something like, what the French "used to term the "fraternal hug." We "embraced the Mahrattas, just as the "French embraced Holland. We, in fact, "seemed in India to be like Macbeth, "so "steeped in blood," that we thought it vain "to go back. "Sed revocare gradum, hic "labor, hoc opus est." "But, it is said, "that you waged war against the Mahrattas "merely from a fear of the French; and a "similar plea may be allowed with equal "justice, against any state in India, until "the work of destruction, the English "force may make its way to the wall of "of China. The pretence upon which the "advocates for conquests in India rested, "was precisely the pretence of all conquerors and marauders in all ages. According to Livy, whenever the Romans made "war upon any state, it was only to secure "their own safety. Such was the plea advanced by Lewis the XIVth. and others "entertaining similar views. In the name "of common sense, he would ask where "such a plea was likely to stop? Where "was this resort for safety to end; for, according as it was applied, no man was "likely to be at peace, for he could not calculate upon any safety, while there was "another man alive who had strength "enough to knock him down." Mr. Fox concluded a long and eloquent speech, expressing a hope that "something declaratory of the proposed system with respect "to India, would be adopted by the House "as a guide to our governors in India, as a "rule by which our views might be judged "of by the natives." Such, Mr. Cobbett, *were* the sentiments delivered by Mr. Fox of Lord Wellesley's wars in India. Such *was* the opinion of Mr Fox, as to the necessity of declaring a system for the guidance of future governors, and for the satisfaction of the natives in India. Mr. Fox was, however, *then* in the list of *opposition*. Since Mr. Fox has become a minister, on two occasions he has been pressed to declare, what system of policy was likely to be followed by him and his colleagues, respecting the administration of India. He answered on one occasion, "that he did not feel the propriety of calling upon ministers for any "distinct pledge, as to the course of policy "which they meant to follow with regard "to India." This declaration will, no doubt, enable the natives of India to judge of our views; and, it doubtless prescribes a most admirable rule for the guidance of our Eastern governors!—In about a month after Mr. Fox's speech, from which I have first quoted, Mr. Whitbread moved in parliament for the dismissal of Lord Melville from his Majesty's councils; and on that occasion, the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a feeling for that Noble Lord, of which he was not ashamed, and which nothing but the conviction of the opinion of parliament, and a sense of his public duty could possibly have overcome, endeavoured to prevail on Mr. Whitbread to withdraw his motion; stating, that "many gentlemen who concurred in the resolutions, (which had been "previously passed) thought that the wound "which had been inflicted should not be "aggravated by any unnecessary circumstances of severity; and, that when the "justice of the public was satisfied, the "feelings of the individual ought not to be "outraged." What said Mr. Fox to this humane doctrine? Did he then think, when *out of place*, as he has since declared, with respect to Lord Wellesley, "that, when a "bad system has prevailed, the best mode "of remedying it, is not by impeaching an "individual, but by removing the person

" who has carried on such a system, and to " take care that none such shall be carried " on in future?" No, Sir, Mr. Fox then said: " I trust that things will now be spee- " dily finished, however tardily they may " have been begun; that every measure " will be taken, that can afford security to " the people; not by *making legislative* " *provisions*, for *the future*, for these *may* " *be disregarded, as they have been already;* " but by inflicting proper *punishment*, " where it has been deserved." Sentiments similar to those, did Mr. Fox also avow, when the censure of Lord Melville was moved; and it was urged " that the persons " *had* been removed who had carried on the " bad system. It is said that these abuses " can never occur again. No; it shall not " be done for the future, says Mr. Trotter. " The act can never be violated again.—I " hope not; I hope the decision of the " House will render it impossible for the " gentleman who at present holds the si- " tuation of Treasurer for the Navy, or for " any future treasurer ever to violate it. " But if we do not come to this decision, " what security have we that some future " Melvilles or Trotters will not break " through any new act we may pass, in the " same way in which they have done the " resolutions of the House in 1782, and the " act of the 25th of the King founded on " them. I hope and trust, Sir, that a large " and virtuous majority of the House will " be found to put the seal and stamp of " their reprobation upon such monstrous " and unblushing delinquency." Now, Mr. Cobbett, if a large and virtuous majority of the ministers and of the House of Commons, does not promote an inquiry into the measures of Lord Wellesley's administration in India, and the reasons for pursuing a system, which has been declared ruinous and unjust, and which has left us " steeped in " blood;" and, if " proper punishment is " not inflicted where it has been deserved," what *security* have we, that some future governor general will not break through any new act that may pass? And, if Mr. Fox does not avow and practice *now* the principles, so declared, when the criminality of Lord Melville was in question, I hope and trust, that a large and virtuous majority of the nation will be found to put the seal and stamp of their reprobation upon such monstrous and unblushing inconsistency.—One word more to Mr. Fox and Lord Henry Petty. In the debate, to which I have last alluded, Mr. Fox took occasion to call the attention of every man in the House capable of appreciating virtue and genius, to the brilliant efforts, made that night by Lord Henry Petty. " I recollect," said Mr. Fox, " when Mr. Pitt made his first essay in this " house. I recollect the just pride which " we all felt to see him, much at the same " age then that the Noble Lord now is, " distinguishing himself in *hunting* down " corruption; in unmasking abuses in the " public expenditure; in proposing and en- " forcing reforms of various kinds. What " a *contrast* does his conduct on this night " afford! Under what sort of figure does he " appear?" *Heu! quantum mutatus ab illo!* Now, if Mr. Fox is capable of feeling the force of the reproach which he exultingly directed against Mr. Pitt, on that occasion, let him reflect on the *contrast* which his own political conduct has afforded, and, I doubt whether he is yet so callous, but a sting may find its way to his bosom. Let Lord Henry Petty also recollect, that the praise of Mr. Fox, if undeserved, will ill become his present character, and, to pursue the figure of his friend, the *game* of corruption is not yet up, nor is the *hunting* season over.—A. I.—*May 7*, 1806.

COLONIAL SERVICE.

(Continued from p. 672.)

IV. That the officers should be gentlemen who had already served the King, or East-India Company in India; or others who had resided in that country. ——V. That they should be embarked in ships commanded by masters and officers acquainted, in some degree, with their language, customs, and prejudices, from having traded from port to port in India; and manned with crews of Lascars.—VI. That the transports should not be allowed to carry any thing but stores and provisions for the voyage. All merchandize should be confiscated on the discovery of it, and the captain subjected to heavy penalties, on proof that he had taken or permitted any to be taken on board. Possibly, however, an exception to this rule might be allowed with respect to rice, and some other articles of provision, and lumber useful to the islands, and which cannot be supplied from the mother country, and can be sent from Bengal, I believe, at a cheaper rate than even from America.——VII. That in addition to the Seapoy infantry establishment proposed, it would be highly desirable and advantageous to have several companies of that truly useful class of people denominated Artillery Lascars and Golandaze.—The transports for

the service could be procured in India, at an easy freight, and can be furnished with provisions from Bengal, at a cheaper rate than from any country in the world. After the debarkation of the troops, they may be loaded with sugar, or other West-India produce for Europe. Or, might they not, in the first instance, be more usefully freighted with the Negro regiments (not very favourably looked upon by the planters) as their returning cargoes to Ceylon, or to other parts of India, where they would prove an acceptable addition to our force? At all events, whether or not, it might be determined to leave the West-Indian regiments at their present stations, the admixture of Indian troops with them (I mean in separate corps) would tend to neutralise any bad qualities dreaded in the African corps.—Should some such plan, as above suggested, be adopted, it will be highly necessary to secure to the natives of India the justice due to freemen, which they ever have been in their own country.—On the shores of the Mediterranean, and, generally in all warmer climates, I am persuaded that our Eastern troops, with a proportion of Europeans, would be found equal to any service required of them; and that there are few officers accustomed to them, who would hesitate to oppose a force, so constituted, to an equal number of Spaniards, Portuguese, or Italians, with any doubt of the event.——Our Eastern troops might be employed against Spanish America, the States of Barbary, &c. &c. and some regiments, I should even imagine might, for a time, be sent to Gibraltar and Malta, and thereby release a part of their garrisons for other services. On those services a part of the regular establishments of India might be employed, as they would only be of a temporary nature; but, for the service of the West-India islands, I repeat it as absolutely necessary, that *distinct corps should be raised, for the express purpose, and under due precautions.*—To support our empire in India, a strong band of our countrymen must be allotted. But, I am persuaded that in return she could afford very numerous bodies, from her immense population, to act in conjunction with portions of our own native troops, for the protection of our colonies, and to serve with them in all warm climates, in which I especially include the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea. In supplying the West Indies alone, I verily believe such an arrangement might be made, as would save the lives of as many of our countrymen, as must be destined to the support of our empire in the East.——In your Register of the 15th of December, 1804, you prophetically declare, that "there exists "no well founded hope, that in the course "of this war we shall derive any advantage "from continental co-operation, unless we "put ourselves in a situation to take a com-"manding part in a continental war, by pro-"viding such an army, as shall at once con-"vince those, whose alliance we desire, of "the sincerity of our views." Let the present ministry put an end to the warfare in India, and seriously turn their attention of the employment of a part of the resources to that great empire, in aid of our domestic wants; and then, if our colonial demands for British soldiers can be diminished, and assistance given to our efforts in some other quarters, the army you desire will, at least, be more easily obtained. Thirty thousand veteran Seapoys, with a couple of regiments of Hindostanny cavalry, sent to Egypt, strengthened by eight or ten thousand British troops, already in the Mediterranean, would form one continental army, respectable in that position, whose threatening aspect might not vainly be directed towards Spain, Italy, and the States of Barbary, whose respect for us seems on the decline, or might be employed to support, if necessary, the tottering fabric of the Turkish empire in Egypt, or in other parts of it. All great conquerors have had recourse to the conquered, in maintaining and enlarging their dominions. Would we preserve or extend ours, we should follow their example.—To conclude, it must be allowed wherever our Eastern troops can be properly employed, they will materially economise the valuable lives of our own countrymen, and enable us to shew a more extended front to our enemies, on whom none of us, I trust, will ever feel disposed to turn our backs. The projects of the French have been gigantic and successful beyond the bounds of calculation. Let us oppose them with a spirit equally undaunted and surprising. "Fortes fortuna juvat."

I am, Sir,

your most obedient,

humble servant,

TAMERLANE.

April, 1806.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The noble lord calls upon the constitutional guardians of the people to commit into the "hands of others a trust so unspeakably important, and to become mere spectators of an "inquiry, which is to decide on the fate of their country. The noble lord says, that the "powers of the Commissioners of Accounts will, in no wise, lessen the powers of Parlia- "ment; for that the former are merely to inquire, examine, and report, and that it is "reserved for Parliament to judge, to determine, and to act; that the final deliberation is "reserved to them, and that they have the power to reject such measures proposed by the "Commissioners, as they may deem inconsistent with the public welfare. How humilia- "ting, how miserable a picture of parliamentary power is this! So, then, all the "power of parliament, with respect to the alleviation of national burdens, the redress "of grievances, the reform of expense, the economy, the system, the elucidation of "office, is sunk into a disgraceful negative! One positive power indeed, an odious power, "remains, the power of taxing the people whenever the noble lord thinks proper. The "power of making them pay for the noble lord's lavish corruption. If any plan be formed "and suggested, by which thousands may be saved, by which the expenditure may be sim- "plified, the influence of the Crown diminished, and the responsibility of ministers be "more clearly established; by which the engine of government may be relieved from that "load of machinery, which renders its movements so slow, so intricate, and so confused; "then the House of Commons possesses only the power of putting a negative upon every "such proposition! The power of oppressing and burdening the people is, therefore, the "only power that remains positive and active, while the power of doing good, and of "relieving the distresses of the subject, is merely negative."——MR. PITT'S Speech upon the Bill for appointing Commissioners of Accounts, May 31st. 1781.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS.——Lord Henry Petty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has, in the House of Commons, given notice of his intention to bring forward a bill for the appointing and establishing of a *Commission of Accounts*, to consist, it is said, of fifteen members, five of whom are to receive 1,500l. a year each, the other ten 1000l. a year each, with a *president*, or *chairman*, who is to receive 2 or 3 thousand pounds a year! Upon hearing of this proposition, it was impossible for me not to turn back to the epoch when Commissioners of Accounts were first appointed, when this at once absurd and mischievous innovation was first introduced, when it was first thought of to create, by the consent of the House of Commons, a body virtually to supersede the most important functions of the House of Commons itself, and, by the same act to add, in a most alarming degree, to the influence of the Crown, that is to say, of every succeeding ministry, be they who they may.——In selecting my motto from a speech of the yet uncorrupted Mr. Pitt, I do not mean to apply to Lord Henry Petty the personal reflections therein contained; but, the doctrine of this admirable speech has my hearty assent, and, as to the *measure*, the observations of the speaker are now full as applicable as they were then; for, though, it is said, that the members of the now-proposed Commission are to be taken from amongst the members of the House of Commons, it will require much to convince me, that, in that alteration, there is any improvement. The Commissioners will, indeed, be still members of the House; but, in their official capacity, they will be as completely cut off from it as the Commissioners of the Navy, or any other officers now are; while, on the other hand, who does not perceive, who, unless he be stone blind, does not perceive, the influence which the ministry of the day must acquire in consequence of having the creation of sixteen such officers as those who will compose the above Commission? "No;" says some place-hunter or pensioner actual or reversionary; "No; for the *House of* "*Commons*, and *not the ministry*, will have "the appointment of these Commissioners; "who, in order to render them *completely* "*independent*, are to be appointed *for life*." But, my honest friend, do you really think, then, that the ministry will *not* have the appointment of these men? Does it really require a sight of the list of names to convince you, that those who shall be nominated by the ministry, and no others, will fill this Commission? If it does, why then, you are too great a fool even to make your mark at

the bottom of a receipt for your annual sinecure, when you get it. And, as to the appointment *for life* rendering a man *independent*, have you ever seen an instance of it? In this case, is there not, on the contrary, a chain of dependence as complete as in the Army, or the Barrack-Office, or any other department, where there are *degrees of promotion?* To say nothing, therefore, of the operation of gratitude towards the ministry of the day, who, in fact, will appoint in the first instance, and who will fill up the vacancies as they occur, will there not be a sufficiency of dependence secured by the power of promotion created by the constitution of the Commission itself.——But, what is *the use* of such a Commission? To what *end* are we to be burdened with a new expence of 50,000l. a year; for to so much, at the very least, will the expence of this establishment amount at the outset, to say nothing of the pensions and the other allowances that will grow out of it? To *what end* is this new burden to be laid upon us? "What end! "Why, to examine into the accounts of "those persons, through whose hands the "public money passes; to correct errors, to "detect frauds; and, by these means, to "produce great savings to the nation." And, my good and right trusty and well-beloved gentleman, what need have we of an expensive Board of Commissioners for these purposes, while we have 658 members of the House of Commons, whose duty, whose bounden duty, whose peculiar duty, whose first, whose greatest, and almost whose sole duty, it is, to watch, in all possible ways, over the expenditure of the money raised upon their constituents? "It is," said the yet uncorrupted Mr. Pitt, in the speech quoted in my motto, "It is the peculiar duty of this "House to watch, to examine, and correct "the expenditure of the public money. I "conceive the proposed delegation to be an "absolute surrender of the most valuable "right, with which the House are invested "by their constituents, and for the exercise "of which, in particular, they were appointed. What is it that gives the House of "Commons their importance in the legislature, their respect and their authority? "What but the power of the purse? Every "branch of the legislature has something "peculiar to distinguish and to characterise "it, and that which at once gives the character and elevation of the Commons "House of Parliament, is, that they hold "the strings of the national purse, and are "entrusted with the great and important "power, first of granting the money, and "then of correcting the expenditure. To "delegate this right, then, I consider as a "violation of what, above all other privi-"leges, they cannot surrender, or delegate, "without a daring breach of the constitu-"tion." Who is there, out of the regions of Whitehall, who does not agree in these sentiments?——As something that would render the proposition less derogatory to the House of Commons, Colonel Barré had moved that the Commissioners should be *members of the House*; but, in this case, Mr. Pitt protested against all *ballot lists* sent round *by the ministry*, and he therein, by anticipation, exposed the futility of the pretext, that such Commissioners "would be appointed by the "*House of Commons*, and *not by the minis-*"*try*;" which was, indeed, a pretext too barefaced to merit one moment's attention; for, who did not clearly perceive, that, in such case, Lord North would have filled up the Commission with the names of men, whom he was desirous either to *reward*, to *bring over*, or to *silence*; and that, from whatever quarter of the House the members might be taken, there would be suffered to come into the whole of the Commission only just so much of public-spirit and integrity as the ministry of *that* day would be able to neutralize and to render worse than non-effectual to any good purpose, because it would furnish the means of giving sanction to measures intended to further the purposes of corruption.——If the present intended measure should be adopted (which God forbid!) how will the House of Commons, "the Commons' House of Parliament," stand in the eyes of that people, who have chosen them as *their representatives*, unless, indeed, this notion of *representation* be, at once, given up as something chimerical? There are great errors and abuses in the expenditure of the public money. The existence of this evil is acknowledged; and the magnitude of it is, indeed, the only ground upon which the ministry can possibly come forward with a proposition, such as that of which we are now speaking. "Well," say the people to their representatives, "we have "chosen 658 of you for the express purpose "of detecting and correcting these errors "and abuses." What is the answer which the people will receive in the adoption of the proposed measure? Why this; that, though 658 members, without being paid for the duty, are *unable* to perform it, yet, 15 of those same members, in consequence of receiving large salaries, are *able* to perform it! If this be a fair representation of the case, what must be the impression produced by this measure upon the minds of the people? Can it be such an one as we should have ex-

pected it would have been the object of the present ministers to produce?——Taking, too, a retrospect of the proceedings of former Commissioners of this sort, what ground is there, whereon for the most sanguine and the most credulous to believe, that *another* Commission would succeed in detecting and correcting the errors and abuses now so loudly and so justly complained of? These Commissioners, of one sort and another, and upon the back of one another, have, at an enormous expense to the public, existed now for six and twenty years; and, it is at the end of this long and squandering period; it is after the declaration of one of the Lords of the Admiralty, in open parliament made, that, if there were no abuses, *one third part* of the expenses of the Navy might be saved to the public; it is after we have seen that Melville and De Lancy and Trotter and Greenwood were going on quietly under the existence of such Commissions; it is after all this, that it is proposed to create *another* Commission of Accounts, at an expense to the public of 50,000 l. a year! I shall be reminded, perhaps, that, had it not been for Boards of Commissioners, the money transactions of the persons here mentioned would never have been brought to light. To which I answer, that the fault would, in that case, have rested solely with the members of the House of Commons, whose bounden duty it is, individually as well as collectively, to make a strict examination into the expenditure of the public money; and, I imagine, that no man will be bold enough to tell me, that the performance of any *official* duty, *out of the House*, or that any other cause whatever, sickness excepted, can be, with reason and justice, pleaded as an excuse for the non-performance of this their first duty towards their constituents; whereunto I will just add the remark, that we have never yet heard of Commissioners appointed for the purpose of *imposing taxes upon the people*, every member being considered *capable*, and at *leisure*, to perform *that part* of his duty, without fee or reward!——Besides, without supposing that the appointment of the Naval and the Military Commissions of Inquiry originated in, or were quickened by, any thing like party views, or circumstances purely adventitious, I contend, that, in the exemplary conduct of Mr. Robson, with regard to the non-payment of bills at the offices under the Treasurer of the Navy, we have quite a sufficient proof, that members of the House of Commons, in that capacity, in the only capacity they ought to be looked to in the House, and standing in their places in that House, are capable of doing every thing in the way of money-inquiry, more speedily, more effectually, and more to the satisfaction of the nation, than the same can be done by any Board of Commissioners whatever. Mr. Robson became, no matter how, acquainted with the abused the truly scandalous and fraudulent abuse here referred to. He came into his place in the House, and there, like an honest representative of the people, complained of it. The minister (Mr. Addington), flatly *denied the fact*. Mr. Robson was charged with having uttered falsehoods injurious to the state. He was called upon to retract his words (which the minister took down); or, in case of refusal to retract, was threatened with the censure of the House. He refused to retract; he produced his proof as far as his first allegation went; and his opponents became less confident. He came again with additional proof, poured in upon him by the defrauded holders of bills. "I move," said he, "for the Bill-book of the Sick and "Hurt Board; give me that, and I will "prove to the House the existence of abuses "enormous, and will point out the persons "who have been guilty of these abuses." The minister was astounded; declared that the abuse had not had his countenance; promised that the like should not happen again; but, he and his majority rejected the motion for producing the Bill-book, though he and that same majority had challenged Mr. Robson, had *dared* him, over and over again, to the proof! Am I told, that the minister of the day will *always* act thus; that he will *always*, by means of his majority, thus quash inquiry, when moved for by an individual independent member of the House; and that, *therefore*, a Board of Commissioners is necessary? If I am, I ask for no better argument against such a Board, it being a part of the proposition, that the members of such Board shall be appointed by *the voice of that very majority*!——But, if such be *now* the means of detection in the hands of every member of the House of Commons; if three public-spirited and persevering members would, even now, be able to bring to light every material abuse in the expenditure of the public money, how easy would the task be, if the mode of keeping and of stating the accounts, were at once full and simple? And the *reason* why it is not such is of itself a subject for parliamentary inquiry. A correspondent of mine, in a series of excellent letters (see Vol. VII. Index, p. 1006, and Vol. VIII. Index, p. 1033) has pointed out such a mode. Nothing would, if such a mode were adopted, be more easy than for any member of parliament to

detect whatever frauds might be committed: it is worthy of serious attention. But, even as the accounts are now kept and stated, such detection is by no means difficult; it requires no extraordinary talents; and, if it does demand a considerable degree of attention and of labour, is not such attention and such labour the duty of *every* member of the Commons House of Parliament?—Then, observe, that inquiries thus originating and conducted in this *public* and constitutional way, would soon be greatly facilitated by the information pouring in from persons out of doors. The people, who had witnessed the abuses in the expenditure of their money, would fly to those of their representatives whom they saw engaged in such inquiries. All the facts would come to light; the proof would be at hand; and, if there were, even as things now are, only three members (a number just sufficient to guard against the effects of absence occasionally) to resolve upon a reform of abuses in the expenditure of the public money, it would require neither party combinations nor the habit of making speeches to insure success to their endeavours.——By the institution of Boards of Commissioners, you render that *secret*, which ought to be made as public as possible; you shut the door against the people, in place of throwing it wide open to receive them and to hear their complaints; and, while you pass act upon act to create *informers*, while you give every possible encouragement, while, by temptation upon temptation, you invite man to inform against man, friend against friend, and brother against brother, in matters connected with the *raising* of the public money, not one single encouragement (to say nothing of the contrary) do you hold forth to those who may be inclined to *make* disclosures with respect to the frauds committed in the *expenditure* of that money. From the present ministry, or, at least, from a very large *majority* of them, I did hope, nay, I will *still* hope, notwithstanding all that I have, to my great mortification, been a witness of, far better things. In the *integrity* of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on whose proposed measure I have here been commenting, I have an unshaken confidence, and so, I believe, have the public; and, as he values his fair fame; as he values years (probably a long series) of untarnished reputation, of unsuspected sincerity, of the exercise of power unaccompanied with the execration of the people, I conjure him to avoid the steps of his predecessor in place. I conjure him well to consider the situation, particularly as to pecuniary matters, in which we now stand. *He* has a mind that must, if he seriously turn it to the subject, reject with contempt all the shallow notions that we have heard broached about causing the Bank to revive their payments in cash, and others of a similar character. He must perceive, that the taxing and funding system is daily and hourly approaching to a crisis. Can it, therefore, be necessary to conjure him to act constantly and sincerely upon his own maxim, so openly and so honourably declared, of having *no disguise*, but of laying bare to the public view every fact and every circumstance connected with the finances of the kingdom; to conjure him not to suffer himself to be made the instrument of any classes of persons who may be gorged, beyond the faculty of regorging and beyond the compass of forgiveness, with the public wealth; to conjure him not to be persuaded so to act as to induce the people to regard him as being, ex officio, on the side of every peculator, and thereby to excite and to fix immoveably in their minds a hatred of the whole of the governing powers of the state; to conjure him to shew, on the contrary, that he is the friend of inquiry, and that he views with approbation every effort, by whomsoever made, to bring peculators to punishment; to conjure him to place no reliance upon the power of *party*, there being, at this moment, *no party*, upon which any portion of the people do rely; to conjure him to *look forward*, not to the probable, but to the *inevitable*, events of the next six years, and so to husband his reputation (at whatever expence of place or emolument) as to retain the ability of serving, in those days of trial, his country and his king, and of being one amongst those, who are destined, I trust, to preserve the liberties of the former, together with all the dignities and all the constitutional authority of the latter.

Barrack Office. (Continued from p. 673)——As growing out of my own remarks upon this subject, at the page here referred to, I shall, in continuation, first insert a letter from a correspondent, whose talents I have once before profited from in the same way.——"Sir, although you do not acknowledge your expectations to have been disappointed by the silence of the present ministry, on the subject of the enormous balance appearing by the report of the Commissioners of Military Enquiry to be due from General De Lancey to the public, it is evident, that you are at a loss to account for that silence in a ministry, whose chief claim to public approbation (while in opposition at least), arose from their professed abhorrence of all public abuses, and their repeated

promises to bring to condign punishment all public delinquents.——But, Sir, after the new doctrines which, to the great mortification of all honest men, Mr. Fox has avowed and maintained upon topics of this nature, I, for one, feel no surprize whatever that General De Lancey, or any other public defaulter, should escape animadversion. It appears perfectly consistent with those new doctrines, and a very happy illustration of the effects which such doctrines are calculated to produce. Why should General De Lancey be punished for making an unauthorized use of the public money, or even compelled to make good a deficit in his accounts? "When a bad system has prevailed, the best mode of remedying it is "not by impeaching an individual, but by "removing the person who carried on such "a system, and to take care that none such "shall be acted upon in future." (Mr. Fox, 18th April, 1806.)——Well! General De Lancey is no longer Barrack Master General. Is not that enough for the public? Why should it be expected of our indulgent ministry that they should vindictively pursue him into his retirement from office, now that the old notion is exploded, that the punishment of offences prevents the repetition of offences? Besides the *barbarity* of such useless persecution, motives of *delicacy* may be well supposed to have influenced and restrained ministers from such a proceeding. "In some cases, charges against individuals "may be brought forward rather with a "view to popularity, than from any very "ardent desire to promote the ends of justice." (Mr. Fox.)——Better, much better, therefore, to suffer a public delinquent to escape, and the ends of justice to be defeated, than to incur the suspicion of being actuated in the performance of an obvious duty by a wish to court popularity, especially when popularity, by the attainment of power, has ceased to be an object of primary consideration."——While I confess, that the extraordinary doctrine of Mr. Fox, would naturally go to this extent, and still further, I must say, that I confidently hope, that neither Mr. Fox nor a *majority* of his colleagues, ever really intended so far to act upon it; and, it is with great satisfaction, that I hear, that De Lancey has received a positive order to pay the 97,415*l.* into the Treasury forthwith, whence I am induced to hope, that some sufficent *proof* of his having actually so paid the money will very soon be *laid before parliament*; for, until this be done, neither the parliament nor the public can know, that the order has produced any effect.——A correspondent, in consequence of what appeared in the preceding sheet relative to the principal *Agent* of De Lancey, asks me: "Do you know, Mr. Cobbett, "that the "*man of the name of* GREEN-"WOOD," is Agent to one hundred and "seventy-four battalions of the line; to "twenty-one battalions of militia; to the "Royal Artillery; to the Royal Engineers; "to the Veterans; and to the Waggon "Train; by which agency, on the very "lowest calculation, he clears (or he and "*others* clear amongst them) SIXTY "THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR, exclusive of the advantage derived from the "enormous sums of money constantly in "his hands, and of all the purchase money "of Commissions, placed in his hands BY "AN EXPRESS ORDER OF THE "COMMANDER IN CHIEF? To say "no more, Mr. Cobbett, had you known "the importance, and the respectable connections of the personage you were speaking of, I can hardly think you would "have spoken in the manner you did." And, why not, my good Sir? What need I care who are his connections? As to the circumstance of his being agent to so many regiments and corps, for that I care nothing either. I envy him not his money; and I am sure I am not so unfortunate as to be acquainted with that human being who would *envy* him his *connections*. I found the man by accident in the papers of the House of Commons; through those papers I have, it is true, brought him before the public; but his *connections* will, I dare say, have, at any rate, sense enough to teach him how to make, some how or other, a pretty speedy RETREAT.——To return again, for a moment, to the subject of the Military Inquiry, it is stated, in the newspapers, that, on Thursday, the 8th instant, Lord Henry Petty gave, in the House of Commons, a notice to the following effect: "Gentlemen must be aware, that there had "been for some days on the table a most "important Report of the Commissioners "of Military Inquiry. The facts contained "in that Report made it necessary that "measures should be taken, without one "day's delay, to apply a remedy to the "abuses which they proved. But as they "were *under the consideration of His Majesty's government*, and so far advanced as "to render it *likely* that it would be produced *before the close of the present session*, one general measure for bringing up "the arrears of the Public Accountants, it "was conceived that the subject the Report "on the table applied to, would be most "properly *included in that general measure*.

" The suggestions contained in that Report " would be fully attended to in framing the " *general measure* under consideration. He " assured the House, in the mean time, that " this delay of the legislative provision, " would not prevent the adoption of imme- " diate steps to obtain the repayment of the " large balance that appeared to be due " to the public from a person who had lately " held an office of high public trust (Ge- " neral De Lancey), late Barrack Master " General."——But, why this *delay* as to the remedy in this particular office? And why no mention of the *interest*, while the money lay in the hands of GREENWOOD, or of *others* connected with him? The Commissioners state (see the extract from their Report, in the preceding Register, page 678) that the statements given in by the Barrack-Office, and on which statements the Lords of the Treasury issued money for barrack-services, were *not correct*, that is to say, that they were *false*; and they mention, as a proof of this, that the balances in the hands of the Treasurer (that is GREENWOOD) were *no where noticed*; nor was any allowance or deduction made for sums received for the rent of canteens, and sale of dung, and repayments to a considerable amount. They show, besides, that a large sum of money, issued for barrack-services, was immediately transferred by GREENWOOD to De Lancey's *private account*, and that it so remained for a long while. Now, let me ask, what *general* measures can possibly reach this *past* abuse? These men, or one of them, or them and *others*, had large sums of the public money in their hands, when it should have lain in the Treasury or the Bank; or, indeed, when it should have been in the hands of the people who pay the taxes. They, therefore, evidently owe the interest of this money to the public; and how is any " general measure" to get at this interest? How is any " general measure," which can have in contemplation nothing but the *future* to come at the *false statements*, by the means of which money was drawn from the Treasury, and which money was afterwards transferred to De Lancey's private account? This really does, and I am sorry to say it, savour too much of Mr. Fox's new doctrine! It was not thus, disguise the matter how we will, it was not *thus*, that we talked and that we acted with regard to the transactions of Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter!——What this " *general measure*" is, I know not; but, I do hope, that it is not a lumping transfer of all these matters to a snug Board of Commissioners. I do hope, that nothing will be done, which shall afford a pretext for taking the right of inquiry from *individual* members of parliament, by telling them, that the matter, into which they may wish to inquire, is before *the proper Board*, and, thereupon, stifling their efforts by a *previous question*. I do hope, that nothing of this sort will be attempted; for, if it be, I shall find myself under the painful necessity of asserting, that our situation has, by the change of ministry, been rendered ten thousand times worse than it was before.

Pig-Iron Tax. —— In the foregoing sheet, page 686, a short account of this tax was given. The representations of the persons concerned in the trade would have been given, in an abriged state here; but, this may now be spared, as the ministry appear to have yielded, not to those representations, but to the strong opposition which the tax has experienced in the House of Commons, where, on the 9th instant, after a debate of considerable length, the House came to a division, 119 for the tax and 109 against it; and the impression was such as not to encourage the minister to try a second division.——If the money " *must* be raised," and all the loan-mongers, sinecure placemen, pensioners and contractors tell us it must; if " the money *must* be raised," it is very little matter in what way it is raised, so that the additional taxes do not add to the already numerous restraints which the taxing system has imposed upon the personal liberty of the people, or to the number of those agents who are authorized to enter their houses and work-shops. But this tax would have created *a fresh swarm of excisemen* to interfere, to come with their insolence of office, to distrub the harmony of neighbourhoods and of families; and for *this reason* I would have opposed the tax. I shall be told, perhaps, that I am, like other weak-minded persons, only putting off the evil day; for, that, to this, and to much more than this, it must come at last. But, besides that my hopes are better; besides that I hope for a great change as well with respect to the national debt as to every other branch of expenditure; besides that I am willing to rely a good deal upon the chapter of accidents for relief, I am, at any rate, for keeping off the exciseman as long as I can from the produce of the earth in its raw, in its first tangible state. Lord Henry Petty (oh, what scenes has *he* to pass through! and how often will he have to repent that he was cajoled into a rejection of my advice!) said, that this was not a *beginning* to tax the *raw material* in this country; and he instanced Cotton, Spanish Wool, and Malt,

The latter is certainly *not* a raw material; and, as to the others, they are *imported*, in which circumstance, all the difference exists. The making of Pig-Iron has actually created flourishing and populous settlements in parts of *this kingdom* where, before, there was scarcely a house to be seen. Can as much be said of Cotton, or of Spanish Wool? And, would it not be a terrible curse upon these rising colonies, and upon the ingenious and industrious and enterprising men who have founded them, to introduce amongst them swarms of excisemen, supported, if necessary, by the warrant of the magistrate, and, in extreme cases, by the bayonet? God forbid it should be again thought of!——*Necessity*, the old plea, the standing plea, was again urged by the ministers, and that too with more apparent anguish than in the case of the Income Tax.——"I beg the House "to consider," said Lord Henry Petty, "that the question now is as to *a choice* of "*evils*, that money *must be procured for the* "*exigencies of the state*, and that the mode "now proposed is much less objectionable "than any other that has been suggested. "It has been recommended to me to pro- "pose other taxes. A right honourable "gentleman has pushed the adoption of a "tax *upon coals in the pit*, in lieu of that be- "fore the House. But, I prefer the latter, "and to those who seem so anxious to pre- "sent me with a substitute, I will say— "*Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*."——Very well, my Lord! And I would have told Old Rose and others upon the same set of benches, that, unless the money was procured, some how or other, their sinecures and pensions must go unpaid; and to the loan-jobbers and contractors and barrack-men and staff-men I would have addressed a similar argument. But, my lord, the worst of it is, you were cajoled to take to the concern *without previous inquiry*; without a previous public statement of the pecuniary affairs of the nation; if you had, as I took the liberty to recommend, taken care to provide yourself with this statement, *you* would have stood clear; not having done this, you and your colleagues are answerable for all that may happen; which duty of responsibility you did formerly take upon yourselves when you boasted of "the "*prosperity* of the country" at the opening of your Budget.——Mr. Fox, during the debate upon the Pig-Iron Tax, said "that, "having had the satisfaction to hear the "opinions of different gentlemen, their "arguments had certainly great weight "upon his mind, but there was not a sin- "gle argument which had been advanced "in the course of that night's debate which "did not equally apply to almost every "other tax that could possibly be brought "forward. There was hardly one of the "taxes that had been laid on for these "twelve years past which he could say he "thoroughly approved of. They were all "laid on articles which most writers agreed "in saying that they were not fit objects of "taxation. But the fact was, that *we are* "*now placed in such circumstances that we* "*are driven to adopt modes of taxation* "*which must, in some degree, affect the* "*prosperity of one branch of our trade or* "*commerce or another*."——This is all I ever wanted you to say, Sir. But (excuse this freedom of manner, seeing that it arises from no want of respect) why did you not say it *sooner?* Important and unremitted as are your occupations, the time would be well bestowed, if you were even *now*, to condescend to look at page 164 of the present volume of the Register, where I foretold what your situation would be, unless you adopted the course there pointed out, to wit, the instituting of a parliamentary inquiry, and the making and widely promulgating a full and fair representation of the pecuniary affairs of the country. So far from doing this, however, you, as well as Lord Henry Petty, were cajoled to draw a veil over the nation's distresses. *You* also talked of "the *prosperity* of the country," and why should you not, after you had been cajoled to vote 40,000*l.* of the public money to pay the debts of the cousin of Lord Grenville, who had brought the country into its present situation? *Now*, however, you talk in good plain language. You tell us, that you are "*driven* to adopt such "modes of taxation as must *affect the pros-* "*perity* of one branch or other of our "trade or commerce." This, if it be not too late, we understand. It is a language we have not been accustomed to. I, for one, most sincerely thank you for it, and certain I am that it will finally produce infinite good.——I cannot quit this subject without a remark or two upon a paragraph in the Morning Chronicle news-paper, (I never name this print without a melancholy reflection upon the mutability of all sublunary things) which is given as a speech of Old GeorgeRose, as follows: "he *earnestly* "recommended the noble lord to abandon "this tax, and suggested to his considera- "tion, as substitutes, taxes *upon horses* "*kept for pleasure*, upon *those employed* "*in agriculture*, upon *male servants*, and "upon *gentlemen's carriages*: These were "sources from which, he thought, the

"noble lord might draw a more productive "revenue than the tax before the House "could promise, and at the same time "*avoid any kind of oppression or injury to* "*commerce.*" Why, how so? But, this same man wrote a pamphlet; or, rather, a pamphlet, the joint production of him, Mr. Long and the Grand Operator, was published by the Treasury in the year 1799, entitled "A BRIEF EXAMINATION into the "State of the Finances of Great Britain," after which pamphlet, it would be scandalous to appear astonished at any degree of ignorance from that quarter.——This man does not penetrate one hair's breadth beneath the surface of finance. He sees a tax collected from a gentleman who keeps a carriage, a servant, or a pleasure horse, and he thinks that no soul in the world, that gentleman excepted, feels the effect of that tax! To reason against such notions would be to degrade the faculties of the mind.

INCOME TAX.——It is worth remarking here, at the outset, that this tax, which Mr. Addington called a PROPERTY TAX, is now, even in the parliamentary debate reports, called the "INCOME TAX," as it is also called by the members of parliament themselves; though, as my readers will, perhaps, remember, I was, at the time of Mr. Addington's first naming it, represented as a seditious person for insisting, that it was, to all intents and purposes a tax upon *Income*, and that the other name had been chosen by *that* gentleman merely as a gilding of the PILL, which, for the sake of the nation's health, no doubt, he was administering to it.——My present observations upon this subject will be confined to one point, namely, the *exemptions* to *foreigners*, who have money, or rather stock, or rather the claim to interest in our funds, that is to say, the claim to receive certain portions of the taxes annually raised upon the people of this kingdom; for that is the plain description of the thing. On the 12th instant, in the House of Commons, MR. FRANCIS urged the propriety of making *no exemption* in favour of foreigners, at which Mr. Fox expressed his indignation, observing, that this was to recommend *a breach of faith* with such foreigners, and that it would be *unconstitutional*, seeing that foreigners are *not represented in parliament*, and, therefore, ought not to be taxed! What! good God! what shall we hear next!——"Breach of Faith."——Look at the acts constituting any of the public annuities. They all say, that the interest shall be paid at the Bank *without deduction*. There is the contract with the original subscribers, and, as it has been well and most satisfactorily proved by MR. BARON MASERES, in his work upon annuities, the tax upon Income is a violation of the contract with the original subscribers. Then why talk of keeping faith with those who have purchased from them? We may observe, that, in this instance, and in insisting on the levy of the duty on the floating or unfunded stock, Mr. Francis was acting with the ministers, and was, indeed, most ably aiding the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, through the whole of the *preceding* debate, would not hear of *any abatement* of any kind, or for any reason!——The amount of the exemption, even on the foreign property that has already appeared (and new claims "are "daily coming in to a great amount"), is, at least, 50,000*l.* a year; and, this revenue is, as Mr. Francis observed, given up to 'Change Alley, to Foreign Agents, and to Domestic Fraud, while our finance minister tells us, that, in the means of raising money upon us, he has left only "a "choice of *evils*," and while Mr. Fox himself declares, that, such is the state of our pecuniary affairs, that the ministers are "*driven* to impose taxes that must *affect the* "*prosperity* of some branch or other of our "trade and commerce!" Yes, it is at a moment like this, that, to an argument of Mr. Francis for making the stock of foreigners liable to taxation, Mr. Fox cannot listen without indignation!—Upon the other position of Mr. Fox, that you cannot *constitutionally* tax foreigners, *because* they are *not represented*, one might make some very decent comments, particularly were one disposed to apply it to the state of parliamentary representation, as the same has been recognized to exist by the money paid to the borough-holders of Ireland. But, this delicate topic had better be abstained from at present, it being exceedingly well calculated for a *bonne bouche* for Messrs. Fox and Grey and Lord Erskine and some others who need not now be named. To take a less refined view of the thing, we may observe, that the position naturally leads to this conclusion; to wit, that, if foreigners *were* represented, you fairly might tax their stock; that is to say, you might *reduce* the interest on their stock; and, as to *degree*, that is a matter to be left entirely to you. The corollary is interesting, and I beg my readers upon "the FATE OF THE FUNDS" to attend to it. A loan to government is a contract, in which there are two contracting parties, without any third party to stand bewteen them and enforce the fulfilment. The lender, or creditor is one

party, and the borrower, that is to say the parliament, *representing the nation*, is the other. Parliament, says Mr. Fox, is competent to tax the funds, that is to say, to reduce the interest upon the stock, without the consent of the lender. Why? *Because* the lender is *represented*. Then, in fact, there is but *one party*; and parliament, as *representative*, may annihilate its own engagements as *debtor*; which principle will justify parliament in applying the *whole*, as well as a part, of the interest of the debt, to the current services of the year. Mr. Fox did not maintain this proposition directly in terms; but, his argument maintains it, or his argument is good for nothing.——But, really, I confess myself at a total loss to discover any rational motive for this distinction in favor of foreigners. Are not all foreigners here, or trading hither, taxed like other men? As if parliament had ever made either expressly or by implication, any special contract with those fund-jobbing foreigners! As if foreigners did not speculate in our funds, with all the contingencies thereunto belonging, just as the native "muck-worm" does! As if foreigners ought not to contribute to the protection of their own property as well as natives! As if there could be no objection to our furnishing a foreigner living in France, or an enemy, perhaps, with the means, out of our own funds, that is to say, out of our *taxes*, to assist Buonaparté in carrying his armies to our shores, and these means given without the least *diminution*; and this, too, at a moment, when Mr. Fox himself tells us, that he and his colleagues are, by the pressing necessities of the state, "*driven* to impose "taxes" that must "affect the *prosperity*" of the country!——Mr. Francis's opinion was adopted by many persons in the House; Mr. Fox's has been adopted by *nobody*, either in the House or out of it; and, indeed, this may well be, when it is almost impossible to find upon the face of the earth any foreigners towards whom we ought to think of any thing like acts of tenderness, or, indeed, who stand in need of tenderness at our hands, the *Hanoverians* always excepted; but, as we have just begun a new war for them, and as Mr. Fox has so boldly and resolutely declared that he will never make a peace by which the restoration of Hanover to the king shall not be secured, and as he has, moreover chosen to consider Hanover as *an appendage* to Great Britain, it would, I think, be curious enough, if it were to appear, that the exemption in favour of foreigners was, in any degree, intended to screen Hanoverian property in our funds. that is to say, claims to receive interest annually paid out of our taxes!——Upon the subject of the INCOME TAX the reader will find some excellent papers in the subsequent pages of this present Number of the Register.

NELSON GRANT.——That this grant, at such a time as this, and considering the circumstances of Lord Nelson's family is too great, too much beyond the bounds of propriety, every reflecting man in the nation has long thought, and still thinks; but Mr. FRANCIS has been the first openly and manfully to *say* it. On the 13th instant, upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer's moving for the granting of the sum of 5,000l. a year, *for ever*, to the heirs of Lord Nelson, and in addition thereunto, an immediate grant of 120,000l. to purchase an estate to descend in the said family, Mr. FRANCIS spoke nearly as follows. I honour him for his conduct; I heard him with pleasure; I agree with him in all his sentiments upon the subject; I have retained his words; and I now put them beyond the reach of misrepresentation. "On the merits "and services of the great admiral, whom we "have lost, there can be but one sentiment, "of united admiration and gratitude, in this "house and in this country; and in that "sentiment no man can participate more "heartily and sincerely than I do. Yet, "even this feeling, just as it is, and powerful as it ought to be, must in some reasonable degree be subject to the regulation of other principles in particular circumstances. We live in times of great "public services, and great rewards. But "we ought not to forget that the times we "live in have another character, which indicates other duties; I mean the difficulties and distresses, that belong to our situation. Even in the distribution of the best deserved liberality of parliament, we "ought not to forget that the present means "of the country are not quite equal to all "the claims, which great services may have "on the public gratitude. On this principle, painful as it is to me, I cannot refrain "from expressing a doubt, whether one "part of the proposed vote, I mean the sum "of £120,000, (in addition to the annuity "of £5,000. a year,) may not be more, not "than is due to the merit of Lord Nelson; "far from it; but than can fairly be expected in circumstances, which demand economy from us, even in the exercise of our "virtues. The rewards, given to the Earl "of Chatham, fell far short of this grant. "Those given in the first instance to John "Duke of Marlborough, who placed Eng-

" land at the head of Europe, I believe, did " not exceed it*. If, happily for his coun- " try, the noble admiral had lived to enjoy " these proofs of its gratitude; or, if he had " left children to represent his person, and " to transmit his memory, with all its ho- " nours, to an illustrious lineage directly " descended from him, I should never have " thought of uttering one word, but in sup- " port of the question. All my doubt is, " whether the claim on the nation stands " exactly on the same footing in the person " of a collateral relation, as it would have " done, if it had been possible to preserve " the reward of his services, united with his " name, in direct descent to his own off- " spring, and to their posterity."——I have nothing to add here but a repetition of the expression before made of a perfect concurrence in opinion, and my hearty thanks to Mr. Francis for having so well said what I have to accuse myself of having, for too long a time, neglected to say.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.——There have been, since my last observations upon this subject were submitted to the public, several discussions, relative to the repeal of the Parish Bill, and, incidentally, relative to Mr. Windham's Plan; but, in these there has appeared nothing *new*; nothing that I think worth communicating to my readers; for, as to the battlings of the INS and the OUTS, whom you see immediately afterwards walking arm-in-arm, and laughing at what has passed, just like a couple of barristers after a barking and sweating contest in the courts; as to this, it presents to my mind something far different from amusement, and it would, I earnestly hope, afford no amusement to my readers.——In a subsequent part of this present Number will be found two letters upon Mr. Windham's Military Plan; the one addressed to " A VOLUNTEER," and defending that part of the Plan which relates to the Volunteers; the other from MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, who, in a most elaborate and able manner analyses the whole plan, and, in particular, discusses the subject of arming the people. Both these letters I recommend to the perusal of every one who takes an interest in the military measures now in contemplation.

INDIA AFFAIRS. (Continued from pages, 171, 197, 237, 303, 368, 460, 530, 545, 609, and 641.) On Thursday, the 8th instant, a debate of considerable length took place, in the House of Commons, upon the suggestion of MR. BANKES, which suggestion was briefly noticed in the foregoing Number of the Register, page 686. But, I was there very much in mistake as to the *sort of court*, before which Mr. Bankes wished to bring the affair of Lord Wellesley. I called it, the " Court of *King's Bench*;" but, it was a clear different sort of court, which court I will now trespass upon the patience of the reader in describing. It was not a *Judge and Jury*, before whom Mr. Bankes proposed to bring the affair of Lord Wellesley; but a court, called the " *Court of* " *Indian Judicature*," which court, consists of members of parliament, about 40 in number, chosen at the beginning of every year, by *ballot*; that is to say, by *the majority*; that is to say, by ..... but, there is no occasion to go any further with the explanation.——I thought, simpleton that I was, that, by the Court of King's Bench, was meant a real Judge and Jury; and, in that case I should, with the INDEPENDENT WHIG (a most excellent Sunday newspaper), have agreed, that Mr. Bankes's suggestion was a good one; though, I must confess, that I did not percieve any very great propriety in Mr. Bankes's coming forward to suggest to Mr. Paull an alteration in a mode of proceeding, which the latter gentleman had, quite unassisted by any one, so properly and so manfully pursued. Members of the House of Commons are, in that House, all upon a footing of perfect equality; and, out of that House, there are very few of the members who stand higher, in any respect whatever, than Mr. Paull. Mr. Bankes may, probably, have heard (for, indeed, the cry has been incessant), that Mr. Paull is a mere adventurer, seeking for popularity and fame, and, perhaps, emolument, in his pursuit of Lord Wellesley; but, it is due to this gentleman, it is due more especially to the just cause he has espoused, that I, who so heartily approve of his conduct, and who really feel great gratitude towards him for his public conduct, should here state that which I have, as to this matter, taken the pains to ascertain; and which is, that Mr. Paull is an eminent *British Merchant*, and the very *greatest* British Merchant now trading to the East; for proof of which reference may be made

* On consulting the Journals of the House of Commons of the 10th and 21st of December, 1702, it appears that when Queen Anne had granted a pension to the Duke of Marlborough of £5000 per annum on the revenue of the Post-Office, and desired that it might be perpetuated in the family of the Duke of Marlborough, which the House of Commons positively rejected, as being a grant far too *exorbitant* to be made.

to the East-India sales; to David Scott and Company, to the House of Porcher and Company, his agents in England (and members of the House of Commons) or to Mr. Alexander, the Chairman of Ways and Means, whose brother is Mr. Paull's agent in India. Mr. Paull is a *real* merchant. He is no jobber, no speculator, no grinding broker; no "muck-worm;" no "blood-"sucker;" and has made no dirty attempts to creep into a Baronetcy by being the mercantile cat's-paw of a minister. What base wretches must those be, who, having failed in all their endeavours to brow-beat him from his laudable pursuit, have betaken themselves to low calumnies, and have not had the courage to utter even them, but in a whisper, not a soul of them daring to utter them to his face. I have now had time to read the India Papers; and, I take upon me to assure my readers, that whilst some of those, who have now deserted Mr. Paull in the cause of justice; nay, who have made a merit of deserting him, or rather, of having endeavoured to dissuade him from pursuing the path of rectitude and of honor; who make a merit of having endeavoured to prevail upon him not to go into parliament; yes, I assure my readers, that whilst some of these men were practising (and that, too, in open defiance of solemn engagements) the greedy arts of usury at Lucknow, Mr. Paull was engaged in those honest and honourable pursuits, which have gained him more respect and esteem than belongs to almost any other private individual that ever was in India, and which, at the same time that they give him a fair title to a seat in the legislature of the kingdom, peculiarly qualify him for discharging its duties in a manner beneficial to his country. They may not, indeed, qualify him to *get into place*. But, that is a sort of qualification of which we stand in no need. There are plenty of volunteer placemen. What we want is, men who have great property to protect, who have courage to protect it, and with it the property of their countrymen in general. Such are the men that we want, and such a man is Mr. Paull. Young and zealous besides; unexposed to any of the selfish motives that deceive men into a desertion of their duty; far above the reach of the political corruptions of the times; having chosen for the work of his life an endeavour to assist in the restoration of his country, he is a man, on whom the public may safely rely. Much of this I *know*, and all the rest of it I sincerely believe of Mr. Paull; and I have stated it, because I know he has been calumniated, and because I consider his reputation as highly valuable to all the honest and honourable part of the country.——To such a person, though I do not presume to blame Mr. Bankes; yet, to such a person, I must say, that it became not Mr. Banks either to dictate or to suggest a mode of conducting a great parliamentary investigation; and, I am pretty sure that the public will now agree with me in commending Mr. Paull for rejecting the suggestion.——On Thursday the 15th instant, there took place, in the House of Commons, a short conversation upon matters connected with the inquiry with regard to Lord Wellesley, which conversation is thus stated in the British-Press news-paper. "Mr. Paull said, that seeing a Noble "Lord (Morpeth) and some of the Directors in the House, he wished to observe, "that on the 11th April, he moved for "some papers relative to the transactions of "Bhurtpore, which not being returned "pursuant to order, he obtained a peremptory order for them on the 16th "of April, but they had not been yet produced. Before he proceeded to make "any further motion he wished to know "whether there were any difficulty in "the way of their production?——"Mr. Creevey replied, that the Board of "Controul never had these papers in their "possession, and therefore could not produce them. Some of them had been detained for the use of the Consultation "Council of Bengal, and had not been yet "received. The honourable gentleman, he "thought, had little reason to complain, as "he had moved for 98 *papers* in the present session, and no one of them was refused him. In consequence of some former complaints of the same kind, he wrote "to Mr. Ramsay, Secretary to the India "House, to inquire, and received for answer, that *some of them had been detained "by the Bengal Consultation*, and that the "clerks were already busily employed in "making out the Surat papers, moved for "by the hon. gentleman, consisting of no "less than 2000 close folio pages. If these "papers were not necessary, they had a "mischievous effect, as they interfered with "the making up of the official documents. "There were *two India budgets* in arrear, "and now in preparation, the papers connected with which would *afford a much "better knowledge of the affairs of India*, "than all the minute details moved for by "the honourable gentleman.——Mr. Paul "replied, that he was entitled to these papers to enable him to substantiate against "the Marquis Wellesley, as important "charges as ever were brought forward in

" that House. He thought there was *great* " *delay in the production of all these papers,* " ——Mr. Creevey denied that there " was any delay which was not unavoid- " able.——Mr. Francis thought, that " when a member moved for any papers, he " *was himself the best judge of their effect,* " and therefore was not obliged to take the " advice of those who may be adverse to his " views. He had seen a paper signed by " twenty-three Directors, who, amongst " other things, complained that the Mar- " quis Wellesley *did not register his papers* " *regularly in the consultation.* If any of " the papers were lost, that was no excuse " for not returning as many as they had of " them."—This speaks, for itself. But, who is this Mr. Creevey? Oh! I remember now! It is the Mr. Creevey, who brought forward the affair of Mr. Fordyce. It is the same Mr. Creevey, who, if I am not greatly mistaken, did stand pledged to revive the question of the Athol Claim. Yes it is; it is the very same Mr. Creevey, who so laudably moved, *last year,* for papers, *from the Board of Controul,* respecting certain abuses in Ceylon, and who is now himself (mark the fact) Secretary to that same Board of Controul, and who now says not one single word respecting the abuses in Ceylon!—— Mr. Creevey tells us, that there are two *India Budgets* now *in preparation,* and he begs us to look to *them* as the *source of knowledge* with regard to India Affairs. Now, reader, you will please to recollect, that we have had these India Budgets submitted to parliament, annually, for these 13 years last past; and, need I ask you, what is the knowledge we have ever received from them? Need I ask you, whether we ever therefore, received any knowledge or any benefit at all?

To the Readers of the Register.

You have heard much of the Intended Dispatch of the East India Directors, wherein they *take a view of,* and give *their opinion upon,* the conduct of Marquis Wellesley. You have been, by me, regularly informed of the several efforts that have been made to keep this Dispatch from the public eye. It is now, however, thanks to the Directors, printed and published; and as you must have observed the scandalous silence of the news-papers, in general, upon all matters connected with this important inquiry, I propose, in my *next* Number, to insert the whole of the Intended Dispatch, and to omit publishing a double sheet at the succeeding period for publishing a double sheet; so that, the Volume will, as usual, contain no more than 33 sheets.

Prussia.—*Order in Council for laying an Embargo on Prussian Vessels, &c. From the London Gazette, April* 19, 1806.

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 16th of April, 1806, present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council. Whereas his Majesty has received advice, that his Majesty the King of Prussia has taken possession of his Majesty's Electoral dominions, in a forcible and hostile manner; and has also caused it to be notified to his Majesty's Minister at the Court of Berlin, that all British ships were thenceforth to be excluded from the ports of the Prussian dominions, and from certain other ports in the North of Europe, under the forcible controul of Prussia, in violation of the just rights and interests of his Majesty and his dominions, and contrary to the established law and practice of nations in amity with each other: and whereas his Majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, has been pleased to cause an embargo to be laid upon vessels belonging to the subjects of Prussia now within, or which hereafter shall come into, any of the ports of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, together with all persons and effects on board the said vessels: and whereas there is just reason to apprehend that the neutrality of the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, and the free navigation thereof, will not, under these circumstances, be duly respected by his Majesty's enemies, but will be rendered subject to the hostile measures above described; his Majesty, by and with the advice of his privy council, is pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered, that a general embargo or stop be made in like manner, until further order from this board, of all ships and vessels belonging to persons residing in any ports or places situate upon the said rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, save and except vessels under the Danish flag, and also save and except, that in respect to the goods and effects on board such ships and vessels which shall have been laden in, or are coming consigned to, any ports of the United Kindom, the same shall be forthwith liberated and delivered up to the said laders and consignees respectively; and it is hereby further ordered, that no property or freight-money appearing to belong to any subject of Prussia, or to any persons residing as aforesaid, respecting which proceedings are now depending, or shall hereafter depend, in any of his Majesty's Courts of Prize, shall be decreed to be restored, nor shall the proceeds of any property or freight-money belonging as aforesaid, which hath already been decreed to be restored, be paid to or on behalf of the claimants, but the same shall be kept in

safe custody until his Majesty's further order herein: and it is further ordered, that no person residing within His Majesty's dominions do presume to pay any freight-money due or payable to or behalf of any person or persons, being subjects, or residing within the dominions of the King of Prussia, or in the ports or places aforesaid, for the freight of merchandize laden on board any ship which is detained under the said embargo, or which shall hereafter be brought into any of the ports of his Majesty's dominions, but that such freight-money shall be forthwith paid into the Registry of the High Court of Admiralty, there to remain until his Majesty's pleasure shall be further known, or until other provision shall be made by law: [*To be continued.*]

PROPERTY TAX.

SIR,—Having lately noticed in your Register several spirited and just remarks on the Property Tax bill, particularly those of Britannicus; I am induced also to offer an observation, which in my humble opinion, is a much stronger argument against the present proposed system, than any I have yet met with; therefore I wish, as far as my abilities will allow me, to convey my sentiments, through your well established Journal; confident that if I shall not treat the subject as it deserves, or so well, as many of your other correspondents have done before me; yet I trust I shall give the hint, which some more abler hand than myself may do justice to, and by representing the evil before it is too late, render a service to the country, as well as the public in general. In some degree, I must premise, that your correspondent Britannicus, has anticipated my ideas, though he has not sufficiently brought it to light: therefore I must in justice to him, allow, that I have derived great assistance, from the plain and enlightened manner, in which he has laid down his positions by classing them under different heads.——It is my intention only to touch, or rather enlage upon the first of his, viz: "the proprietor of land, houses, &c. &c." In order to strengthen my argument and make my position good, I must first appeal to you Mr. Cobbett, by asking you whether landed property has not within these last twenty years, or less, advanced at least *one-third?* this I think, you will say, is really the fact: then I must again ask you, whether the war taxes, together with the depreciation of money exceed the above one-third rise in landed property? To this latter query, I presume every one will answer, No! These being granted, my argument then comes to this,—That the person (let his rank in life be what it may) who twenty years ago, possesses landed property or Houses &c which gave him an income of a 1000l. or even 10,000l. less or more, still enjoys the same at this day, without suffering the smallest diminution. How does this arise? why by this increase and value of property which more than overpays every tax, that a person possessed of such property and income is subject, to so that the rich and men of property do not bear their equal share in any tax or burthen whatever, but enjoy at their ease, every luxury in life, while the middling classes and every other downwards are taxed upon tax, till the period may come, when they cannot support it any longer. If I do not state the origin of the evil or the plain matter of fact: I can only wish our legislators would look into it, by witnessing the daily bankruptcies throughout the country, and then examine the source! Let them enquire from whence the evil springs! it will speak for itself—and tell them that it proceeds from the load of taxes levied in a disproportionate manner and way. I will maintain that the rich and particularly those of landed property, literally pay no taxes, or at least by no means in proportion to the other classes below them. For example, a person who enjoyed 10 or 20 years ago 10,000l. a year, his property is equal now to 15,000l., so that he sits down with 10,000l. a year still, for the increase of 5000l. a year more than over pays every tax, that this property, is subject to: the same is good, in larger or lesser incomes. Again a proprietor of a house or houses, who 10 years ago let his house at 100l. per ann. gets now at least 150. Who pays the increase of Taxes? Why the Renter! and here becomes the burthen. In fact, there is no knowing, where the evil will end, unless a more proper and just mode is established, both in levelling and collecting taxes. The income tax, although not the most pleasing, is certainly one of the most equitable modes of taxation, that ever was thought of by any Government; and, as your Correspondent justly remarks, that "nothing is wanting to render this tax "(as a war tax) equitable in itself, and "highly beneficial to the public; but, it "must approach as nearly as possible to "the standard of justice," and be administered without any partiality. The Wisdom of the British legislature, composed as it is of the first talents, is doubtless competent to this arduous task, and may, from various plans and modifications presented to them, select and arrange a plan of an In-

come Tax, in every respect less galling more eligible and more productive than those, which have hitherto been acted upon. —Thus much, Mr. Cobbett, I have presumed to trouble you with, in hopes, your better pen may point out, what mine has so imperfectly done, or omitted on a subject which so nearly concerns the very fabric of our glorious Constitution.—LEX.

MR. WINDHAM'S PLAN.

Enfield, 16th April, 1806.

SIR,——By your having invited my correspondence on the subject of national defence, and by the very flattering attention you have shewn towards my ideas on that subject, I cannot but feel highly gratified. I trust, however, Sir, that with you I shall have credit for this being a gratification in which personal vanity has at the most a very subordinate share. The subject is truly awful. It must now come home to every man's bosom. Mr. Secretary Windham in particular, occupies a station in which, as a statesman he has every thing to hope, and every thing to fear. As private individuals, you, Mr. Cobbett, and myself, as well as others who have offered military plans, must on the present occasion feel peculiarly interested. Our reputations, which may be as dear to us as if we moved in higher spheres, must be more or less affected by the plan of defence that shall be adopted. Although this consideration would not justify a disingenuous argument in support of our respective systems, it ought however to operate as an apology to any persons from whom we may differ, not only for our vindicating our own published sentiments, but for any well founded animadversions which we may make upon what they have submitted to the public. At the present moment our whole attention must be attracted by the plan which the war minister has submitted to parliament. The intentions of that minister I certainly do not question. His bringing forward the principles and outline of his system on the eve of a parliamentary recess, and his proposing his bill to be annual, are strong marks of sincerity, and of inviting discussion; and as you have meritoriously opened your Weekly Register to that discussion, and employ in it your own masterly pen, it is to be hoped that much public benefit will be the result.

II. When you first asked me, in your Register of the 22d of March, if I had "duly "considered *the great change* that has now "taken place in this country as well as in "Europe," I might in respect of the latter have referred you for an answer to the last edition of the Ægis written in 1803, to shew that I was prepared for even more awful changes affecting ourselves than the hostility of our late allies, who were receiving our millions of English money; for, contemplating the political state of Europe in conjunction with the character and the genius of the French ruler, and the nation he governs, I had even looked forward to the time when '*another Paul of Muscovy may unite with France, and carry into the confederacy Denmark and Sweden**.' And who, after what has since happened in Austria and Prussia, shall say that such a period is now distant? When the cabinet of St. Petersburgh shall see the aggrandizement of Russia in an alliance offensive and defensive with France, that alliance will take place. And, was it ever yet so likely to take place as now, or shortly, when Austria and Prussia have lost their rank as European states, and become dependents on a haughty superior; and when it is in the power of France to take Russia into partnership, as an equal for schemes of mutual aggrandisement? Look to the *East*, and you will see the golden means! Has then, Mr. Secretary Windham, "duly considered" the changed, and still changing state of Europe? Had he fully digested a system of defence against the hordes that may once more, after the revolution of a thousand years, be poured upon our shores from the Baltic, and the two hundred additional miles of coast from the Sound to the Southward, with "its" fifteen or sixteen outlets† 'ere we approach Boulogne?" Napoleon, be it remembered, has shewn a fondness for not only reviving ancient names, but ancient schemes.

III. As yet, Sir, we can but imperfectly comment upon the secretary's military system, of which we have seen no more than some principles and outlines. In your Register of the 12th, you have very much anticipated me in remarking upon the prominent feature in that system, the standing army, which, unless counterbalanced as reason and the English constitution require, must inevitably destroy the liberties of our country; while it will not, cannot, in my humble judgment, become our security against subjugation to France.‡ After reading Mr. Windham's speech with great attention, I find myself under a necessity of withholding my assent to some important parts of his reasoning. I mean as applying *generally* and *permanently* to the defence of our country. Mr. Windham is an advocate for "simplicity." Towards simplicity, I hold

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* I. 68. Former ed. 91.

† II. 40. ‡ II. 119, 156.

it necessary that we should have clear and correct ideas of the different species of military force to be provided; and their relative magnitude. First then, I venture, notwithstanding the arguments favouring a different conclusion, to lay it down as a principle, that the regular army at home ought to be limited to a number which, whether it be war or peace, should be considered as only sufficient, but liberally so, for supporting the rotation of foreign duty, and the recruiting of our foreign armies. Secondly, I very much approve of your idea of having that regular army as much as possible of one quality, shutting out expensive establishments, invidious distinctions, and offensive partialities. To this end, I have long thought it questionable, whether it be right in a maritime nation to appropriate a distinct part only of the army to the duty of marines. Why not a regular rotation of the army for our port garrisons and sea duty, as well as for foreign services? This may be for future consideration. Thirdly, the more I reflect upon the other branch of our military force, the more I see the advantages of resolving it all into *one kind*, as drawn from the people or civil state, and intended for our fulfilling the several duties of preserving internal tranquillity, supporting the laws, promptly putting down insurrection or rebellion, and, while we effectually resist invasion, *preserving our country from the very hazard of the incalculable horrors, and desolation of being the seat of war.* All this I certainly do not foresee from the adoption of Mr. Secretary *Windham's* plan. But all this, and more, much more, would, as I conceive, be the natural effect of adhering, in our system of defence, to THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION; and of following up what it for that purpose prescribes by legislation, hinted at in the Ægis, for effecting a great change in the national habits and character, in order to preserve our high rank as a nation, through all the dangers Europe may yet have to experience. If, Sir, our ministers shall not in all their measures act in the true spirit of state-reformers, and with the deep wisdom of law-givers, who see the necessity of infusing a new soul into their country, they were not born for the times in which they have been called on to save a sinking land.

IV. By a military force of *one kind*, I am not to be taken too literally. I mean a force under *one system*, in contradistinction to that of the regulars; and, likewise again, as being different from the present variety, and inconvenient complexity, of militia, volunteers, yeomanry, and men enrolled under the General Defence Act. Here, Sir, I agree with you, that we want a *proper title*, and I heartily concur in your objection to a French title; but not in your choice of that of "*Trained-men*;" and that for two reasons; first, because the appellation *would* inevitably bring into our minds the "train bands," which, as soldiers, had become proverbially contemptible; and, secondly, because it *would not* recal to our thoughts any *constitutional* idea. Can we then do better on this occasion than take for our guides the constitution and common law of the land, and indifferently, as best adapted to the context, call the *civil state*, whenever we have occasion to speak of it in its martial capacity, *the civil* POWER; or, *the armed* POWER; or, *the national* POWER? We should of course then, when in an individual county, and speaking of its local martial force, use the old established phrase of *county* POWER, with strict propriety; in which case this good consequence would follow, that the language of the common law, running through our books for many hundred years back, would still be applicable, and we should be taught to reverence a military system as old as the constitution. I would equally avoid the law latin and the Norman french, the "*posse comitatus*" and the "*poair del comitée*," of our books. For the same reason that we wish for simplicity, we desire plain English; and, if we mean likewise to make the constitution the object of our care, we shall do well to respect both its principles and its language. Hence, Sir, I cannot but greatly lament, as matter of the most serious ill consequence, that Mr. Secretary Windham should so readily become an imitator of preceding ministers, and enter at this serious crisis to *England*, upon a system of military experiment and speculation, much as if no *English* constitution had ever existed; or, as if nothing upon the subject was therein contained worth regard: whereas no truth is more certain, than that the best defensive military system of human invention is there to be found. I am speaking of principles; for the practical application must depend on the arms and military science of the day. In the standing army as much improvement as he pleases, provided only he limits its numerical strength to what our foreign necessities require, and the security of our liberties prescribes.

V. I trust that that minister is a sincere friend to the liberties of his country, and I attribute the errors to which I have alluded, to that which I conceive to be another great error; namely, his confidence in the prowess of a regular army, and his distrust of the efficiency of any other species of force, being

carried to extremes beyond all importance and reason; even to extravagance. This prejudice has been so strong that, in his speech introductory to his own military plan, it betrays him into arguments of the greatest inconsistency; arguments which, when converted into batteries against him, must demolish his grand principle, and expose the fallacy of relying for the defence of a great nation on a standing army. Either he or I must be subject to a strong mental delusion, on the efficacy of standing armies for a nation's defence. Either he or I must have drawn most erroneous conclusions from the late campaign, which terminated in the battle of Austerlitz. I had argued in favour of restoring our *armed* POWER, because I had seen Austria, Prussia, and Russia, with a collective population to furnish FIFTEEN MILLIONS OF FIGHTING MEN*; defeated, humbled, and disgraced, *by putting their trust in standing armies.* I had spoken of the infinite superiority of a system of defence by our own *armed* POWER, over a system of defence by a *standing army.* I had desired my reader to apply the comparison to the case before our eyes; a case *doubly* in point; in as much as Austria had not been able to defend herself with the *standing mercenary armies* of TWO POTENT EMPIRES; but had fallen almost as soon as the contest began. And, I asked, could such events have happened, had that Emperor given to his people freedom and arms? With a population affording MANY MILLIONS of fighting men, could the *regular* armies of France, though every man had been a Buonaparté, have penetrated half way to Vienna? No!——Now, Mr. Windham, not fairly and logically meeting the argument, tells us that "the "French army having defeated that of Aus-"tria, marched through the Austrian po-"pulation, as through an unresisting me-"dium." But, *what made this Austrian population* "AN UNRESISTING MEDIUM?"—To this important question, Mr. Windham does not appear to have given any attention. The cause of this phenomenon was the very policy in the Austrian government, to which this minister seems so partial; the introduction of an immense *standing army*; that policy which the Earl of Liverpool has reprobated as "detestable†;" that policy by which the Austrian people have been disarmed, degraded, and oppressed. That hereditary court fraud which for defence of the state had substituted, for the arms of freemen, interested in all that makes a native land the object of enthusiastic attachment, the swords of hirelings whose "trade is war," and who for wages equally fight in any country or in any cause, the mere machines of power or ambition. These are the causes which make millions of slaves "an unresisting medium" to regular armies. In the very instance which Mr. Windham has selected for illustrating the leading principle of his plan, we may bring the question to a short issue. What was the plain fact of the case? Did Austria oppose the French armies by her armed population? No! What then becomes of Mr. Windham's argument, drawn from this very instance, against England's reviving for defence her *armed* POWER? Did not Austria oppose her invaders by the combined regular armies of TWO potent empires? YES! Is this Mr. Windham's argument for inducing the English nation to seek its protection from *a regular standing army?*—Between a population of slaves, and a population of free-men, lies all the difference between the worst plan of defence and the best. If the English nation fell under the former description, Mr. Windham would be right in proposing a defence by a standing army, for in that case he could have no other. When he spoke of the Austrian population as "an unresisting medium," had he recollected that 'it is of a piece with the stupid policy of despotism to imagine that a *levé en masse*, or an armed, orderly, and effective rising of the population of a country for defence against armies of veterans, led on by able generals, *can* take place in an enslaved country at the word of command in a moment of danger. It can only be the effect of *system* interwoven into the general law of the nation, of *established freedom*, of constant *arms-bearing*, and *habitual training*?'* In the English law and constitution this system *is* interwoven, and makes part of their defence, never to be separated but by the introduction of such a standing army, as must necessarily tear out the very heart of our liberties. Is Mr. Windham's the hand for such an office?—With as sincere a wish for the reputation of that statesman as his warmest friend can breathe, I put to him this serious question!

VI. Mr. Windham says, "Nations can-"not, *en masse*, go forth to the combat, but "they send out armies as their champions, "and when an army is defeated the cause is "lost. Look to the two battles of Maren-"go and Austerlitz." Then appealing to history, he observes, "if an army should be

* Ægis.

† Discourse on the establishment of a national and constitutional force in England.

* Ægis II. 59.

" defeated any where, he must know little " of the history of the world, who would " calculate much on any very effective re- " sistance from the population. Upon a " regular army alone the national confi- " dence can safely repose." Not now to multiply instances, let me cite that memorable one of the total defeat and *almost total* slaughter at Canna, of the largest army which till then Rome had ever drawn into the field, when Maherbal, on urging Hannibal to attack Rome without a moment's delay, assured him that they might within five days sup in the capital. But Hannibal, the Napoleon of that day, knew the Romans better. He knew that although they had lost an immense army, their security did not depend on any individual army, however large, but on their ARMED POPULATION; for in those days *the Romans had no standing army*, not suffering any of their citizens to become " a class of men totally distinct " from the rest of the community," or to make war a " trade;" but having taken care that their population should *not* be " an " unresisting medium," even to an army commanded by a Hannibal, and after as fatal a battle as either that of Marengo or that of Austerlitz; " by their courage, steadi- " ness, and unwearied labours, the wisdom " of their counsels, and *the constitution of* " *their government*, they not only recovered " the Empire of Italy, but totally subdued " the Carthaginians; and in a few years " after became lords of the world †." Now, Sir, without reckoning upon converting the entire mass of the population of this commercial country, into such admirable soldiers as the population of the uncommercial Romans in the time of Hannibal, it is yet, I trust, shewn in the Ægis, that, for military organization and effect, such is the English " *constitution of government*," that even our population alone, without any aid from a regular army, may in due time be made a medium too resisting for the passage of any French army whatever, that might land upon our shores. Invaders, I presume, before they could effect a conquest, must occasionally eat, and occasionally repose; but organized and trained as our population might easily be, and as *it is the duty of the executive government that it should be*, I conceive it to be demonstrable, that an enemy's army, might almost wholly be cut off from food or sleep, 'ere they had been long landed in this island, and consequently soon reduced to a surrender. In the work referred to, I have over and over again, until repetition I fear may seem impertinent, cautioned our statesmen against plans of defence turning on the probability of our country becoming *the seat of war*; and exhorted to such a virtuous resort to the constitution, as should exclude the very possibility; because, it is not difficult to see that on this very hinge is likely to turn the safety or subjugation of our state. In the very plan which is to commit our defence almost wholly to a *standing army*, I confess it pains me to see the supposition, although a supposition most natural, that it may " be defeated," or suffer " very con- " siderable loss;" because, according to my conception, such plans must not only invite invasion, but afford the invaders a dreadful prospect of success.

VII. Although Mr. Secretary Windham is careful here and there to use a saving expression, to secure himself from the imputation of treating the arms-bearing of our population with utter contempt, yet the drift of his argument has doubtless a strong tendency to undervalue it in public estimation in an extreme degree. Whatever, in consequence of past neglect, may now be the difficulties in the way of training the efficient part of that population to arms, and whatever may be the degree of true policy in bettering the condition of our regular army, or in increasing at this moment its numerical force, I certainly should have thought it would have more conduced to the amending of our defensive energies, to have drawn such a picture of the civil state armed and trained *according to the constitution*, as I conceive would have been perfectly correct and proper, than to have treated the matter as equally impracticable and useless. I have elsewhere given reasons for believing, that if our population were trained to arms, the state, without even any bounties at all, would never want so large a regular army as it required, and of the very best description. Mr. Windham asks " what is to be done for " our defence, with that part of our popula- " tion which does not exist in the shape of " an army?"——Here, I confess, I fully expected a plain and luminous statement of the *principle* of our constitution and common law on this point; and then a clear and satisfactory explanation of the simplest practical means of *applying* that principle. On the most interesting of all topics at this eventful moment to Englishmen, *the mili-*

† Hooke II. 170.

tary energies of the English constitution, I hoped to be either confirmed by his high authority, in the ideas I had endeavoured to diffuse amongst my countrymen; or, by his superior information, to have been taught wherein I have erred, and enlightened for my future guidance. I looked for science and satisfaction; I expected an appeal to the wisdom of an Alfred, and our martial ancestors, or to the practice of those nations which have at once been most renowned for their freedom and military prowess, as the tests by which our military reformer was about to expose the errors, and military imbecility of his official predecessors; and, as the standards by which we were to judge of his own system. How great has been my disappointment I will not say. The volunteer system of former ministers, I had called 'a perilous novelty;' perilous, in a military, and novel, in a constitutional view. But what shall we say to Mr. Windham's still more surprising novelty, of "the mass of "the population *loosely trained?*" Is it Grecian? Is it Roman? Is it Saxon? Or, is it the fanciful child of his own brain?—For some years past I have been in the habit of talking of *the military branch of the English constitution*, and of thinking it the duty of our legislators and statesmen, first to avail themselves of all they find there that is good, before they exercise invention for the benefit of their country; to restore to us ancient, sound, experienced practice, before they make hazardous experiments; to give us in the first place the constitution, the whole constitution, and nothing but the constitution, and to withhold their attempts at improvements until they shall be found really necessary. If they will take this course, I am inclined to think all their 'novelties' may be well spared. Before I proceed, I would put to Mr. Secretary Windham this question.—'Was Sir William Jones in an error, when he remarks that he has "shown "the nature and extent of the posse comi-"tatorum, and proved that it is required by "law to be equal in its exertion to a well-"disciplined army *?" In respect of this constitutional *armed* POWER, it was that great man's complaint, and it has long and repeatedly been mine, that "our laws have "been disgracefully neglected;" and it has also been our remonstrance, that they "ought to be restored to full vigour and "energy †." That ministers, whose whole souls were hostile to the constitution of their country, and whose dark and desperate counsels had brought it into a situation most calamitous and most perilous, should have continued this "disgraceful neglect," and in all their projects for defending our land, should invariably have violated our liberties, was no more than at their hands we had to expect. But from men called to the conduct of affairs to repair the mischiefs of misgovernment, and to save that state their predecessors had brought to the brink of ruin, we expect a different conduct; and the first thing we look for, as an earnest of what we have to hope, is a marked reverence for the constitution, and an honest exertion of its saving energies. Sick of quackery and "perilous novelties,' until those energies have been fairly brought into action, we must distrust every thing savouring of speculation. Too long tost from experiment to experiment, our minds seek repose where they can place confidence. The requisite for affording that repose and creating that confidence, are integrity and ability; but, if men once set up for being wiser than the law and the constitution, repose and confidence inevitably vanish.

VIII. I will now return to the war minister's question, respecting "that part of "our population which does not exist in the "shape of an army." I am ready to grant that, in answering his own question, he shews some of the errors of those who framed the General Defence Act, and the defects of the volunteer system; he then says, "as "many volunteers as you please who would "be no expense to the public, and I would "have the mass of the population *trained* "*loosely*."—Why "*loosely?*" His reason is, to "furnish a speedy supply of recruits "for the regular army;" and, "in case of "need, to act along with the regular troops "as armed peasantry;" admitting at the same time, that in his ideas men so trained "*are hardly of any use*;" but, yet adhering to this notion he is for having them "loosely "trained in this manner, and attached to "no corps for the present, but in such a si-"tuation that, *in case of invasion*, they may "be readily attached to other bodies."—A few lines lower, he says, "Now, suppose "the regular army to be *defeated*, or to have "suffered *a very considerable loss*, what are "we first to do? It is of the last importance "surely, to have such a reserve from which "you may immediately supply these losses. "If we once can bring this to bear, if we "can have this desirable resource, why the "business is done; the country is invinci-"ble."—With great submission, I am ap-

* Inquiry into the legal mode of suppressing riots; with a constitutional plan of future defence, 34.

† Ibid 10.

prehensive, that THUS to recruit a regular army that had suffered "a very considerable "loss," or had been "defeated," when that army must fight again immediately, or the country must be conquered, would only prepare that army for a second defeat, and the state for subjugation; for, in THUS preparing for our defence, I shall be much inclined to agree with that minister, that "when an army is defeated, the cause is "lost." To obtain the "perfect discipline" which he thinks necessary, his regular army, "a real, efficient, complete army," must be "a class of men totally distinct from the rest of the community, and "separated from them in habits, manner, "and pursuit. This army must be apart "from all other orders; its members must "neither work nor spin; be neither manufacturers, mechanics, nor agriculturists; "*their trade must be war; they must have* "*nothing to do but to learn it.*" If such an army, after either a "defeat" or a "very "considerable loss," is on the very eve of another battle to be recruited by great numbers of men who the day before were, as soldiers, "hardly of any use," what must be the consequence? I am not yet, therefore, a convert to this system of national defence by a standing regular army. You, Mr. Cobbett, with better information than I possess, state that regular standing army, as intended to be 250,000 strong*. Now, as an appeal has been made to *history*, I should be glad to know, if any country in the world, in which there existed such a regular standing army in proportion to its population as that would bear to ours, in the pay of, and wholly dependent upon the government, while the population without organization or leaders, was to be only "loosely trained" to arms, and that at *the discretion of the government?* I shall be glad, I say, to be informed if any country that was once so circumstanced, ever had from that moment a particle of liberty? In the time of Cæsar, there had been no law to disarm the Roman population, but still we know the mercenary standing army of that period subverted the Roman liberties. If Mr. Windham could produce such a case as I ask for, it would furnish a far better argument than any I have yet heard in support of his plan; but it is certain that no such case can be found in the records of nations. That which comes the nearest to such a case is that of Carthage, a republic which placed its chief reliance on mercenary armies; but we all know that republic's early fate.

IX. There are other features of the plan which I must notice, I will begin with the mode for replenishing the militia. By adopting the mode of *enlistment*, instead of the ballot, it should seem as if the militia would shortly become regulars, and very soon merge completely into the standing army; from which indeed, it has already but very little specific difference. The constitutional mode of correcting the defects of that institution, as well as the volunteer system, is doubtless to melt them down into the regular *armed* or *national* POWER in their several counties; for that is the natural and proper *militia* of the land; in which force they may unquestionably be trained as completely as in their present establishment. It would be to discredit the evidence of our senses, our experience, and our reason, to suppose the legislature and executive government, incapable of organizing the population into all sorts of suitable corps, and of giving any degree of military finish to such a proportion of them as it should be found necessary to keep together, in quarters or in camp in times of danger. The advocates for "loose training" may easily be gratified, in respect of the more aged corps, not to be drawn from their homes except on occasions the most urgent; and they will, no doubt, be ready to take a useful hint, which it is more than probable may have been many times given before. Let our game-keepers and shooting sportsmen be required to provide themselves with rifles, and to make themselves expert in the military practice of riflemen. This would furnish a powerful body of soldiers of a most useful description, whose training would cost little trouble. On the subject of training in general, it ought of course to be done to a higher, or to a lower pitch, according to the class of the men, and the service expected from them. To convey a clear idea, I must for a moment suppose, not only the present militia, but the volunteers and yeomanry, all divested of their present military distinctions, and a new organization to take place, the most simple, and the most effective. On the common-law and eternal principle, of the inseparability of benefit and burthen, whereby every one who enjoys protection under the social union, according to the rule of civil government, owes the society or state his services towards its peace and preservation, it ever has been since the first establishment of our constitution, and is at this moment no less than it was at any former period, the unquestionable duty of every Englishman at the

* Lord Castlereagh says it was left by Mr. Pitt considerably above this number, that is at home and abroad.

call of the magistrate, to come forth on the instant, with his weapons to keep the peace, to encounter rioters, or *to fight with invaders*. This, I say, is at this time by the common law of the land, and by that reason on which it is founded, every man's duty. It is consequently, every man's duty to have arms, and to practise himself in the use of them: and *it is the duty of parliament and of the executive government* to keep every man to his individual duty in these particulars. To bend the full grown tree is no very easy task, while to the young shoots it is easy to give the form we please. The secret of having in future a martial population, for bidding defiance to all Europe combined against us, is to train our youth to arms, as a school exercise and recreation. This was *the law* and *the practice* of our ancestors. Why then all these affectations of ignorance of the law of the land? Why these evasions of the clear principles of the constitution? And all this to give us darkness for light; confusion for simplicity; weakness for strength; and an overgrown standing army with its concomitant despotism, instead of an organized and armed population, safety, and freedom!

X. The most singular feature in the system before us is, that which relates to the "loosely trained" part of our population, who are to be "attached to no corps for "the present, but in a situation that, *in case "of invasion*, they may be readily attached "to other bodies." These men intended to consist of "*two hundred thousand*" in number, are to have for "their instructors, de- "tachments from the militia, and the 2d "battalions," in order to form "a connec- "tion between the people and the army in "general, which would be of the highest "advantage to the *recruiting* service." First, then, we are to have it seems for home defence, a vast standing army, consisting as you inform me, of *two hundred and fifty thousand* men, whose "trade must be war, and "who must have nothing to do but to learn "it;" they are to be "totally distinct from "the rest of the community, and separated "from them in habits, manners, and pur- "suits," by constantly living, I suppose, in camps and barracks. Secondly, a body of troops called "Militia," with which Mr. Windham "does not mean to meddle *for "the present*," but which by its present great approximation to a standing army, and the intention of its being "hereafter filled "up by recruiting, at a limited bounty," will shortly, as I conceive, have all the qualities of a standing army. And indeed, should the army recruiting answer expectation, I can have no doubt of these men, now about 70,000, being transferred to the army, and the title of militia being dropped. And, thirdly, we are to reckon among our defenders "*two hundred thousand* loose trained" men from the population. As for volunteer corps, I see little probability of any of them long surviving this change of system. But where, in this plan for defending the land of our fathers, the institutions of our ancestors, the estates of their descendants, our laws, our liberties, our constitution, and the throne of our Sovereign, and THE NOBILITY AND THE GENTRY OF THE LAND? I see no place for them. Good God!—I presume indeed, the magistracy are to be employed in classing the population, in lotting and enrolling "the two hundred thousand," and in being the collectors of them when they are to attend upon "their instructors from the "militia, and the 2d battalions" of the army; after which, so far as we are yet able to see, THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY OF THE LAND, their proper patrons in peace, and leaders in war, are to be mere lookers on. The higher classes, all men of rank and property, thus reduced to cyphers, nay, to the drudges of the system, which the military "instruc- "tors" are to have the sole military authority, and be the agents for forming "a con- "nection between the people and the army," for improving "the recruiting service." Were this once carried into effect, should we not have a complete revolution in the very structure and cements of society, and a foundation laid for a complete military government? Surely, surely, here is a defect of a gigantic magnitude, and of frightful consequences! I fear Mr. Windham had not leisure to look into the Ægis, even so far as to read the dedication to himself of the second volume, in which I had expressed my trust, that no argument however plausible, no influence however weighty, should prevail with him to wander one step out of the constitution. There is not one error imputed to him by his predecessors, that is not *a wandering out of the constitution;* but their system had more such *wanderings* than he noticed, and every *wandering* was in respect of defence a *military* defect. Indeed, the more I see of military speculation and experiment, the more I am confirmed in my admiration of *the military branch of the English constitution*, and in my conviction, long settled on the closest examination and maturest reflection, that it furnishes the grandest and most complete system of military defence that human genius has yet devised, in which simplicity is as conspicuous as invincibility. I would to God we could see this

constitution but duly respected! In this particular, the defensive system of a statesman, a soldier, a man as eminent for industry as for knowledge and great mental powers, meaning the Duke of Richmond, published two years ago, is eminently entitled to our regard; while, in real solid military strength, it fell very short indeed of what the constitution *prescribes* and our situation now requires, yet, in my humble judgment, it is very far indeed superior in strength to this of Mr. Secretary Windham; so that I have no need to repent the advice with which I concluded the Ægis; "that the Duke of "Richmond should, with the greatest de- "ference, be consulted in the military legis- "lation necessary" at this awful crisis of our country; because, I did not impute the want of military strength in his Grace's plan to his judgment, but to his prudence, while counselling men hostile to the constitution; and imagined we were then soon likely to have a constitutional administration. In the foregoing comparison between the plans of the Duke of Richmond and that of Mr. Windham, I give the latter credit in point of strength, for 250,000 well disciplined regulars. But, Sir, if from this number, or from even 300,000 we are to deduct armies for all our foreign possessions and expeditions, the comparison will be still more to the disadvantage of Mr. Windham's system than I at first supposed it. If, however, after answering every foreign demand, we are to have 250,000 regulars at home, we must of necessity, besides losing our liberties, be scourged with a taxation that will "draw blood at "every stroke."——I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,—JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

TO A VOLUNTEER.

Amongst the weaknesses incident to man there is none more humiliating than that our reason which was given us to command our passions, should so frequently become their dupe and their instrument. I am led to make this observation by reflecting upon your sentiments and conduct as a Briton of the most exalted character, as an ardent lover of his king and country, as a noble and disinterested Volunteer, who has sacrificed no contemptible portion of his property, and who, I am sure, is ready at all times to sacrifice his life for the safety of the latter, and yet as a man who is so far carried away by his own prejudices and those of others, as to reject and oppose, with blind fury, the only secure and efficient means that the wisdom and patriotism of the greatest and best men of this age and country have devised for preserving them from the imminent dangers to which they are exposed. Your favourite author,* Sir, does justice to the exalted talents of Mr. Windham and his illustrious colleagues. He admits, as, I know, you do also, that they are actuated in the changes they are making in the system of national defence, by the purest motives of patriotism: indeed it would be madness to suspect the contrary. The whole question, then, at issue between you and me is, whether the collected wisdom of the first statesmen of this empire, of statesmen who have been called to power, not by the voice of their sovereign only, but also by that of the whole country, together with the experience of the most able and experienced officers in our service, is or is not better qualified to pronounce on the best means of saving the nation, at the present awful crisis, than the private judgement of a certain number of gentlemen Volunteers, supported by the venal pen of such writers as the one above quoted. You trust your property to your lawyer, and your health to your physician, because common sense tells you that they are better judges, in their respective professions, than you are. Why then not give some credit to the superior talents and information of those statesmen whom you yourself have joined in calling to the government of the nation from a confidence that they were best able, both by their talents and their zeal, to preserve it. With these acknowledgements on your part and on that of your author in favour of the talents and the integrity and the abilities of ministers in general, and of Mr. Windham in particular—"How absurd and inconsis- "tent is all the pompous declaration of the "latter about lessening our defence against "France; and of increasing the chance of "our being first the seat of war, and then "the conquest and prey of the enemy!" Just as if Mr. Windham were disposed to make light of the dangers to which we are exposed, and to weaken the means of national defence, instead of making them a hundred times stronger!—But, you complain that the Volunteers are degraded and disgraced, after all the services they have rendered to their country, the particulars of which your author has set forth in the most brilliant colours. I am very far, Sir, from calling these services in question; and, I will suppose that you are even on the point of undergoing an actual disgrace: but, what then; provided the country be saved? After all the sacrifices you have made in this noblest of all earthly causes, cannot you give up a point of public honour and conse-

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* The author of *Thoughts on Changing the System of National Defence.*

quence for the public weal? You have saved the country from the horrors of jacobinical anarchy. Your noble spirit has awed the most daring of all foreign enemies. Nevertheless, if those who are best qualified to judge in such a case, are decidedly of opinion that you are not so well qualified to meet the new and redoubled dangers to which England is exposed, or likely soon to be exposed; in short, and to speak plainly, if your habits of life, the terms of your engagements, and the state of your discipline do not qualify you to act with regiments of the line in the open field, and the line of battle against the hardy and experienced veterans of Buonaparté, will not the same generous motives of the public good, the same exalted patriotism that first induced you to embody in your own way, engage you to submit to such modifications and changes as the wisest statesmen, and indeed the legislature of your country may decide, are for the general welfare?—But, why should we prove inferior, you say, to regular troops, even in the line of battle? Are not *our limbs made in England* as well as theirs are? Do the minds of generous Volunteers glow with less ardent courage than those of hired soldiers? The best answer to this, and all such other confident language is, that which I have made before. The most able and experienced judges in these matters are of opinion, that, great, incalculably great, as the services are which you are still able to render your country by your zeal and courage, it is not in the line of battle that you are best able to serve her, and that by your being more numerous than is requisite for the services for which you are adapted, *you lock up the sources of a different kind of force that is peculiarly wanted.* Far be it from me, Sir, to dispute the courage or even the muscular powers of the Volunteers in general, but, as far, Sir, as I am capable of forming a judgment in these matters, I look upon it that there is much more occasion for passive than for active courage in soldiers who are performing an actual campaign. I will give you all the credit you desire, with respect to the latter kind of courage, but I fear the greater part of you are not so well provided with the courage which consists in suffering. You would, perhaps, dash into actions with as much spirit as the famous forty second regiment; but, if you were broken, would you rally as well? After having fought the first day, would you have the same stomach for the second, and the third, and the fourth days engagements? Can you fight without roast beef, or perhaps any thing better, during the whole day than a piece of ammunition bread? Can you drink puddle water? Can you sleep, night after night, in rainy weather, under a hedge or in the open field? If you yourself can suffer all this, can and will your neighbour the Alderman, or the Man-milliner endure it? Will no tender thoughts of home intrude themselves, and will not the distresses of wife and children induce him, in the intervals of actual service, to quit his ranks in order to alleviate them? Be not then, Sir, offended if I repeat to you that the habits, the engagements, and the discipline of Volunteers are not calculated for regular military service. But, in return, they can perform more important duties than if they were so many hardy and weather-beat veterans; duties, which whole regiments of the line could not perform in a proper manner. They can keep the peace of the country; which, upon the interruption of trade, and amidst the confusion of an invasion, would otherwise be overturned, to the more sure destruction of the country than the arms of the enemy could effect. They can insure the regular supply of provisions to the inhabitants in general, and to the army of the country in particular. They can cut off the convoys of the enemy, and make their marauding or other straggling parties prisoners. They can harrass the main hostile army itself, in its marches, by hedge-fighting: and, even, in a grand engagement, they can act as irregulars and sharp shooters. They can, moreover, at least, a certain number of them, with the discipline they have attained, direct and command the trained men. Do not then fancy, Sir, that your worth is overlooked by ministry at the present time or your consequence diminished. So far indeed from this, I look upon it, that, when your numbers are diminished, and you shall be proved to consist entirely of persons who take up arms for their country, without any pay or other advantage but that of serving it, there will not be a more respected character in society than that of a Volunteer.—But, says your author, or some one else on his side of the question: this season of actual war and probable invasion is not a time for changing the military system: for, will any prudent man attempt to repair his house in the midst of a hurricane?—My answer is, that, if the military system is bad and dangerous, you may choose whether you will mend it or not, in the time of peace; but, that, in the time of war, you would be mad not to mend it, if it is in your power so to do. My answer is, yes, I will attempt to repair my house, even in a hurricane, if by neglecting so to do, there is danger of the hurricane's sweeping it away. The changes that are proposed are

not only practicable in themselves, but they can be made at this present time, they may be made, not only without danger, but also to our rational security. The man who really endangers his king and country, is not he who tries to surround them with a numerous, well-disciplined, and well-affected army of regular soldiers: but, he who assures the former, without any qualification whatever, that "his throne is impregnable whilst it is "defended by the voluntary arms of a free "people." This is a sentence calculated to gain the applause of an ignorant mob, but at the same time to move the contempt of a sensible man. Indeed, nothing but ignorance can excuse it from the guilt of treason. For, what man of sense would venture the safety of his country, in the present state of the military science and discipline, on the united heroism and loyalty even of the conquerors of Poictiers and Agincourt? — I shall say little to calm the pretended fears of your author for the constitution of the country from an increase of the regular army, or to prove that the arguments, on this head, which were good in the reigns of Charles II. and George I., do not hold good in our present circumstances. The grand duty, at all times, is to protect the constitution of the country: but, the means for this purpose must be adapted to meet the dangers with which it is threatened. Our grand security is now what it has been heretofore, that these means are in the hands and under the controul of parliament, which yearly votes the supplies, and which yearly passes the mutiny act. In the reign of Charles II., as every school-boy knows, the danger to the constitution was from the king himself, who, however, could do nothing effectual without a standing army, and therefore it was right to refuse it to him! Now the danger is from a foreign enemy, of immense military strength, who cannot be opposed without a standing army, and therefore it is necessary to vote it. But, how inconsistent is this absurd jealousy of a professed, of an enthusiastic partisan of the late Mr. Pitt, on the score of a standing army! For, who but he has doubled and tripled the standing army, compared with the former times? Who but he has covered the island with barracks? I am not finding fault with the measure, I am only arraigning the hypocrisy of your favourite writer.—Pressed as I am to conclude this hasty scrawl through the want of time, I cannot do so without pointing out certain other contradictions and inconsistencies in this plausible and self-confident gentleman. He disclaims all personal ill-will in regard to Mr. Windham; and yet, his pamphlet is interlarded throughout with personal reflections and sneers levelled at him, and even the motives of his public conduct. He declares himself to be of no party, and yet, he not only extols the departed minister as the greatest of all possible characters, but also, bitterly complains that his friends were not taken into the present administration. He urges actual "*pretensions to advise*" the people of England with respect to the system of their defence, in opposition to known public characters of the first talents as well as dignity, on the ground that he is actuated "by *a disinterested zeal*;" and yet, he dares not give us his name! For my part, I despise such a pompous declaimer, who, on every topic, proves that *disdain of reasoning*, which he impudently imputes to the most celebrated reasoner in parliament, whether he be a discarded under minister or any other man, and I hope that you, Sir, will cease to be misled by him.——I am, &c. H. C.— 1*st May*, 1806.

PROPERTY TAX.

Sir;—Some of the provisions of the new Act on Income are so extremely severe and oppressive, as to excite almost universal reprobation, and yet we do not hear that any constitutional method has been publicly taken by instructions to members, or otherwise, to endeavour to obtain such modifications of the obnoxious clauses as will render them less deserving of the strongest censure: I believe, though the remark may appear to carry with it something of paradox, that the very rigour and severity of these clauses are such as to prevent those likely to feel their operation from seeking redress: because they, as Englishmen, have been so little used to such measures; they think, and as I have heard more than once, in effect, expressed—*they cannot pass*. They expect the guardians of their interests, their proper representatives, will see, and will remedy, before they can become law, such enactments as are now proposed.—The present ministry are not chargeable with being the authors or inventors of this unheard-of mode of oppressive taxation; it is a part of the "Bed of Roses" bequeathed them by their predecessors. The clauses and principles of the new act are, I understand, in a great measure similar to those of the act of last year; and as they yet may not have found that it has excited much disquiet, because it is only beginning to be acted on, they may probably suppose that the odious grounds of inquisition on which it is founded, are borne with as a thing of course,

and relying more on the reports of those connected with the tax-office, than on a consistency to their own professions and principles, they may suppose that the doubling the amount of the tax and limiting the exemptions, will be the only difficulties they will have to surmount.—But they should be put in mind, if such be their ideas, that the operation of the former act is but beginning to be felt, and where it has been felt, it has been considered as a most crying grievance!! In the parish in which I reside, in consequence of a printed circular paper, issued through the medium of the tax-office to the church-wardens and overseers, public notice was given in the church, whereby all persons who had given in their incomes at less than 60l. per annum, were required to attend at the vestry on a day then appointed. Accordingly a considerable number of persons of that description did attend; and were expected, if not obliged to lay open the whole state of their affairs; and before whom? before the church wardens and overseers, and seven other inhabitants of their appointment; by whom they were examined, questioned and cross questioned in a way which the members of this inquisition might think justifiable, if not absolutely necessary, from the oath they had taken, but in a way which Englishmen in the days of our Alfred, and of William III. could never dream that their descendants would be obliged to submit to, so long as they should be under the rule of a British prince, and governed by the ancient laws of the realm. Could they imagine, that, before a conquest of this island by a foreign enemy, and the total subversion of all ancient privileges, that its inhabitants should be under the necessity of exposing their concerns to the prying eyes of their neighbours, and have to say what are their exact gains from this concern, and what the gains from that, how much money they have borrowed, or how much they have lent, to give up the name of the borrower, or the name of the lender; for a petty master bricklayer, or joiner, to state what are his own earnings by his weekly labour, and what are his gains by the labour of his journeymen or apprentices, in order, exactly, to ascertain from all sources the amount of his annual income.—In the meeting alluded to, questions of this kind were put, and in many cases were answered. It is a specimen of what has taken place, or may shortly be expected to take place in every parish in the kingdom and it has excited among us here general odium and abhorrence among the examiners, as well as among the examined. There are, I dare say, few indeed, that were satisfied with the proceeding: the former that they were compelled to a service wich they could not approve, but by which they were obliged to pursue a mode of investigation so truly objectionable, and the latter that they had to submit to it.—It is not the weight of the tax that constitutes the objection to it, but it is the *disclosure of circumstances*, which ought not to be disclosed *at all*, that forms the principal cause of complaint. The being obliged to make this disclosure before their neighbours and equals, undoubtedly, increases the grievance. For of all persons who might be pitched on before whom an examination of this nature is likely to produce the most injurious consequences, they are the very persons, and, therefore, the most improper to know of, and judge and meddle in such matters; unless, indeed, the mischief that may thus be occasioned must be put by as *a thing of nought*; and, unless, the principles of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights; our ancient privileges; our birth-rights as Britons, must give way to the concerns of the tax-office and to the productiveness of this deservedly unpopular tax.—There remarks apply to the last Property Tax and to those persons where property is given in at less than 60l. per annum, by which it may be seen how peculiarly hard that bill is on them: because, by the utmost efforts of their industry, they cannot make good that sum, or because, by unforeseen misfortunes, their income may have been reduced below it; they, alone, are to be liable to bear what is scarcely less ridiculous than it is intolerable; they, alone, are to be placed in a situation, where they may have their ears stunned with the coarse jokes, or gross taunting remarks of, perhaps, some new-made church-warden, who has this grand opportunity afforded him of shewing his consequential airs; they, alone, may be doomed to undergo the inquisitorial, minute examination of a parish overseer, who may just have come from doling out to the poor of his parish, the shillings or half-crowns by which they have to support a wretched life of penury and want, and who, by that means, must be an admirable judge of the gains that should support the livings of the respective claimants. If those objections are allowed to be of any weight against the principles of the old bill they will certainly not lose any part of their force when applied to the new; which, to these objections, has others so strong and so well known as scarcely to need their being pointed out by me in this place.—By what I think is called the scale of exemption, a person whose income is 50l. per annum, is, for the first time, to be made liable to the tax; a most greivous hardship

on that part of the community which may just be said to be above want, and a direct discouragement to labour and industry. By this scale all exemption ends at 100l. per annum; and a person having that income, from any source whatever, the most precarious or uncertain, is liable to contribute the same proportion as those of the highest incomes arising from real property, or other the most permanent sourcess which presses hard, indeed, on the poorer and middling classes, and, if carried into effect, will be felt most severely. But this part of the subject let me not weaken by any observations of mine; I prefer a shorter, less troublesome, and more effectual method. I refer to the arguments which have been urged in parliament, when the different Income Bills have been before it: for objection to the scale being reduced at all, and I only wish the present ministry and *all* its supporters in parliament to act in this business agreeable to their own principles or recommendations. If this be the case, a confident hope may be entertained, that these objectionable clauses will either be totally repealed or so modified as to be generally considered more conformable to strict justice.—May we not rely on that part of the ministry who were in opposition at the time of an Income Tax being just introduced into this country for an adherence to their arguments against the scale being even so low as to begin at 60l. and may we not place equal reliance on the judgment and consistency of those who were, at that time, in political connection with the late premier, that they will see the same necessity now, that there was then, that the full operation of the bill should not take place till the amount of income should reach 200l; that they will see likewise, that the scale which he introduced from that sum downwards to 60l. is much more *equitable* and *just* than the scale now proposed, and that it cannot be departed from without causing a manifest disproportion in contribution between that class of the people who will be affected by it and their more opulent fellow citizens? I have expressed myself with freedom, but it is with the freedom of a friend to what I consider the best interests of my country, and to those who have to administer its weighty affairs in these times of peril and danger. I am their friend, if that person can be so considered, who expects from their exertions, that the country will be extricated from its difficulties, if human wisdom can devise and human power can effect the means; but great as they are, the most humble individual may, sometimes, in this free country presume to advise, and as their friend, then may I say this, *I hope they will begin nothing, of which they have not well considered the end.*——A Northern Freeholder.—*April* 22, 1806.

Property Tax.

Sir,—It would have given me great satisfaction if you had favoured the public in your last number with your remarks on the Tax on Property, which would have been opportune and might have had a good effect; it is pleasing, however, to find that there is not that necessity there was a few days since for expostulation and remonstrance, as the minister has consented to extend the exemptions so as to make the bill much more palatable; but it appears to me, that there still remains something more to be done to render it strictly accordant to the principles of justice and equity; and I must say, it would be agreeable to me as no doubt it would to most of your readers if you would take up the subject before the bill be finally adopted; and express in your clear and forcible manner the opinion you entertained on what may be considered the remaining objection and on which I presume to offer one or two more hints. I am decidedly of opinion with your correspondent, p. 576, when, in allusion to the scale of exemption in the last year's Property Tax, he remarks "*equality* of "annual income is far from being a *true* "standard of ability to bear taxation, and "that the *equal* pressure imposed on such "very unequal powers of sustaining it "proves its injustice;" and he further remarks, "the ratio of taxation should have a "*progressive increase* commensurate to the "*income*; or in other words to the ability "of contribution and *value* of the stake to "be preserved by it." These observations which appear to me to be self-evident apply most strongly to the scale of exemption in the present bill, and it appears as much against reason as against justice that an income of 150l. or even of 200l. should pay the same proportion of tax as incomes of a higher rate. It may be considered a vulgar remark, but it is undoubtedly the opinion of more persons than the mere vulgar, that this could not take place if those who levied the contribution had not themselves incomes of a higher rate.—Let me add a word or two on the subject of secresy, which ought certainly to be preserved as much as possible in matters of such delicacy as statements of income, but which it appears will be difficult to be kept without material alteration in the bill; for if besides commissioners and their clerks who are fixed, the assessors, church-

wardens, and overseers, and seven other inhabitants, who will, probably, be for the most part changed every year, are to have the power of investigating the incomes of those who give in less than 60l. per annum, in the course of a few years the greatest part of the inhabitants of a parish must be made acquainted, and that *officially*, with the private concerns of a great part of their neighbours! There are some people who have more English spirit than choose to be interrogated by such a tribe of minor commissioners, and to avoid that which is so unpleasant to their feelings, submit to what they consider the least evil of the two, and that is, to give in an income which they have not, in order to be relieved from impertinent scrutiny.——A Northern Freeholder.—*3d May*, 1806.

PROPERTY TAX.

Sir,——I beg leave through the medium of your Register to make some remarks on the additional tax on property. Does the new minister really think that the man of 50l. a year is a fit object for direct taxation? Surely no person who has given the subject the slightest consideration would have thought on such a measure. Let us suppose, for instance, that a person who earns 40l. a year by labour, and that he has a property worth 10l., making in the whole 50l. a year; let us further suppose that he has a family of 6 children (many have more) to maintain; here are 8 persons to be supported out of something less than 20s. per week, which is not quite 2s. 6d. per head; (the poor-house allowance in the parish where I live is 3s. per head, exclusive of fire and cloathing), I would now ask the new minister, how he would contrive to maintain such a family out of so miserable a pittance? and what (were he in such a man's place) would he think of a minister who should wish to take from his starving family so large a sum as 10 per cent.? To tax such is to tax poverty herself. Indeed, it is most likely that he would be under the necessity of selling his property to some more wealthy neighbour; for it is scarcely possible for human nature to struggle with such poverty, when they have it in their power to relieve their present necessities, by selling their future support. Thus they lose their independence and consequence in the country, and probably end their days in the poor-house. I have always thought it extremely impolitic to load small properties with direct taxes; because it tends to cramp industry, and quite disheartens those who otherwise would endeavour to acquire something to support old age. Why, say they, should we work, and sweat, and toil, from day to day, from week to week, for no other purpose than to be taxed? The late heaven-born minister, (notwithstanding the clamour which has been raised against him) never suffered the iron hand of taxation to descend lower than 60l. a year; and shall the present minister, from whom so much was expected for the better, not only tax as low as 50l. a year, but double the rate, even on that very small income? At the same time those who have immense fortunes are only rated in the same proportion. The ability to pay is the principal thing to be considered; and surely no man will, in that respect, place the man of 50l. and the man of 50,000l. a year on the same footing. The tax ought to rise on a graduated scale, from 2 to 20 per cent., and the exemptions should be in proportion to the largeness of the family taxed; for instance, a single person, man or woman, who has 60l. a year, might be able to pay 2 per cent., but a man and his wife ought not to be taxed at all unless their income amount to 65l.; if one child, not till 70l.; if two, not till 80l., and so on, allowing the income to rise 5l. higher for every child maintained by them, free of taxation. The abatement made by Mr. Pitt on account of children was truly childish. If taxes must be raised, if the war must be continued (I do not see any good purpose it can answer), let the poor be taxed lightly, the higher classes moderately, and the rich (who are alone able to bear it) heavily; and in order that taxes may be rendered less necessary, let them be used with economy, and not squandered away in grants and pensions, as we have seen of late, even to the paying of Pitt's debts, and the granting of more than 200,000l. to one man's family, who, if he really loved his country, and were now alive, would have been far, very far, from taking it, particularly when he found that part of it was to be wrung from the man of 50l. a year. Have our countrymen become so base, as to make it necessary to bribe them to do their duty? Will nothing but money, money, warm their hearts to serve their country? If so, the country will not be saved. Nothing more deadens the love of one's country, than oppressive taxation. The only plan that can rouse the spirit of the people, is to convince them they have something to defend. Let them feel that they are not slaves to pretended friends, and there is no fear that they will ever be slaves to Frenchmen; on the contrary, if the people of this country should feel themselves oppressed, if they should feel that they are already slaves, they will never

contend about who shall be their oppressors or their masters.—Your's, A. B.—*Gisbro', April 8th*, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

WAR WITH PRUSSIA.—*Declaration, George III. by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Arch-Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c. &c.*

The Court of Prussia has avowed those hostile designs, which she thought to conceal by her friendly professions.—The Note Verbale, (see p. 638) delivered on the 4th of April, by the Prussian Envoy, Baron Jacobi Kloest, to the British ministry, announces that the Electorate of Hanover has been taken possession of, and that the ports of the German Sea, and of Lubeck, has been closed against the British flag.—This Declaration gives the lie to a llthose assurances by which the cabinet of Berlin has hitherto endeavoured to cloak its proceedings; to which it moreover adds the pretension that his Prussian Majesty has acquired, by his system of policy, claims to the gratitude of all the Northern Powers.—Thus actually dispossessed of the ancient inheritance of my family, and insulted in my rights as a sovereign, I have ordered those measures to be taken which the honour of my crown require; but I still owe it to myself, to Europe, and to my subjects, to make a public Declaration of my sentiments, as Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, upon the unjust usurpation of my German possessions.—It is not necessary to prove how contrary this act is to the rights of nations, or to the laws of the German Empire. Their infraction is too evident to be required to be proved. It is the most sacred principles of good faith, of honour, and in fact of all the obligations upon which the reciprocal safety of different states among themselves, and of each civil society in itself repose, which are trodden under foot in such a manner, that the world would have difficulty in believing it, if I did not cause the facts to be laid before them, which are authenticated in the narrative which I have ordered to be prepared.—The proceedings of the court of Berlin, when the electorate was occupied by its troops in 1801; its conduct, far from being friendly during the negociation for the indemnities which followed the peace of Luneville; the declaration which it made, when France prepared to invade the electorate; and lastly, the burthensome conditions under which it endeavoured to cause it to be evacuated, to substitute her own troops, instead of those of France, had given too many proofs to the government of Hanover, not to oblige it to endeavour to avoid all sort of intervention on the part of this power, even at the moment that it was on the point of engaging in a dispute with France. The events which retarded the arrival in Hanover of the expedition, concerted between Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, gave the Prussian troops an opportunity of anticipating them, after the French army had been obliged to evacuate the electorate.—This step was accompanied by the most friendly protestations on the part of Prussia. She invited the Hanoverian government to resume its functions in my name, and to collect the wreck of the army.—The country, already so unfortunate, doubly felt the weight of the numerous requisitions extorted by the Prussian corps, without the least regard to the situation in which the French left it.—After the unfortunate result of the campaign of the allies in the south of the empire, an attack in the north was to be expected. His Imperial Majesty of Russia, to obviate the dangers to which Prussia might be exposed, placed, in consequence of the convention at Potzdam, his troops under Count de Tolstoy, and the corps of Gen. Benningsen, under the orders of his Prussian Maj. and promised him, moreover, all the assistance for which he might have occasion. It was scarcely to be expected that Prussia would avail herself of this advantage, and of that which the promise of the subsidy she had asked of Great Britain gave her, to obtain from France terms contrary to the interests which these resources were intended to protect. This, notwithstanding, has actually happened. The secret treaty, the effects of which are beginning to appear, was signed by Count Haugwitz and the French Gen. Duroc, the 15th of Dec. 1805, the period fixed as the term when Prussia was to declare against France, in case that power should have rejected the propositions which Count Haugwitz was to make to her, in consequence of the convention of Potzdam.—Seven days after, Dec. 22, the cabinet of Berlin proposed to the British ambassador the arrangements to be taken in common with the Prussian generals, for the positions of the allied armies in Lower Saxony; and dispatched, in consequence, Lieut. Col. Baron De Kruesmark, with a letter to the Hanoverian government, to induce it to furnish provisions for the French garrison at Hameln.—It was necessary to concur in this arrangement (which was only provisionally terminated the 4th of Jan.), because it was to prevent the

French troops from undertaking any thing against Hanover during the negociation.—Was the court of Berlin then ignorant in what manner Count Haugwitz had concluded this negociation? Did it not know, before the signature of the treaty, what would be the end of it? Or, did that minister dispose, as he pleased, of the good faith of his master?—It was on the 27th of Jan. that the cabinet of Berlin announced to the Hanoverian government, "that in consequence of a treaty signed and ratified by the two parties, my German possessions would no longer be occupied by the French troops; that they would be entirely evacuated by those who were still there, and delivered up, until a future peace between England and France should have decided their condition, to the protection of the troops of his Prussian Maj. and to his exclusive administration." The Hanoverian government was required, but to no purpose, to intimate to all the public officers, that they were, for the future, to consider themselves as finally responsible to the Prussian commission of administration, excluding all foreign reference.—The dispatch addressed the 25th of Jan. to the Prussian minister, and intended to justify this proceeding, was signed with the King of Prussia's own hand. It ended with these words: "I think it unnecessary to observe how much the territories in question ought to be satisfied with this change of scene; and my wishes would be fulfilled, if, in consequence of the disinterested views by which I am impelled, the administration I have taken upon me should turn out to the happiness of the country and its inhabitants; and by that means satisfactory to his Britannic Maj. to whom I desire nothing more than to give, in this instance, as in all others, all the proofs of consideration, of deference, and of friendship, which circumstances may put in my power."—The experience of the past, and a well-founded apprehension of the future, did not allow me to hesitate about the part necessary to be taken; and my electoral government was instructed not to enter into any negociation, the object of which might have been to avoid a new French invasion, by allowing the Prussians to occupy Hanover.—The protest made upon this occasion by my electoral minister of state, was ineffectual. The King of Prussia caused the greatest part of the country to be occupied at the moment that my troops re-embarked; and his measures were executed without the least regard.—It was too easy to foresee that Count Haugwitz would find means at Paris to bring back the arrangement between Prussia and France, announced here, as ratified by the contracting parties, to its original intention.—This was what took place; and the French troops took possession of Anspach, one of the objects of compensation, according to the treaty of Dec. 15, the very day that the Marquis de Lucchesini could reach Berlin with intelligence that France required the execution of the articles agreed upon at Vienna.—The answer returned by the British cabinet to the communication of Jan. 25, did not arrive at Berlin until after the minister of state, Baron Hardenberg, had announced to the British envoy the hostile measures which had compelled me to suspend my relations with a court which could so far forget itself.—The Prussian note of April 4, can furnish no good arguments to establish an unjustifiable measure.—It begins by vaunting the pacific dispositions of Prussia. This disposition is no farther sincere than as it has for its foundation the principles of a just neutrality. The note delivered by the cabinet of Berlin to the French minister on the 14th of Oct. at the very instant that Prussia appeared to feel the affront which she received by the violation of the territory of Anspach, acknowledges that the conduct which she had followed to that time, had proved of advantage to France.—Her actions had much less pretensions to the character of impartiality. After having permitted the French troops who seized on the electorate of Hanover a passage through the Prussian territory, she declared herself ready to oppose, sword in hand, that which the Emperor of Russia had demanded for his armies. France herself forced the passage: she pretended to offer excuses for that step, but it was in a manner equally offensive.—She had seen too clearly where the resentment of Prussia would terminate, which, in fact, appeared to be stifled when his Imperial Maj of Russia engaged in a personal communication with the King.—Prussia then demanded subsidies of Great Britain, which were promised her, and she signed the convention of Potzdam, the conditions of which she would, doubtless, have been more disposed to fulfil, if I could have so far forgotten my duty, as to consent to the proposition of ceding the electorate of Hanover for some Prussian province.—Prussia affirms, that from the events of the war, she has not had the choice of means to secure the safety of its monarchy, and of the states of the north. She wishes to make it appear, that she has been compelled to aggrandize herself, and to become the instrument, rather than the object of the vengeance of my enemies.—Such an avowal does not become a great

power. All Europe knows that it depended on Prussia, before the battle of Austerlitz, to give repose to Europe, if she had taken the part which her real interests, and the outraged honour of her monarchy dictated to her. She can no longer be excused, after having missed such an opportunity; and even since the event of the 2d of Dec. did she not command an army of 250,000 men, who still remember the victories it obtained under the Great Frederic, which was in the best dispositions, and supported by the whole Russian army, two corps of which were actually under the command of the King of Prussia?—She would, without doubt, have been subject to certain risks; but she found herself in a situation, when every danger must be encountered to save the honour of the state. The prince who hesitates in making a choice, destroys the principle which serves as the basis of a military monarchy; and Prussia ought already to begin to feel the sacrifice she has made of her independence.—The Note of April 4, affirms, "that France had considered the electorate as its conquest, and that its troops had been on the point of re-entering it, to make a definitive disposal of it."—The electorate of Hanover, as an integral part of the German Empire, is not concerned in the war between Great Britain and France; nevertheless, it has been unjustly invaded by that power, which has, notwithstanding, frequently indicated the object for which she was disposed to restore it.—France was at length compelled to abandon the country, and 40,000 of my troops, and those of my allies, were established there, when the Count de Haugwitz signed the treaty which disposes of my states. It is true, that the Russian corps were then at the disposal of his Prussian Majesty; but its chief, with the genuine spirit of an honourable man, was not the less determined to fight, if the allies of his Master were attacked: we shall not speak of the French garrison which remained at Hameln, insufficient in point of number, deprived of the means of defence, and on the point of being besieged, when the promises of Prussia caused the plan to be abandoned.—The intention of France to dispose definitively of the electorate, would have been contrary to the assertions she has so often made. It would, moreover, have been contrary to the usage of war, since even a conquest is not definitively disposed of before a peace; and particularly at a moment when a wish might exist to manifest a pacific disposition.—Prussia had no right to judge if Great Britain had the means of opposing the return of my enemies to the electorate. Her power furnishes her with the means of bringing the war to an honourable end, for the interests she defends: but it is difficult to conceive in what light Prussia pretends that her measures removed troops that are strangers to the electorate, and ensure the repose of the north. Her troops, in consequence of the treacherous conduct of her cabinet, will remain as much strangers to the electorate as the French troops.—Prussia should not speak of her sacrifices at the moment when her only aim is to aggrandize herself, unless she feels the loss of her independence to be such, and how much she has departed from her duty, in abandoning one of the oldest possessions of her house, and of subjects who implored, in vain, her assistance. Besides, her sacrifices have no connection with my system of policy, and confer no right on her to usurp the government of my German subjects, whose fidelity nothing has hitherto shaken, and which they will retain towards my person, and a family of princes, who for many ages have only sought their happiness.—It is evident that the conduct of the court of Berlin is not the free expression of the will of its sovereign, but the consequence of the influence exercised by my enemies in the cabinet of that Prince. All the courts and all the states, however, who can judge of circumstances, and all that they owe to the system adopted by the court of Berlin, will agree that the act committed against a Sovereign united to his Prussian Majesty by the ties of blood, and until now by those of friendship, places the safety of Europe in greater danger than any act of hostility on the part of a Power with which one might be at open war.—Convinced of the justice of my cause, I make my appeal to all the Powers of Europe, who are interested in resisting the consolidation of a system, which, by threatening the political existence of an integral part of the German Empire, brings into question the security of the whole. I demand, most earnestly, the constitutional aid which is due to me as Elector, from the Empire, its august Head, as well as Russia and Sweden, the Powers who have guaranteed its constitution, and who have already manifested, and still continue to manifest, the most honourable disposition for the preservation of my states.—Lastly, I protest in the most solemn manner, for myself, and my heirs, against every encroachment on my rights in the electorate of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, and its dependencies; and I repeat, in quality of Elector, the Declaration made by the Minister of my Crown at the Court of Berlin, that no advantage, arising from political arrangements,

much less any offer whatever of an indemnity, or equivalent, shall ever engage me to forget what I owe to my dignity, the attachment, and exemplary fidelity of my Hanoverian subjects, so as to yield my consent to the alienation of my electorate.—Given at the Palace of Windsor, the 20th day of April, 1806, in the 46th year of my reign.—(L. S.) GEORGE R.

FRENCH EXPOSÉ. *From the French Official Paper, the Moniteur, Dated 9th April,* 1806.

[Divers political circumstances having given rise to all sorts of reports, the Editors of the Moniteur consider themselves happy in having been able to collect some positive information, which will enable the reader to judge of these reports, and to reject all those *which are consistent with truth.*]

" England has declared war against Prussia. All the king's ships have received orders to attack the Prussian vessels, and letters of marque have been issued to privateers. Is this a just proceeding on the part of the English Government? Is it a politic one? These are questions which it is not our intention to examine. It is sufficient for us to discover that this measure is advantageous to France; that one of its first consequences will be to shut the North against the English trade: and that there is little wisdom on the part of England, in acting so towards a considerable power, whom she forces into a nearer connection with France; and whom she determines to remove from her councils the agents and the influence of England. France and Prussia united, can, if they please, shut the Sound. If England had learned how to accommodate her policy to circumstances, she would have maintained her party and her creatures in credit at Berlin. She would have rendered the blockade of the ports of the North less severe. She would have, in fact, preserved the advantage which she derives from the Prussian flag; for commerce has occasion for intermediate agents between the merchant and the consumer. But, however it may be, we cannot consider this new political event but as tending to accelerate peace; for, assuredly Prussia is neither a weak enemy for England, nor a weak ally for France. We know, that there are persons who accustom themselves with difficulty to the idea of these connections between France and Prussia; but they do not see, that the hesitation which was first manifested by the latter cabinet, depended upon temporary circumstances which have neither altered the principles of the king, nor those of his most faithful and intelligent servants. If there was any thing which gave offence to France, it could only be imputed to a frantic minister who was sold to England, who was formerly in her service, and who quitted it for reasons which the dignity of this paper will not allow us to mention. It perhaps, may be supposed, that England, in the new circumstances in which she finds herself with regard to Prussia, had no medium left her, and could not avoid declaring war. But the occupation of Hanover, by Prussia, was the only means of preventing the French from returning to that country; and if they had returned, the freedom of the English trade would not have been the greater. It may be said, that Prussia has not only shut the ports of the Elbe and the Weser, as they were by the French, but that the occupation was made in the name of the king, and in the same form as if he had determined to annex this fine province to his vast monarchy. However, there is nothing, in fact, to prove that this was the intention of Prussia; and it is very possible, that the cession of Cleves, Anspach, and Neufchatel, may relate to some other principles of arrangement, since the population of all the three does not equal a fifth of the population of Hanover. Some discussion, therefore, might have taken place between Prussia and England; and the wisest course would have been, not to have begun by declaring war. Supposing occupation to be equal to final incorporation, England, instead of avoiding that consequence, makes it more certain; for, whatever losses the Prussian trade may experience, during two or three years' war, she will be indemnified by the more considerable loss which the trade of her enemy will sustain; and England submits to these losses for an interest which the English nation has always disowned. It has always considered Hanover as a foreign property, solely belonging to the House of Brunswick. How happens it, that it has so suddenly changed its principles in this respect? ——It appears, that M. Schimmelpenninck, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, has entirely lost his sight. Who is to be his successor? What effect will be produced by this change in the magistracy? These questions excite the attention and anxiety of all the Dutch, who are sincerely attached to the country. It is well known, that the Emperor never gave any positive sanction to the late changes in the constitution of that country; and that he said, on that occasion, that the prosperity and liberty of nations could only be assured by two modes of government; either a tempered and constitu-

tional monarchy; or a republic, constituted according to the theory of liberty, and which will be the true organ of the public will. All nations cannot, with safety, leave to the people the choice of their representatives; and when a nation has to apprehend the effects of assembling the people; when the advantages which it expects are less than the inconveniencies which it foresees; such a nation, which cannot find protection under a republican form of government, has recourse to the principles of a good and prudent monarch. Under the present constitution of Holland, the Grand Pensionary has more power than the King has in England: he has even more than the Emperor has in France; or than any Sovereign has in any country; and, what is without example in a republic, their high mightinesses, or the representatives and legislative bodies, have been nominated by the Grand Pensionary. The defect of this constitution cannot escape the observation of the sagacious. They cannot be called a republic, where the representative and legislative bodies are not nominated by the electors: and if there be any fear of the electors, it will be best to renounce at once the republican form of government. A government, which neither having the advantages of a republic, nor a monarchy, combines all the inconveniencies of both, should not be absolutely proscribed. Such being the situation of Holland, she must be a gainer by any change that she must make in her constitution. If the landholders, the merchants, the enlightened men, are of opinion that they can have a representation made by the choice of the people without distinction of classes or religion, they will create a system much more proper than the present one. If that be not their opinion, and that they think it necessary to have recourse to a constitutional monarchy, they will do that which will be more advantageous to their country than the preservation of their existing constitution can be. It is their duty to examine their situation, to judge of the circumstances in which they are placed, and to choose between the two systems that which is best suited to them, and the most likely to establish, on a solid foundation, the public prosperity and liberty.—Bavaria had taken possession of the Margraviate of Anspach, and has ceded to France the Duchy of Berg which, united with that of Cleves, is settled upon Prince Joachim, the Grand Admiral of the Empire. Wesel is a strong fortress on our frontiers. The Duchy of Cleves gives us an advantageous point of contact with Holland; and France, for the future will only find on the right bank of the Rhine, princes who are allied by blood to the Imperial Family.——General Oudinot has taken possession of the counties of Neufchatel and Valengin. He found those countries loaded with English merchandize, heaped there by the merchants of Switzerland, and principally by those of Basle. Of these the French army had taken to the amount of many millions; all the banks of the Lake of Neufchatel were covered with English manufactures. This circumstance justifies all the prohibitory measures which may be taken with regard to Switzerland. That country is little more, at this moment, than a warehouse for English goods. When it shall be cleared of these manufactures, we shall perhaps have the means of giving a new check to our enemy. Is it possible that the Landamman was not struck with the danger to which he exposed the country? Who will protect Basle from a visit from the French army? Does this magistrate, who sees smuggling carried on by wholesale under his eyes, suppose that he is not responsible? If the French consider these depots of prohibited goods so publicly made, and to such great extent, a real act of hostility; if the French government multiplies prohibitory laws between Switzerland, France, and Italy, will not the Landamman be the cause of it? And will not all the complaints that the Swiss may make be unjust and ill-founded? Dalmatia is occupied by the French army. It is separated from the mouth of the Cataro by the republic of Ragusa: the country is mountainous, and the roads are bad. The French troops had arrived at Ragusa, when the fort of Castel Nuovo was delivered to 300 Russians by General Brady, who commanded 2000 Austrians. This general, whose ancestors were English, has been wanting in respect to France, and has betrayed his master. Upon receiving this information, Marshal Berthier gave orders that Brannau, which defends the frontiers of the Inn, and which was to have been given up on the 1st of April, should not be restored, and that it should be again garrisoned. The division of the grand army, which was on its way to France, has halted. The prisoners of war, that were to have been sent back to Germany, have been detained, until further orders, in the places at which they were.—This outrage offered by Russia to the Austrian flag and arms, is the more inconceiveable, because the Russians are at Corfu, draw their provisions from the ports of Trieste and Fiume, a free communication with which has not been prohibited. The Court of Vienna has ordered, that General Brady should be arrested and tried. It has ex-

pressed its dissatisfaction to Russia. It will cause Castel Nuovo, and the mouths of the Cataro, to be delivered up to France, without having occasion to reply, by arms, to this act of hostility.—The Russians have evacuated Hanover, and returned home. The army which the Emperor Alexander commanded has also returned to Russia. After all the losses which it sustained, it is very natural that it should repair them by recruiting. A part of the troops, which were at Corfu, have returned to the Bosphorus with General Lascy. A considerable part of those that were in Poland, are marching towards Choczim and the Crimea. The illusion, with respect to the Russian armies, is no more. The French army which, in two months, dissipated the third coalition, was then only on the peace establishment: at the end of the three months, which have since elapsed, it finds itself on the war establishment. It has nothing to fear from all the forces of Europe; but no person will be able to form a fourth coalition. England knows full well, that it would be money thrown away. She reflects with terror, that the first coalition, which lasted five years, made France mistress of Holland, Belgium, the Rhine, and all the Cisalpine country; that the second coalition, which only lasted two years, gave to France Piedmont and Switzerland; that the third, which only lasted three months, gave her Venice, Naples, and Genoa; that the least she could expect from a fourth coalition, would be Trieste and Fiume, and the eternal exclusion of the English from all the ports of Europe. Russia, recovered from the vain illusion by which she was deceived, well knows what thirty millions of people, scattered over an immense territory, and under the necessity of opposing the Persians, Turks, and Tartars, can do against forty millions of Frenchmen united on the same platform, brave, active and intelligent, and more capable of conquering Russia, than the Russians are of conquering France.—English, Russian, and Sardinian Envoys, and a knot of malcontents from all the countries in the world, had fixed on Rome as the center of their machinations. The Emperor required that they should be driven from thence; and that a sovereign, placed in his empire, should do nothing contrary to the safety of the armies of Naples and Italy. The first care of an army should always be, not to allow itself to be surrounded, either by spies or those who encourage desertion. This demand gave rise to many consistories, when the persons who were the objects of it did justice to themselves, and all evacuated Rome.—The kingdom of Naples is entirely conquered. The French troops are at Reggio, at Otranto, and at Taranto. Only a small body of the Neapolitan troops could embark and reach Sicily. That island is defended by 4,500 English. The presence of such enemies is an additional inducement for the French to go there. Gaeta, an insignificant fortress, with a garrison of 1.600 men, is besieged.—The victory of Austerlitz has produced as much sensation at Constantinople as at Paris. The exultation there was sincere and universal. The government of the Porte is neither ignorant nor sold. There may, at Constantinople, be some traitors, but they are not numerous; whilst, on the contrary, the multiplied measures of Russia for sapping the foundation of this vast empire, has not escaped the notice of the real Ottomans. They are not ignorant that the protection of France can alone be sufficient for the Porte; and that France is the only power interested in protecting her. The vicinity of the French, in Dalmatia, has inspired them with the liveliest joy. The Emperor Napoleon has been acknowledged Emperor. The Porte knows very well, that its treaty with Russia was extorted; and that it is rather a treaty between a despotic prince and his vassal, than between Sovereign and Sovereign; that it is not the French who have excited the Greeks and Servians to insurrection; whose ships of war are anchored before Constantinople; and who are continually creating commotions in the Morea. This new attitude of the Porte has produced much uneasiness at St. Petersburgh; and if the Porte shall be roused to acts of energy against Russia, there will not be found, between those two powers, the great difference that may be supposed. The Mussulman is brave; and were he directed and assisted, he would triumph over the Muscovite militia. It is not probable that the Porte will wish to go to war; but she has a right to preserve her independence, and to wish for protection against the insults of Mr. Italinsky, every proceeding of whom, when he communicates with the Divan, is only calculated to excite hatred and inignation." [We intend to collect in this way, every month, information of what is passing; and to throw some light into the labyrinth of false reports, by which the lawful speculations of fair and honest merchants may be injured.]

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" The dangers principally to be apprehended from regal government, relate to the two articles, *taxation* " and *punishment*. In every form of government, from which *the people* are excluded, it is the interest of " the governors to get as much as they can. Wisely, therefore, hath the British constitution guarded the " safety of the people, in this respect; for, every law, which, by the remotest construction, may be deem- " ed to levy money upon the property of the subject, must originate, that is, must be first assented to, " in the House of Commons; and the application also of the public supplies, is watched with the same " circumspection as the assessment, many taxes being annual, the produce of others appropriated to " specific services, and *the expenditure of all of them being accounted for in the House of Commons*."—PALEY: Moral and Political Philosophy; Book VI. Chap. VII.

*** Agreeably to the notification, given in the preceding Number, I was preparing to publish, in this Number, the Intended Dispatch of the Court of Directors; but, when I came to look through the collection of documents, in which it has been published by the Court of Directors, I found, that it could not, consistent with that justice and fairness, with which I always have acted, be published by me, unaccompanied with the other documents, and I found that the whole would occupy a space so large as to exclude from the Register all other matter whatsoever for two, if not for three, weeks; and, therefore, important as I think this particular subject, I could not, at this time, bring myself to resolveupon such exclusion. A few weeks hence, perhaps, when the interesting points now in agitation before parliament shall have been decided, or, at least, settled for the time, an opportunity for the insertion will offer.

TO THE ELECTORS OF HONITON.

LETTER I.

GENTLEMEN,——Upon the principle that example is more powerful than precept, and that, to the producing of virtuous actions nothing is more conducive than the bestowing of just praise on those who have virtuously acted, it was, perhaps, my duty, in common with that of other public writers, to have, before now, recorded, commended, and honoured, your discernment and public-spirit, as exemplified in your choice of MR. ROBSON as a member in the present parliament, and in the truly disinterested and constitutional manner in which that choice was made. But, Gentlemen, an opportunity now offers for our discharging this duty in a manner which will compensate for the delay; because our eulogium upon your conduct now comes forth accompanied with proofs the most satisfactory of its beneficial effects.

Having witnessed the enormous abuses lately, by inquiry, brought to light, with regard to the expenditure of the public-money, and having traced that inquiry back to the repeated, though then unsupported, exertions of MR. ROBSON; having perceived, that, but too many of those persons, into whose hands devolved the finishing of what he so well began, were actuated by motives very different from his; having seen, that those persons were ready to accede to, nay themselves to propose, a bill of indemnity for Mr. Pitt, who himself had connived at a gross violation of the law, in lending £40,000 of the public money, without interest, to two members of the then parliament; and, finally, having seen these very same persons, these pursuers of abuses under the administration of Mr. Pitt, propose to vote away, and actually vote away, £40,000 of the public money to pay the debts of that Mr. Pitt, and that, too, upon the ground, as by them explicitly stated, of his " public *merits*:" having all this before your eyes, you naturally looked back to MR. ROBSON, the man with whom the inquiry originated, and who had had no participation in the compromises, the inconsistencies, and the abandonment of principle exhibited in the subsequent proceedings thereon. You saw, in MR. ROBSON, no sycophant, either of the court or the populace; no seeker for place, either by cringing at a levee or by hollow professions to the people; you saw, in him, no warrior against the Treasury Bench, no stickler against the free use of the King's prerogative in appointing his servants, but a determined enemy of corruption and of all abuses, through those servants committed, and, provided these were prevented, caring very little who those servants might be; in short, you saw, in MR. ROBSON, a plain, honest, and independent man, wanting nothing from the public, either for himself or his relations, having the good of his country warmly at heart, and having industry and resolution sufficient to bring his wishes into action. Such were the reasons for which you chose him to be your representative in parliament;

and, it is the bounden duty of all those of your fellow subjects, who have the means in their hands, to acknowledge to you publicly, and to proclaim to the world, that experience has already proved, that your reasons were well-founded, that you have not been deceived, and that, in the effect as well as in the motive, you have a just claim to the praise and the gratitude of your country.

It is, Gentlemen, but a few weeks, since, as the consequence of your choice, as the consequence of your unshackled and constitutional exercise of that right, so valuable in itself, and once so dear and so much revered by Englishmen, that MR. ROBSON was returned to the House of Commons; yet, as will appear from the report of a debate and proceeding which I propose here to lay before you, he has already done more than any member of this present parliament towards the correction of those abuses in the expenditure of the public money, which are now, by all men, except the mere slaves of corruption, acknowledged to exist, and which, there is no one to deny, do greatly contribute to the weight of those burdens that are weighing us to the earth. But, before we proceed to the particular subject thus placed before us, and even before we come to a statement of the circumstances which led to the proceeding in question, it is not unnecessary that we advert, for a moment, to the doctrine of the constitution as touching the powers and duties of members of the House of Commons. The celebrated writer, from whom I have taken the motto to this paper, represents the *power of the purse* as the sole security for the liberties, properties, and the lives of the people; and, if this was always so, how much more necessary is it to cling to the doctrine now, when there is a regular army of 200,000 men in these kingdoms, about 30,000 of whom are *foreigners?* But, Gentlemen, *what* is this "power of the purse," and what is the use of talking about it; what is its use to you and me; how can we possibly derive any benefit from it, unless our representatives, I mean, *any one of them*, can bring before parliament proof, if it exist, of frauds in the *expenditure* of the public money? The House of Commons, PALEY tells us, is to *watch over* the expenditure of the public money; and this is the language of all those who have praised our constitution of government. They tell us, that we *tax ourselves*, and that we ourselves have *a check and controul over the expenditure*; and this they explain by saying, that we choose members of the House of Commons *to act for us*, and that whatever *they* do is done by *us*. Well, then, Gentlemen, have not our representatives the right of inquiring *how* the money has been expended? And, how is such an inquiry ever to *begin*, unless some *one* man begins it? And, can you possibly conceive any good reason for checking any inquiry into the expenditure of the public money, from whatever quarter the first motion for such inquiry may come?

Now, Gentlemen, previously to my submitting to you the report of the proceeding, in which MR. ROBSON has taken so considerable and so useful a part, and which, as you will see, related to the wasteful expenditure in the BARRACK-DEPARTMENT, it will be necessary to state to you, with somewhat more precision than they may as yet have reached you, the circumstances which led to it.

The disclosures, with regard to Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, gave rise to public observation respecting the abuses in other departments; and, it was proposed, by the then *Opposition*, who are now *ministers*, to move for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the MILITARY BRANCH in general. Mr. Pitt, the then minister (whose debts, observe, *we* have since paid!), thought it would be better for *himself* to have the appointment of this Commission; and, accordingly, he brought in a bill for the purpose, and, in the month of June last, five men, picked out by himself and OTHERS, were appointed by law. To work this Commission went, beginning with the Barrack-Department, and not, as one might have expected, with that of the office of COMMANDER IN CHIEF, that being, certainly, the head department belonging to the army; but, upon reference to the act, I find, that that particular office, was, for some reason or other (a very sufficient one, no doubt), not included; so that, *there*, even these Commissioners, have no power of inquiry at all. But, at any rate, upon the Barrack-Department they began; and, in the space of *nine months*, the *seven Commissioners and their clerks*, produced to the House of Commons their first report, contained *in* 111 *pages of loose print*, being, in the whole, about three times as much print as is contained in this letter, which, on this 22d of May, I am writing to you, and which must be finished and printed by to-morrow night at 12 o'clock! And, Gentlemen, what is the subject matter of the report? Is it a statement in *result?* No: it consists of the evidence taken down, as well as of the observations thereon; and, it relates to *one single little point* in the affairs of the Barrack-Office, namely, the arrears due from the Barrack-Master General to the public; as to

which arrears I will, begging leave to digress for the purpose, give you a brief account. The report, thus made to the House of Commons, states, that DELANCEY, the Barrack-Master General, by the means of *incorrect* statements, had drawn from the Treasury large sums which he ought not to have drawn; that GREENWOOD, an army agent, who was the Treasurer to the Barrack-Office, and who was also the private agent of De Lancy, did, in the years 1803 and 1804, transfer £11,096 of the money drawn for the Barrack-Office, to De Lancy's *private* account, instead of applying it to meet demands upon the Barrack-Office; and that, upon the whole of his account, DELANCY stood indebted to the public (to say nothing of the large sum for *interest)* to the amount of £97,415. This report, which had cost nine months in making out, Mr. Robson had seen lie nearly two months longer upon the table of the House of Commons unnoticed by the ministers, when he obtained information relative to some flagrant abuses and peculation in the Barrack-Department in the Isle of Wight; and, upon obtaining this information, he, on the 16th instant, came into his place in the House, where, like an honest representative of the people, he moved for the production of the papers, which, in the following report of the debate of that day, you will find accurately described.

" Mr. ROBSON rose to bring forward his " promised motion for the production of " certain documents relative to the Depart- " ment of Barracks, with a view to insti- " tute an inquiry into certain gross abuses " in that Department, through the wasteful " expenditure of the public money. He " said it was now 4 years since he had ven- " tured to obtrude himself upon the atten- " tion of the House, by some observations, " and a motion, on the very subject which " it was now his purpose to offer to their " consideration; namely, the scandalous " abuses then existing in the Barrack De- " partment; and he, on that occasion, " warned the House of the enormity of " those abuses, upon which he had not the " good fortune of being able to institute, at " that time, any inquiry; but which now " were palpably proved to have existed to " the full extent which he then asserted, by " the Report of the Military Commissioners " now in his hand, and which for some " weeks had lain, most unaccountably, un- " noticed upon their table: and he now " ventured to say, that had his advice been " then taken, many millions of the public " money would have been saved, and no oc- " casion would have existed for laying such " a Report before Parliament. It was now " some years since the House had been in " the habit of voting large sums of money " for the erection of Barracks in various " parts of the kingdom; but those votes " had, of late years, increased to an enor- " mous extent. Last year it was 2,300,000l. " and for the present year it was 1,700,000l. " Having upon a former occasion, attempt- " ed in vain to induce the House to go into " some investigation, finding his former " opinions justified by the Report now be- " fore the House, and desirous once more " to bring forward the subject to the notice " of parliament, it was natural for him to " look a little into the cause why this ex- " penditure had so increased, and the more " so after he had heard the plea of neces- " sity which the ministers had set up as a " reason for the heavy taxes they had re- " cently imposed upon the people. He felt " it incumbent upon him, now that the " reins of government had passed into the " hands of other ministers, who, he sin- " cerely trusted would offer no impediment " to fair inquiry, to ascertain, if possible " what became of those enormous sums so " voted. At present it was his intention to " move for the production of certain papers " relative to the Barrack Department, for " the purpose of investigating some very re- " cent transactions. Without entering into " any detail on the subject in the present " instance, he should proceed to name the " papers for which he intended to move. " They were short and their production " would neither be troublesome nor expen- " sive, the first of which, and he would now " move for it, was " A List of the several " Barns rented by Government and used as " Barracks, in the Division of Sandown " Bay, in the Isle of Wight; specifying the " time when first taken, and also the week- " ly or annual rent thereon paid, respective- " ly, from the time of their being so taken " up to the 25th Dec. 1805, inclusive."— " Mr. MARTIN seconded the motion.—— " Lord HENRY PETTY said, that if the hon. " gent. had done him the honour to make " the slightest communication to him of his " wishes or intentions upon the subject, he " believed he should have been able to have " satisfied the hon. gent that his motion " for papers and the purpose he had avow- " ed, were rendered unnecessary by ano- " ther arrangement which had already taken " place. As the hon. gent. had not thought " proper so to do, he would beg leave to " say now, that, although he saw no objec- " tion whatever to the production of the

" papers named in the hon. gent's. motion, " yet, at the same time, as the House had " already appointed Commissioners, for the " very purpose of the investigation avowed " by the hon. member as his object, and had " delegated to them its authority to inquire, " with the utmost minuteness, concerning " every expenditure in the Barrack, as well " as other Military Departments; which " Commissioners were proceeding with all " the expedition in their power, consistent- " ly with the nature of the subjects referred " to their examination; he would put it to " the good sense of the hon. gent. whether " it would not be much more orderly and " consistent with the regular proceedings of " parliament, first, to await the Report of " those Commissioners, or to communicate " to them any information that could aid or " accelerate their inquiry, before he pro- " ceeded to call upon the House to institute " another inquiry, to proceed at the same " time, and upon the very same subject. He " would submit to the hon. gent. whether " it was a proper, whether it was a discreet " procedure, while a Parliamentary Com- " mission was occupied in this very inquiry, " to supersede the authority delegated to " them, without any alledged ground of im- " putation upon their proceedings, and to " move for another inquiry upon the same " topic. If, indeed, when they should " make their Report, the hon. member " should find any just cause to complain of " their negligence, or partiality, or unne- " cessary delay, it would be competent to " him to call upon the House for the inqui- " ry now proposed; but until such an occa- " sion should occur, he hardly could con- " ceive the House would be disposed to " comply with the hon. gent's. wishes for " such an inquiry.——Mr. Robson rose " and said: If, Sir, my eyes did not con- " vince me to the contrary, I should have " conceived that it was the ghost of the late " minister I have just heard. What the " noble lord has just said is, word for word, " the objection made by the minister " four years ago, to a motion which I then " made for inquiry upon the same subject, " and I have brought down with me the Par- " liamentary Register to prove the fact. But, " notwithstanding the disappointment I feel " at such an answer coming from the noble " lord, as one of his Majesty's present minis- " ters, I shall persist, aye, inexorably per- " sist, with the leave of the House, in my " determination of having this business sift- " ed to the very bottom. It cannot inter- " fere with the Military Commission. But, " am I to be told, that the House of Com- " mons has, in any case, abandoned its in- " quisitorial authority, and delegated it to " any Board of Commissioners, so as to pre- " clude itself from investigation upon any si- " milar subject it may think necessary? " The Military Commissioners have now " been sitting almost a year, and what have " they produced? Why, only one Report; " and this Report, notwithstanding the enor- " mous, corrupt, and profligate waste of the " public money which it has exposed, has " now lain nearly six weeks upon your ta- " ble; and I take shame to myself as a " member of this House that it has laid " there so long unnoticed. As a member " of parliament I have a right to inquire " though a Commission is sitting. Don't " tell me, Sir, that a Commission of Inqui- " ry is sitting? Am I to be told, that the " House of Commons, apprized as it is of " such an enormous profusion of the public " money, is to delegate its privilege of in- " quiry to any Commissioners of Barracks, " or Commissioners of Accounts, or Com- " missioners of any sort, military or civil; " and then wait a year or two until those " Commissioners shall think proper to re- " port their opinions? I can admit of no " such argument. What do I sit in this " House for, but as a guardian of the public " purse? What is the duty of the House of " Commons, but to watch over and controul " the public expenditure? Am I then, as a " member of Parliament, to be denied the " right of calling for papers, to inform my- " self, and the House, upon the subject of " public expenditure, in order to institute " inquiry, if necessary? I never will listen " to such an argument, as that parliament is " bound to wait, year after year, the slow " progress of a Board of Commission, be- " fore it can proceed to the prompt steps " necessary on the discovery of any promi- " nent or enormous instance of profusion or " peculation. What appears by this Re- " port? Why, that 184 unsettled accounts " were then before the Commissioners, " not yet entered upon. Let not this " House be told, then, that this subject is " already before Commissioners of Inquiry, " who may sit year after year, before the " result of their inquiries are known, while " the House is, in the mean time called " upon to vote, year after year, new and " enormous supplies, without inquiring how " the past has been expended. The House " without the grossest dereliction of its du- " ty, cannot any longer persevere in such a " mode of proceeding. How long, I would " ask the noble lord, has this account of the " Barrack Department been bandied about

" from one office to another for investiga-
" tion, without effect? First, it was sent to
" the Treasury; from thence it was referred
" to the Auditor of Public Accounts; then
" it was sent to the Secretary at War; and,
" at last, the system blew itself up, and cor-
" ruption and venality had wrought their
" own reform. But the fact not to be de-
" nied, is, as I stated *four* years ago, that
" the expenditure in the Barrack Depart-
" ment has grown to an enormous amount.
" Why, I ask, has not parliament done its
" duty and prevented the progress in time?
" The purpose I have in view, is to examine
" the old accounts, in order to prevent simi-
" lar profusion from occurring in future. I
" wish also to procure the protection and
" justice of parliament for many of those
" persons who have had the misfortune to
" give credit to a considerable amount to the
" Barrack Department, whose accounts now
" remain *ten* years unsettled, and whose fa-
" milies may be driven to ruin and beggary
" while they are waiting the tardy investi-
" gation of the Military Commissioners. I
" do not mean to charge any individual with
" a criminal misapplication of the public
" money. I am only desirous to do justice,
" and to ascertain where the fault lay; and
" I believe the Barrack Master General will
" turn out to be a very ill-used man, in the
" delay of settling his accounts.——Lord
" H. PETTY appealed to the House, whe-
" ther government could be said to have
" lost any time in proceeding on the sugges-
" tions of the Report of the Military Com-
" missioners. He had himself made a dis-
" tinct statement to the House on the sub-
" ject of that Report. He did not deny the
" right of member of parliament to inter-
" fere with the inquiry delegated to the
" Commissioners. He only appealed to the
" hon. gent's. discretion, an appeal of
" which, after what he had just heard, he
" should be inclined to doubt the success.
" ——Mr. BASTARD recommended to the
" hon. gent. to substitute the word " Build-
" ings" instead of " Barns," and to make
" the motion general——Mr. ROBSON
" thanked the hon. gent. but would defer
" that till another day.——The question
" was then put upon the first motion and
" agreed to. The hon. gent. then moved,
" for a " Copy of a Letter to the late Se-
" cretary at War, dated 29th Dec. 1805,
" from the then Barrack Master of Sandown
" Bay division, enclosing Proposals on the
" part of Mr. James Day of Brading, for
" the building of a Barrack at Brading."—
" Mr. PERCEVAL wished the hon. gent.
" would explain to the House what was the
" object of his motion, and the nature of the
" letter ——Mr. ROBSON observed, that he
" was prepared to give an answer, but he
" thought he was entitled to the papers upon
" the grounds he had already stated. He
" observed, that there seemed a disposition
" to resist him in every step he advanced
" upon the subject, instead of thanking him
" for his endeavours to expose to the House
" a system of delinquency in the public ex-
" penditure. His object in moving for this
" paper, the contents of which he already
" knew, was to produce what the learned
" gent would call legal evidence.——The
" SPEAKER having looked at the written co-
" py of the motion, wished to know whe-
" ther the letter alluded to, was a letter *to*
" or *from* the Secretary at War.——Mr.
" ROBSON. *From*, Sir, if you please ——
" The SPEAKER. The hon member having
" in his verbal motion spoken of the letter
" which is the subject of it, as being a letter
" *from* the Secretary at War, and the writ-
" ten motion being for a letter *to* the Secre-
" tary at War, the object of my question is
" to know which the hon. member meant.
" ——Mr. ROBSON. *To*, Sir, if you please;
" as it is written in the paper now in your
" hand. *(A Laugh).*—Mr. PAULL said, he
" was confident that if his hon. friend had
" not felt himself perfectly acquainted with
" the business he had undertaken and the
" objects of the motion he had offered, he
" would not have moved them. His hon.
" friend had moved for papers upon a sub-
" ject of grave and serious importance, no
" less than a gross and corrupt profusion of
" the public money, to which it was at all
" times the duty of that House to attend;
" and he thought his hon. friend had expe-
" rienced a levity of treatment ill comport-
" ing with the gravity of the House, or the
" respect due to one of its members.——
" Lord H. PETTY was not aware that there
" was any ground for the charge of levity,
" when the House had discovered every dis-
" position to grant the information required.
" He trusted the House would act always
" with becoming gravity, and that when the
" papers granted for its information were
" produced, it would not countenance
" any proceeding upon them derogatory to
" the Commission it had appointed.—Mr.
" ROSE did not think it decent or becoming
" to charge the House with levity. He was
" surprised that the hon. gent who made
" the motion should refuse to explain to the
" House what was the object of it. He
" was intirely of opinion with the noble
" lord, as to the impropriety of instituting
" an inquiry in that House at the same

" time that Parliamentary Commissioners " were employed in the investigation else- " where, who had power to call for papers " and to examine witnesses on oath.—Mr. " W. Smith was convinced the hon. mover " had too much pleasantry and good hu- " mour to feel hurt, if a smile was excited " in the House by the uncertainty he had " evinced on his own motion, as to whether " the letter for which he moved was *to* or " *from* the Secretary at War. He thought " it more regular for the Commission to go " on and do its functions, and afterwards " for the hon. gent. to come forward with " his motion, if he should then deem it ne- " cessary.——Mr. Robson explained, that " the motion was written in the sense in " which he wished to have it put, but the " hand-writing not being the most legible " he had inadvertently read one word for " the other.——Mr. Hiley Addington " still pressed for an answer. Could the " House, he asked, enter into the inquiry " when there was a Parliamentary Commis- " sion actually sitting?——Mr. Robson " thought he had made out a strong case " for inquiry. If the letter he had moved " for had been attended to, there would " have been an absolute saving of 100 per " cent. to the public.——Mr. Calcraft " thought there never was a case on which a " motion for the previous question could so " properly be put. Unless suspicions were " entertained of the Commissioners, he did " not see how the House could proceed far- " ther. It had delegated its authority for " the present to those Commissioners, and " till there was some ground made out, that " they were not doing what was right, he " thought it would be improper to interfere " with their proceedings, and should there- " fore move the previous question.——Mr. " Bastard could not agree with the hon. " gent. that inquiry in that House should " stop, because inquiry happened to be " going on elsewhere. He did not think " that parliament by delegating its power to " a Commission, did thereby preclude itself " from adverting to the subject if it thought " proper.——Mr. Robson was sorry that " the hon. gent. had not been in the House " to move the previous question upon his " first motion. By moving for the previous " question the House would put itself in the " situation of having ordered one paper, " which was of no use, unless explained by " those which there was now a disposition " to refuse. To say, continued the hon. " gent. that a commissioner is equal to a " member of parliament is ridiculous. Are " there not men in this House as good as " any commissioners can be? All I ask for " is two or three short letters which a clerk " can copy out in half an hour. Give me " but these, and I will take upon me to " prove that there has been a corrupt and " profligate profusion in a branch of our ex- " penditure which has cost the country 10 " or 12 millions, and I pledge my character " as a member of parliament to do it. What " am I to think, Sir, when the Treasury " Bench start up and move the previous " question on such an occasion? I am re- " solved to take the sense of the House day " after day, till I see that there is no inten- " tion to keep the public accounts *private*. " And this at a time, Sir, when the people " of England are loaded with new and into- " lerable burthens, and when every man is " called on to shed the last drop of his blood, " and to deliver up the last guinea from his " bureau for the defence of the country! " Surely, upon cool reflection the hon. gent. " (Mr. Calcraft) will withdraw his motion! " ——Mr. Calcraft said that nobody was " more fond of inquiry than he was, and it was " because an inquiry was actually going on, " that he thought it proper to move the pre- " vious question. He advised the hon. gent. " to give his papers to the Commissioners " who might make a Report upon them. " Had he been in the House when the first " question was put, he should certainly have " moved the previous question upon it.—— " Lord Henry Petty said, he felt himself " justified in supporting the previous ques- " tion moved by his hon. friend, specifically " on the grounds that the hon. gent. had " not satisfied the House as to the nature of " the papers for which he had moved. In " supporting the previous question, how- " ever, he desired expressly to disclaim any " wish of precluding inquiry, or any denial " of the undoubted right of every member " of that House to move for any papers he " might think necessary. But the question " of right was one thing, and the expedien- " cy of exercising that right in all cases, " quite another: there might be many " rights unquestionable in the possession of " many men, but there were many cases in " which it might be wise and expedient to " dispense with the exercise of them. The " present he conceived to be one of those " cases: but by opposing the hon. member's " wishes on this occasion, he by no means " meant to preclude him from the fullest in- " formation he should feel it necessary to " demand upon this subject at a future day, " when those Commissioners should have " finished their inquiry, to which, under " the authority they possessed of examining

" evidence upon oath, they were more com-
" petent to accomplish than any inquiry that
" could be carried on by that House.——
" Mr. MARTIN said, he thought it his duty
" to stand up in defence of a gent. who, he
" was convinced, was desirous of doing good
" to the public, and who ought to be sup-
" ported in his honest endeavours to do his
" duty, and was of opinion he had made out
" his case.——Mr. ROBSON asserted that
" there would have been a saving of 100 per
" cent. on the transaction, if the letter he
" moved for had been attended to. Surely,
" Sir, said the hon. gent. this case is clear
" enough! My motion seems to cut upon
" both parties, the goers out and the comers
" in. The previous question is a thing that
" I hold cheap. In my motion *four* years
" ago respecting the £19.10. business, when
" I wanted to see the Bill-book, I was met
" with the previous question. The motion
" on the 10th Report was also attempted to
" be done away by the previous question;
" that famous Report which has excited the
" attention of all Europe, nay, I might say
" of all the world. My motion then did
" good, and this will also do good; for ever
" since that time government acceptances
" have been regularly paid.—He then moved
" for a Copy of proposals transmitted by the
" Barrack Master of the Sandown Division
" to the Secretary at War, on the part of
" Mr. James Day, of Brading, for the
" building of a Barrack at Brading.——Mr.
" ROSE thought it would have been much
" the better way, if the hon. gent. had stated
" to the Commissioners what had come to
" his knowledge about this business.——
" Mr. BOURNE agreed with the last speaker,
" and observed, that those Commissioners
" had greater powers in this respect than the
" House itself, as they could examine upon
" oath.——Mr. CALCRAFT said, that as all
" the objects could be obtained by the Com-
" missioners, he should move the previous
" question on this motion also.——Mr.
" PAULL said, that his hon. friend had given
" sufficient grounds for his motion, by sta-
" ting that a clerk could copy out in half an
" hour what would enable him to prove that
" gross frauds had been committed.——Mr.
" BASTARD said, as the hon. gent. had stated
" that 100 per cent. might be saved, he
" thought that a sufficient ground. He
" wished to know what security we had that
" the public would not continue to pay this
" sum, till the Commissioners had reported
" upon it.——Mr. HUSKISSON, as the hon.
" gent. had stated that the granting a few
" papers would enable him to prove such
" gross abuses, thought it would not be
" right to wait till the Commissioners might
" have leisure to inquire into the business.
" ——Lord H. PETTY said, that as the hon.
" gent. had now assigned some reason for his
" motion, he should consent with the leave
" of his hon. friend (Mr. Calcraft) that the
" previous question should be withdrawn.
" ——Mr. HUSKISSON wished the hon.
" mover would state the object for which he
" moved for these papers.——Mr. ROBSON
" then confessed, that the shameful waste
" of money he complained of was not only
" in building the barracks, but in the rent
" of the barns, which might have been
" got for a quarter of the money.——
" Sir J. NEWPORT said, this was quite a
" different thing: the motion was about
" building barracks, while the meaning of
" the hon. gent. was about renting barns.
" He thought the hon. member should state
" what object he had in view, as the House
" could never get through their business, if
" every individual member might move for
" whatever papers he pleased, without as-
" signing any reason, and if the House were
" to consider themselves always bound to
" grant papers when moved for.——Mr. W.
" SMITH suggested to the hon. mover, that
" he had better withdraw his motions for
" the present, and bring them forward in a
" more distinct form on an early day, sup-
" pose on Monday.——Mr. ROBSON re-
" fused, and said he should be content if his
" motion were put upon the Journals, as it
" would then be upon record that
" he, at least, had done his duty.——
" Mr. VANSITTART begged the hon. gent.
" would give the House some explanation
" why he wished for these papers? He
" might understand his own motions, but
" certainly he had not succeeded in making
" him understand them.——Mr. ROBSON
" said, he had already explained himself
" sufficiently; he would not submit to be
" examined and questioned as if he was
" a witness at the bar: as a member of par-
" liament he thought it beneath his dignity
" to wait upon any set of Commissioners,
" standing in a hall, going up one stair-case
" and down another in pursuit of them.
" ——Lord H. PETTY thought, that if
" the hon. gent's. sense of the dignity of
" a member of parliament would not allow
" him to answer a question put to him in
" that House, or to explain why he brought
" forward motions, the House would proba-
" bly think it was agreeable to their dignity,
" as members of parliament, not to give any
" countenance to such motions. He should
" therefore again move the previous ques-
" tion ——Mr. W. SMITH took notice of

" what fell from the hon. mover, " that he " only wished to have his motions on the " Journals." This certainly was not a sufficient reason for the House agreeing to " them. He thought the best way would " be at once to move the previous question " upon all the motions. The previous question was then agreed to upon this question.——Mr. Robson then moved for a " " Copy of the answer (if any) that was " given, or communicated to Mr. James " Day, in consequence of his making proposals to the Secretary at War, for the " building of a barrack at Brading in the " Isle of Wight; and, if no answer was " given, information to that effect." Also, " " A List of the several Barns rented by " Government and used as Barracks in the " division of Sandown Bay, in the Isle of " Wight, specifying the rent now weekly or " annually paid for each Barn, and also specifying the precise time when any alteration (if any) in the rent of the said Barns " took place." Upon these the previous " question was also put and carried."—— " Mr. Rose expressed his regret that the " business would make its way into the public prints."

Thus, Gentlemen, ended the debate. The first paper (a paper of no use without the rest) was ordered to be produced; but, all the others, all those that were necessary to bring the abuse to light, were, in effect, refused; and, Mr. Robson stood represented, as far as the proceeding could so represent him, as a person who had brought forward an unfounded complaint. But, before we proceed to further remarks, let us attend to the sequel of this proceeding. When the " *previous question*" was moved by Mr. Calcraft (a person in the *Office of Ordnance*, observe), Mr. Robson, as you will have seen, reminded the ministers, that the proceedings upon the occasion of the £19. 10s. bill of exchange had taught him to hold previous questions very cheap; and you will remember, that, upon that occasion, after having been called upon to retract his words; after his words had been taken down; after he had been actually threatened with the *censure of the House*, unless he retracted and *begged pardon* of the House, he made good his charge, and reduced the minister (one of the *present* cabinet) to the necessity of acknowledging, that the charge was just, and of getting rid of inquiry by a " previous question." Of this, as you will have seen, Mr. Robson remined the mover of the previous question, predicting, at the same time, that a similar fate would attend the present attempt to defeat his laudable purposes; and, accordingly, on Wednesday last, the 21st instant, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Henry Petty, the very person who had stood at the head of the opposition against Mr. Robson's motion, came to the House, and himself moved for those very papers, which he had before represented as improper to be called for. But, let us take his words, as given in the Morning Chronicle news-paper of this day, the 22d of May: " Lord Henry Petty rose and " observed, that before he proceeded to the " statement of the business of which he " had given notice, he trusted the House " would indulge him with their attention " for a few moments, while he said something respecting what had lately passed in " the House concerning the Barrack Department. It would be in the recollection of " the House that when the honorable gentleman behind (Mr. Robson) brought forward some motions on that subject, one " of them had been agreed to, while the " previous question had been moved and " carried with respect to the others. This, " the House would recollect, had been " done in the *absence of all explanation*, as " to *the object* which the honorable gentleman had in view, that was intelligible to " him, or, he believed, that could be intelligible to any peron in the House. He " had moved the previous question with a " view to induce the honorable gentleman " *to come forward with the necessary information*, and also with the intention, in " case he should still refuse, *to examine into the business himself*, and find it out " either with or without assistance. He " now flattered himself that he had *discovered the object* of these motions. He " found that they related to transactions " which took place in 1805, respecting the " barns hired as barracks in the division of " Sandown Bay, in the Isle of Wight; " which were *paid for at a very extravagant rate*, when a building for barracks " was offered at a much more reasonable expense. He would, therefore, under these " circumstances, move all the motions of " the honorable gentleman, respecting " which the previous question had been before carried, and also add a new motion, " which would relate to the barrack-Master; " who, it appeared, had hired these barns " at an extravagant rent, and *made an improper report with regard to the building offered as a barrack*. It was right that he " should be called upon to explain his conduct with respect to this transaction. He " concluded by moving for all the papers that " Mr. Robson had before moved for, and

" the motion was *carried without a divi-*
" *sion;*" to which you, Gentlemen, will, doubtless, add the observation, that by a voice, equally unanimous, these identical motions had been *rejected* only four days before! Upon this motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, MR. ROBSON observed, " that when he had before made these mo-
" tions, he had pledged himself to the
" House and to the country, as a member
" of parliament, to call their attention to
" an affair that highly deserved it. And now,
" after some days had elapsed, and *the af-*
" *fair was in the mouths of every body*, the
" minister, who had before moved the
" previous question, came down to the
" House and moved for them himself;" but, as MR. ROBSON further observed, some *apology* was, upon this occasion, necessary, if not to him, at least to the House. To which LORD HENRY PETTY replied, that, when the papers were before moved for, a sufficient notice had not been given, and that *no grounds* were laid for their production. MR. ROBSON rejoined; said " that
" he had given notice on the *Tuesday* of the
" motion that he made on the following
" *Friday*; that, as to grounds, he had
" very distinctly stated, that his object in
" calling the attention of the House to the
" subject, was, that *double the money* had
" been expended, in the case referred to,
" that ought to have been expended; and
" that" ..... but here he was CALLED TO ORDER by the Speaker, upon the ground, that he had spoken before in the debate!

In observing upon these proceedings, Gentlemen, the first thing that presents itself, is, the doctrine as to *notices* of motions; and, you will, doubtless, observe, that the giving of notices at all, upon any subject, is of quite modern invention; that it never was heard of until of late years; that, if the intentions of all parties were right and fair, there could be no one to desire any such thing; and, that if all the members of the House regularly attend in their places, as in duty they are bound, there can be no use whatever for a notice. Besides, to insist upon notices of motions is greatly and most dangerously to abridge the powers of individual members of parliament; may there not an emergency arise, when the safety of the state may depend upon the instantaneous making of a motion? Nay, do we not daily see *the ministers* making motions without any notice at all? And, indeed, notices of motions are entirely unknown to the laws and orders of the House, in which we have heard this very important motion of MR. ROBSON set aside upon the alleged ground, in part, at least, of a want of notice. But, as MR. ROBSON himself observed, a notice *was* given in this case, and that, too, *four days* before the motion was made. Surely four days were enough to afford time for *preparation!* One would have thought, that the minister of finance would have panted for the moment, when some one should point out to him how the public money might be saved, at the time when he himself was endeavouring to convince us that it gave him so much pain to be compelled to add to our taxes! At the time when he was raising the rate of the Income Tax to ten per centum; was proposing a tax upon the raw material of our manufactories, and was proposing a tax upon beer brewed in private-houses! At a time when Mr. Fox was declaring, that, such was the state of our pecuniary concerns, that the ministry were " *driven* to impose taxes that must " *affect the prosperity* of some branch or " other of our commerce!"

The next thing that calls, and it most loudly calls, for your attention, is, the demand for " *grounds*," whereon to found a motion. With respect to which, on no transaction that occurs to me at present, can any " explanation" as to the " *object*" of a motion be demanded from the mover, consistently with the idea which we have always been taught to entertain of the rights and privileges of a member of the House of Commons, and, as to the expenditure of the public money, what object, other than that of a desire to know *how it has been expended*, need any member state as the *ground* of a motion? It is not as a right, or a privilege, that we ought to regard this; but, as a *duty*, as a duty incumbent upon every member of the House of Commons. And, when a member moves for an inquiry of this sort, upon what ground can any one pretend to call him to account as to the *object* that he has in view? And where, Gentlemen, is the right which any one possesses of inquiring into his motives, seeing, that unless he does make such inquiries, he is guilty of a manifest breach of his first and greatest duty? Perhaps we shall be told, that *the amount of the whole of the Public Expenditure* is annually laid before the House of Commons; and, that *there* MR. ROBSON ought to have looked for information. Such an account, that is to say, the account of the forgoing year, is, or *ought to be*, laid before the House on, or before, the 25th of March in each year; and, I must confess, that this account *ought* to convey some information; but, Gentlemen, this amount is a lumping

one; it lies in a very small compass, and, as to the immediate object of our attention, the whole of the Barrack-Expenditure, the whole of the immense sum drawn from us on account of Barracks, is accounted for in one single line, thus, and even in one single word, thus:

"BARRACKS - 1,786,048l."

This is all that MR. ROBSON would have found in the account for the year 1805; and, what shall we say of a member of the House of Commons, who would be satisfied with this? Who, merely by looking at this, should pretend that he had "*watched over* the expenditure of the public money?" From this account how was MR. ROBSON, or any body else, to know, or even to guess *how* the money had been expended? What *check* does such a document form to a wasteful expenditure? It must be manifest to you, that it forms no check at all; and that it is the duty of every individual member to inquire how this enormous sum of more than a million and three quarters was expended upon barracks in one year; or that, if this be not his duty, he can be of no use in the House of Commons.

There was one argument, Gentlemen, which was used against MR ROBSON upon the first occasion, which must not here be overlooked; to wit; that the affairs of the Barrack-Office being now before the *Commissioners of Military Inquiry*, there could be no occasion for any such matters to be taken up in the House of Commons; which argument was urged with great vehemence and with an air of triumph by LORD HENRY PETTY. Of the dangerousness of this doctrine one never can speak too often, nor in terms too strong; but, Gentlemen, how comes it, that this argument, which was so good on the Friday, was good for nothing at all on the next Wednesday? For, you will observe, that this same Commission was full as effective when LORD HENRY PETTY moved for the papers, as it was when MR. ROBSON moved for them. There must, then, one would naturally suppose, have occurred some cause for this change of doctrine; and, I think, you will agree with me, that MR. ROBSON was not very uncharitable in imputing the change to the impression, which, in the interim, did evidently appear to have been made upon the mind of the public. The detection and exposure of this instance of glaring inconsistency is, however, of no importance, when compared with the doctrine itself, which strikes at once at the very root of the constitution by taking from individual members of parliament, in their capacity and in their places, as members, to begin and to prosecute inquiries as to the expenditure of the public money. The minister (and, in this case, it was Mr. Pitt) appoints a list of commissioners to inquire into the expenditure of the public money in the Military Department; and, if the existence of this commission is to take away the right of individual members of the House of Commons to move for and to prosecute any inquiry with regard to the expenditure of the public money in that department, there is, at once, half the power of the members taken away; for, at this time, the annual expenditure of the army and its appendages amounts to about *twenty millions*, and, in the account annually laid before the House of Commons, this expenditure does not occupy *twenty lines!* Again and again, therefore, I beg you, Gentlemen, and I beg, I beseech, every man in England, to whom the happiness and the honor of England are, in anywise, dear, to reflect upon the dangerousness of this doctrine. Let it but once be established; only let a refusal to suffer an individual member to inquire; let such a refusal, upon such a pretext, once grow into a precedent, and who does not perceive, that we shall have commissioners for every department, and, that all notion of a control in the expenditure of the public money will be given up. Let this doctrine be once established, and, very soon afterwards, the ministry and their boards of commissioners will know how to dispense with the House of Commons; and, indeed, of what use would that House, in such case, be; and what regard could the people have for it, or what confidence could they have in it. Excuse me, Gentlemen, for urging and re-urging this point; for, compared with this, of what importance to us are the disputes about Malta and Hanover? The *time*, too, that these commissioners take to make their inquiries, and the comparative *secrecy*, with which they conduct them, are well worthy of your consideration; for, if it took nine months merely to report upon the balances due from DE LANCEY to the public, how long, good God! would it have been ere they had come to the contracts in the Isle of Wight? I wish you to observe, too, that it is provided in the act constituting this Commission, that none of its members shall, during the time that they are Commissioners, "accept "or hold any *Civil* office of profit, during "pleasure, under His Majesty." But, they may accept and hold such offices *for life*; and as to *military* offices (which are all held during pleasure), they may accept and hold as many of them as the king, or any one

under him, will give them; and, just by way of illustration, I wish you to know, that, *since* the creation of this commission, the first commissioner, *Major General Hildebrand Oakes* has accepted, and that he does now hold, the office of *Colonel of a regiment*, worth from 1,200l. to 1,500l, a year! The second commissioner is a *Colonel* Beckwith; the third is a *Lieutenant Colonel* Drinkwater; either of whom may, of course, accept, at any time, of any military office, depending for duration upon the sole will of the king, or his advisers.

Lord Henry Petty, as you have seen, Gentlemen, seems, in his speech of Wednesday last, to say, that he has taken up the matter himself, because Mr. Robson did not understand what he was about. You have read a faithful report of the debate, Gentlemen, just as it took place; and, do you think; that Mr. Robson appeared not to understand what he ought to do? It is easy to set up a laugh. There is an affectation of this sort, which has been very fashionable; but, amongst many other foolish fashions, it is growing stale; and, I think, you will agree with me, that, if, upon a subject so serious, laughter was not disgusting, the laugh would not be against Mr. Robson. A man of very good sense, and even a very wise and a very clever man, may, in the haste of delivery, use the word *to* instead of *from*; and may, even from his laudable anxiety, be for a moment, confused; but what is this compared to such an instance of glaring, of . . . . I would fain not, but I must, call it peurile inconsistency, as that exhibited in the conduct of Lord Henry Petty, who, after having spoken against the production of the papers on the Friday, upon the ground that the Military Commission was sitting, came, on the next Wednesday, and moved for those identical papers himself, the said Commsssion being still sitting? And, here, Gentlemen, I must repeat to you his words; I must save you the trouble of referring back to them, and must beg you to mark, and to retain them in your minds. He said, that, "if the honourable gent. "had done him the honour to make the "slightest communication to him of his "wishes or intentions upon the subject, he "believed he should have been able to have "satisfied the hon. gent. that *his motion* "*for papers* and the purpose he had avow-"ed, were *rendered unnecessary*, by ano-"ther arrangement which had already taken "place. As the hon. gent. had not thought "proper so to do, he would beg leave to "say now, that, although he saw no objec-"tion whatever to the production of the "papers named in the hon. gent's. motion, "yet, at the same time, as the House had "already appointed Commissioners, for the "very purpose of the investigation avowed "by the hon. member as his object, and had "DELEGATED *to them its authority to inquire*, "with the utmost minuteness, concerning "exery expenditure in the Barrack, as well "as other Military Departments; which "Commissioners were proceeding with all "the expedition in their power, consistent-"ly with the nature of the subjects referred "to their examination; he would put it to "the *good sense* of the hon. gent. whether "it would not be much more *orderly* and "consistent with the *regular proceedings* of "parliament, first, to await the Report of "those Commissioners, or to *communicate* "*to them* any information that could aid or "accelerate their inquiry, before he pro-"ceeded to call upon the House to institute "another inquiry, to proceed at the same "time, and upon the very same subject. "He would submit to the hon. gent. whe-"ther it was a *proper*, whether it was a *dis-"creet*, procedure, while a Parliamentary "Commission was occupied in this very in-"quiry, to supersede the authority delegated "to them, without any alledged ground of "imputation upon their proceedings, and "to move for another inquiry upon the "same topic. If, indeed, when they should "make their Report, the hon. member "should find any just cause to complain of "their negligence, or partiality, or unne-"cessary delay, it would be competent to "him to call upon the House for the inqui-"ry now proposed; but *until such an occa-"sion should occur*, he *hardly could conceive* "*the House would be disposed to comply* "*with the hon. gent's. wishes for such an* "*inquiry*."——Yet, this same gentleman, who could give such a lesson upon good sense, order, regularity, propriety, discretion, and consistency, all which, on the Friday, were so directly opposed to the production of the papers, could, aye, and he actually did, come, into the same seat, and looked the same persons in the face, and moved himself for the production of those very same papers! This Lord Henry Petty is, Gentlemen, the representative of the University of Cambridge, which learned body have, too, the honour to claim him as a member; whence, in conjunction with what you have just seen, you may, I think, pretty safely conclude, that a man may swagger about a long while in a black gown and a four cornered cap without acquiring many of the faculties of a conjuror. The fact is, that the mere knack of making speeches, the mere

knack of twirling off strings of sentences, is no mark whatever of superiority of mind; but is, very frequently, a mark of the contrary; heads, like other things, being, in general, empty in proportion to the noise that they make. By the fools and the sycophants of the last twenty years, Mr. Pitt has been compared to CICERO and Mr. Fox to DEMOSTHENES, these being the two most famous orators of antiquity. What *they* might be besides talkers, whether they contributed to the prosperity, or the ruin, of their countries respectively, it would, perhaps, be difficult precisely to ascertain; but, as to *ours*, we know, that, under the sway of MR. CICERO, we have, as MR. DEMOSTHENES himself tells us, been brought into the last stages of national distress, and, indeed, without his telling us of it we know it very well; and, what is quite disheartening, we do not perceive the least sign of Mr. DEMOSTHENES's intention to do better than his famed predecessor, whose debts, however, Mr. DEMOSTHENES has, with great liberality, called upon us to pay. Let us be no longer thus amused, then; let us no longer be the sport of this sort of *brotherhood* amongst the pretenders to superiority of mind. Let us ask for the *proof* of their superiority: let us inquire whether our country has increased in domestic happiness and in consequence abroad, while it has been in their hands; and, if we find, that it has *decreased in both*, let us turn with contempt from their pretended superiority. To conduct the affairs of the government of a great nation demands great talents; talents such as few men, comparatively speaking, possess; but, not the talent of public speaking, which, though it may serve to gloss over bad measures, can be of no use whatever in the conceiving or adopting of good measures; and, as to a member of parliament, as far, at any rate, as relates to inquiries into the receipt and expenditure of the public money, all that he need possess, are, common sense, common industry, and common honesty, which last ingredient is, as to all the purposes for which a member of parliament is sent to the House, worth much more than the combined talents of CICERO and DEMOSTHENES. Gentlemen, you have done honour to yourselves in sending Mr. ROBSON to parliament; it is the duty of us all to support him in his laudable efforts, by all the means in our power; it is our duty to stand by him, to lend him our assistance, to join him in his combat against the *brotherhood* of *placemen by trade*, who, whether *in* or *out*, will always support the abuses and corruptions that exist, and who, though they may hate one another, though they may seek the destruction of each other, will, at any time, suspend their animosities, and most cordially combine to keep down, and, if possible, to destroy, any man, who, they are convinced, has the good of his country at heart.

There remains one other part of LORD HENRY PETTY's speech, Gentlemen, to which I am desirous of drawing your attention; I mean that, wherein he conveys a feeling of dissatisfaction at MR. ROBSON's not having made a previous communication *to him*, with regard to the object of his motion. What! is it come to this, then? is it become; is it actually become the custom for members of parliament to wait upon the minister, and know his pleasure, or, at the very least, his opinion, as to the propriety of making a motion before they make such motion? Is it really true, that the minister; that a person appointed by the king; that *a servant* of the king, is to be consulted by a member of parliament before such member can make a motion in his place in the House? What shall we hear next? Where is this to end? What are members of parliament finally to become? If in one case, so in all cases is this doctrine sound; and then, Gentlemen, let me ask you how we can, without the most shameful mockery, the most gross insult to our own understandings, affect to regard the members of the House of Commons as the "guardians of the public "purse?" It is their business to watch the ministers, and, if they can make no motion for inquiry into the expenditure of the public money, without previously stating teir *object* to those ministers and obtaining their consent to such motion, is it not evident that no *useful* motion of that sort will ever be made? MR. ROBSON acted as he ought; he came forward upon the ground of right as a member of the House of Commons; he firmly stood upon that ground; the public, seeing that his cause was their cause, stood by him; the press (I allude particularly and with hearty approbation to the COURIER, the INDEPENDENT WHIG, the MORNING HERALD, and the MORNING ADVERTISER) expressed the feeling of the public; and the result has, thus far, been what every honest man wished it to be.

But, Gentlemen, in our anxiety to maintain the principles upon which MR. ROBSON has undertaken this inquiry, we must not lose sight of the matter of the inquiry itself. You have seen, that MR. ROBSON, probably for the sake of avoiding complexity, has begun with one small point of the Barrack-office abuses, namely, the rent of

barns, used as barracks, in Sandown-Bay Division, in the Isle of Wight; and you have heard him state, that *double the money* was paid for such barns that ought to have been paid for them. But, what would you think, Gentlemen, if it should appear, that *five times* as much had been paid, in this case, as ought to have been paid? What would you think, if it should appear, that we have been paying for each barn *annually* as much as the *fee simple* of the barn is worth? What would you think, if it should appear, that we have been paying annually for each barn, for the mere shell of each barn, a sum nearly equal to the annual *rent of the whole farm*, on which such barn stands, and of which, of course, the barn forms a part? What would be your conclusion from such facts? What other conclusion could you form, than that a most profligate waste of the public money has prevailed in this department; that *here* alone nearly a million a year might be saved; that this sum now ought to be saved; and that, if it should be saved, we shall all have MR. ROBSON and his informant to thank for it. And here, Gentlemen, bear with me, if I again press it upon you to observe, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has *now* confessed the existence of these shameful abuses, knew nothing at all of them until MR. ROBSON made his motion, a fact, I think, quite sufficient to convince you of the great danger that would arise from "*delegating*" the powers of inquiry to boards of Commissioners. I wish to give credit where credit is due; and I do sincerely believe, that, until the motion of MR. ROBSON led LORD HENRY PETTY to inquire, he knew nothing at all of the abuses we are speaking of. But, Gentlemen, the discoveries which his lordship has now made, will, if I am not greatly deceived in my conjecture, place some of *his colleagues* in an awkward predicament; for, by a reference to the motion, you will clearly perceive, that the representation of the Barrack-Master of Sandown-Bay Division, for the saving of the public money, though it was transmitted to the *late* Secretary at War, came under the consideration of the *present* Secretary at War; that, at any rate, in *his office* did Lord Henry Petty find those very documents, which have convinced him of the necessity of a speedy parliamentary inquiry into the matter; and, that the same person was Barrack-Master General last year is *still* the Barrack-Master General; and that, moreover, the Assistant Barrack-Master General, who made, as Lord Henry Petty now says, "the improper report," and who, as he further says, "ought now to be "called to account for it," is, *to this hour*, an Assistant Barrack-Master General! This discovery, observe, Gentlemen, LORD HENRY PETTY has made from documents that *already existed*; and, therefore, it behoves us to inquire, *where* they have existed? In *whose hands* they have lain, all this while, as inactive as a sleep-mouse? For, if it be now, upon a few hours of inquiry, on the part of LORD HENRY PETTY, become so evident that great abuses have taken place; if this has, as once appeared, and that, too, upon a bare inspection of the documents; what are we to think, and what ought the ministry to do, with regard to the persons, in whose hands these documents are, and under whose inspection they so long have been? Is not the conduct of these persons a proper and a necessary object of inquiry? For, if such an inquiry with *appropriate consequences*, do not take place, how can we reasonably entertain a hope, that abuses will not in future be committed? Anxiously, therefore do I hope that the inquiry will not stop at the conduct of the *inferior agents*, but that it will mount upwards to the source of the evil; at any rate, certain I am that the further proceedings in this, will furnish us with an excellent criterion, whereby to judge of the real views, with which the ministers have now brought forward their new plan for the examining into the public accounts; though, if we were to judge from the language of the Morning Chronicle, which is now the slave of the INS, we should not entertain any very great degree of hope from the execution of this plan: "The measure," says that fallen print of this day (Friday, the 23d of May), "The measure proposed by Lord "Henry Petty, for the institution of an ef- "fectual audit of the public expenditure, "has justly engaged the most serious at- "tention as well as gratitude of the public. "It is a great and laudable attempt; and "no part of it promises to be so useful as "that which goes to check abuse *for the fu- "ture*; for it is almost *vain to hope* for "much benefit from the *revisal of what is "past*. What check or audit can there be "of the Commissariat Accounts of our fa- "mous campaign in Flanders, where a *con- "venient fire* at every depot settled the ac- "counts of all Commissaries, Contractors, "and Insupers? But it is a material thing "to institute a new system; and that the "check should go on hand in hand with the "expenditure. Nor will it be enough to "see that there are vouchers for the actual "expense, but that the expense itself is "actually economical. For instance, in the

" Report of the Barrack Department, we " see that the barracks were built, at what " is technically called measure and value, " though it is well known that contracts for " building, even on a small scale, are made " at 25 per cent. under measure and value. " General de Lancey well knows this fact. " He has built for himself a beautiful villa " in Surrey, and he boasts that it only cost " him 1000l." This is perfectly consonant with the new doctrine of Mr. Fox; and perfectly consonant, too, with the wishes of the *Brotherhood*, whether *in* or *out* of office; for, to them, nothing, surely, can be so convenient. " What check or audit can " there be of the Commissariat Accounts of " our famous campaign in Flanders, where " a convenient fire, at every depot, settled " the accounts of the Commissaries, Con- " tractors, and Insupers?" What a question is here to ask, and to be asked, too, by that same Morning Chronicle, that bellowed so loudly for punishment upon the head of Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, *because* they had destroyed their books and accounts? The House of Commons and Westminster Hall still ring with the indignant reproaches of the late opposition (who are the present ministry) against those who wished to bury in oblivion the *past* with regard to Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter; and, do their writers now; good God! do they now tell us; now, the moment that their friends are in power; do they tell us; do they, with an air of langour, as if weary of inquiry, ask us *how* we are to make inquiry about the *burnt* accounts, relating to the Commissary-General's Department, during those ever-famed campaigns of *Flanders*, from which the DUKE OF YORK happily returned in a whole skin to go again on the no less famed campaign of the *Helder*, from which he also happily returned in a whole skin to command, with such distinguished celebrity, the army at home?

In coming, Gentlemen, by way of conclusion, to the practical application of the facts and observations here presented to you, let me, in the first place, caution you against the cry of *disaffection*, and of *revolutionary designs*, which, upon all such occasions, is sure to be set up, first, by the innumerable swarm of peculators, and next, by the *Brotherhood* in general. It is their way to tell you, " abuses have always " existed, in all countries; and, that, after " all, this is the best government and the " best country in the world;" the inference left to be drawn from which, is, that things must remain as they are, or that the government will be destroyed. So each of them will declare to your teeth, if you push him to the point; and, so they say one and all. But, Gentlemen, if, by " disaffection," they mean, disaffection to the country and to our sovereign, clothed with all his constitutional authority; if, by " revolution- " ary designs," they mean designs tending to the destroying of the present orders in the state; if this be their meaning, their charge is utterly groundless, and it is equally malicious, because they know it to be false. It is the sincere desire of every good man, that the monarchy and that all the ranks and degrees in the state should remain unshaken; that the property, lawfully obtained, of every man should continue secure in the hands of its owner; but, it is also his sincere desire, that the people in general should be happy and free, as their forefathers were. And, Gentlemen, it is because we wish *not* to see things destroyed; it is because we *love* our country and its unimpaired constitution, in all its branches and in all its provisions; it is because the name, the laws, the liberties, and the renown, of England are dear to our hearts, that we anxiously seek to promote a *real* reformation of abuses, being fully convinced, that, unless such a reformation do take place, and that right speedily, a sweeping destruction will ensue. We have been told, Gentlemen, by the present ministers, that they are, by the pecuniary distresses of the state, " *driven* to impose taxes which must " *affect the prosperity* of some branch or " other of our commerce;" we have, in defence of every new tax, heard them urge the argument of hard and cruel *necessity*; in every other breath we have heard them exclaim, " money *must be obtained!*" And, gentlemen, at the same time that we hear these arguments and exclamations, we see at the Board of Admiralty, a gentleman who has recently declared, in open parliament, that, in the department of the navy, a saving of one third might be made. Add to this what has actually come to light in the Barrack Department; and, I think, you will not find it difficult to believe me, when I say, that, after the fullest consideration that I have been able to bestow upon all the branches of the national expenditure, my sincere opinion is, that, in the current expenses of the year, leaving quite a sufficiency to support the splendour of the throne and fully to reward every service rendered to the state, *one half* of the present expense might be *saved*; and, Gentlemen, this object; this object, the effecting of which is, in my opinion, absolutely necessary to the preservation of the

monarchy, and even to that of our existence as an independant nation; this object in comparison with which all others in this world shrink into nothing, may be effected, and easily effected, by a few, and a very few, independent, honest, and zealous members of parliament; members of parliament, in short, like the honourable Gentleman, whose upright and useful endeavours have given rise to this letter, and for whose ability to serve us the thanks of the whole nation are due to the Electors of Honiton.

With an anxious hope, that you will pursue the good path, to walk in which you have begun, and that you will scorn to sell your birth-right for a mess of pottage to a venal slave who will take care to obtain a double mess in return,

I remain,

Gentlemen,

Your humble and obedient Servant,

WILLIAM COBBETT.

23*d May*, 1806.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

WAR WITH PRUSSIA.—*Order of Council for taking off the Embargo upon Vessels belonging to Hamburgh, &c.*

At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 14th of May, 1806, Present, the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.—His Majesty having taken into consideration the present state of Hamburgh and Oldenburgh, and the circumstances under which several vessels belonging to Bremen and Papenburgh, have arrived in the ports of the United Kingdom, is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that the embargo now subsisting upon all ships and vessels belonging to Hamburgh and Oldenburgh, be taken off: and it is hereby further ordered, that the embargo be also taken off those vessels belonging to the towns of Bremen and Papenburgh, which had cleared out for ports of the United Kingdom previous to the Prussian Notification, dated the twenty-eighth of March last, whereby British ships were excluded from the ports of the Prussian dominions, and from certain other ports in the north of Europe: and thrt the said ships and vessels, with their cargoes, not being Prussian or enemies' property, be permitted to sail to any port not blockaded: and the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiraly, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein, as may to them respectively appertain.

W. FAWKENER.

Order of Council granting General Reprisals against the Ships, &c. of the King of Prussia. At the Court at the Queen's Palace, the 14th of May, 1806. *Present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

Whereas during the interval which has elapsed since his Majesty found himself compelled, by the hostile measures of his Majesty the King of Prussia, to lay an embargo on the ships and goods belonging to his subjects, and to places under his controul, such hostile measures have not been discontinued: and whereas the town of Papenburgh cannot but be considered as dependent on, and under the absolute controul of Prussia; his Majesty therefore is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the King of Prussia, and of the town of Papenburgh, (save and except any ships to which his Majesty's licence has been granted, or which have been directed to be released from the embargo,) so that as well his Majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissionated by letters of marque or general reprisals, or otherwise, by his Majesty's commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the King of Prussia, or his subjects, or others inhabiting within the territories of the King of Prussia, or belonging to the town of Papenburgh, (except as aforesaid,) and bring the same to judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions; and to that end, his Majesty's Advocate General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this Board, authorising the commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral, or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant Letters of Marque and Reprisals to any of his Majesty's subjects, or others, whom the said Commissioners shall deem fully qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to Prussia, and the vessels and subjects of the King of Prussia, or any other inhabitants within his countries, territories, or dominions, or belonging to the town of Papenburgh, (except as aforesaid); and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said Commission as have been usual,

and are according to former precedents; and his Majesty's Advocate-General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draft of a Commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this Board, authorising the said Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral, to will and require the High Court of Admiralty of Great Britain, and the Lieutenant and Judge of the said Court, his Surrogate or Surrogates, as also the several Courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and proceed upon all and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are, or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same, and according to the Court of Admiralty, and the laws of nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels and goods as shall belong to Prussia, or the vassals and subjects of the King of Prussia, or to any other inhabitants within any of his countries, territories, and dominions, or as shall belong to the town of Papenburgh, (except as aforesaid;) and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare and lay before His Majesty at this Board, a draft of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the Courts of Admiralty in His Majesty's foreign governments and plantations, for their guidance herein; as also another draft of instructions for such ships as shall be commissioned for the purposes above-mentioned.

(Signed) SPENCER. C. J. FOX.
HOWICK. W. WINDHAM.
H. PETTY. NAT. BOND.
GRENVILLE.

SWEDEN.—*Circular Dispatch addressed to the Ministers of His Swedish Majesty at Foreign Courts.—Head Quarters at Griefswald, April* 22*d* 1806.

SIR,—The public papers will probably have already informed you of the march of different Prussian corps, destined, it is said, to take possession of the country of Lauenburg, which is at this moment under the protection of the troops of his Majesty. After the declaration which his Majesty made, on his departure from Ratzeburgh, that he would consider every attack on these troops as a hostile measure with regard to his own states, it is impossible to admit the distinction, as strange as it is unexpected, which the Court of Berlin endeavours at present to establish, in pretending that the Duchy of Lauenburg (as well as the rest of the Electorate of Hanover) is a French conquest ceded to Prussia by a formal treaty, and that the taking possession of that province ought not to be considered as an attack on the Swedish army.—If, in consequence of his engagements with the King of Great Britain, his Majesty wished to employ all his efforts for preserving to that sovereign a part at least of his hereditary possessions on the Continent, and that at a period when the projects of the Cabinet of Berlin were no longer doubtful, he has since found, in the intimacy of that Cabinet with Buonaparté, and above all, in the measures it has adopted against the English commerce, motives too powerful not to adhere invariably to that line of conduct which he had traced out to himself from the first. Accustomed for a long time to rank Prussia in the class of his enemies, by her alliance with a Government which is at war with Sweden and her allies, the King, setting out from this principle, only considers that which has taken place as a necessary consequence.—In wishing to deprive his Britannic Majesty of a State which belongs to him: by shutting to his flag the ports and rivers of the North of Germany: by solemnly declaring at the same time that all this had been done in consequence of an agreement with France; the King of Prussia gives already sufficient proofs of his hostile intentions towards the three allied Courts. If, after this, he attack the Sweedish forces in Lauenburg, the King can only interpret such conduct in one way. Wherever the Swedish forces are, they cannot be attacked without the King considering such attack as a declaration of war, and it is in this light that he will view it.—The Court of Prussia pretends, that it does not wish in any case to pass its proper frontiers; but, in the mean time, it comprehends under this denomination a part of the Electorate which is occupied by the corps under the Count de Lowenhielm, which will never retire from it, but when compelled by force of arms. If this Court wishes to colour its aggression by certain pretended rights on Lauenburg, and shall strike the first blow, in order afterwards to pretend that it was obliged to defend itself, it is not the less certain that every impartial man will appreciate without difficulty the force of such crooked reasoning, and will acknowledge the justice of that cause which the King, our master, has determined to support.—It is with sentiments of perfect consideration, that I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.—WETTERSTEDT.

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" ..... The fault is not in our stars,
" But in ourselves, that we are underlings."—SHAKESPEAR.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS. (Continued from page 705.) Since the article, here referred to, was published, the plan of the intended new Commission of Accounts has been detailed in the House of Commons (on the 21st instant), by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Henry Petty. The Commission, or rather, Commissioners, now to be instituted, are, it seems, to form several distinct Boards, each to have a Chairman, at a salary of 1,500l. a year, and several members, at a salary of 1,000l. a year each. But, a question, which every one must ask here is, what are to become of the Commissioners *already* established? What are to become of Mr. Batt and his laborious colleagues, who have, for so many and many long years, been comfortably living upon the auditing of the Public Accounts? Are they to be dismissed, or continued? Are they to be pensioned, like Robert Ward, for the remainder of their natural lives; or, are they still to be auditors in name, and their places to become sinecures to descend to their heirs or to others? Seriously, and upon my word, I should not wonder if this latter were to be the case; nor should I be at all astonished to find that their places were, in a year or two, granted in reversion down to the third generation.——Another question is, *whose fault* has it been, that there are now "*four hundred and fifty millions of the Public Money unaccounted for*," while that public has been paying to placemen and their clerks more than a million and a half a year? *Whose fault* has this been? Certainly not the virtuous minister, upon the ground of whose "*merits*," Lord Henry Petty and Mr. Fox, voted, but the other day, 40,000l. of the public money to pay his debts? Whose fault then? There must have been fault somewhere; and yet, not one word do we hear of *responsibility!* Not one word of it, even from that Mr. Fox, who, for the last twenty years, has let pass scarcely a week of any session of parliament without amusing us with the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. ——For my part, I have no confidence at all in Commissions of Accounts, call them by what name you will, whether auditors, comptrollers, or any other: we have enough of all these now; we have had of them all in a great abundance during the whole of the time that the frightful enormities, described by Lord Henry Petty, were taking place; and, until I was informed of what was to become of Messrs. DICK and BATT and Company, never would I, if I were a member of Parliament, give any assent to the appointing of new auditors, or new commissioners of any sort. Were this the *first* time that Commissioners of Accounts had been appointed to correct abuses; had the public never been amused with the device before; then it would be another thing; but, when they are told that such enormous abuses and neglects have existed and do exist; when they are told, that, while shoals of shark-like contractors and others have been robbing the public, and when they know to their cost that shoals, almost as numerous, of auditors, and comptrollers of accounts have been maintained, what ground is there whereon for them to hope, that the abuses will be corrected, and that their burdens will be lightened by the creating of another set of auditors and comptrollers? "Oh! but," says Lord Henry Petty, "*this* time care will be taken to "manage the matter better." So have the former ministers always said; every former set of Commissioners has been extolled to the skies for their skill, their accuracy, their diligence, their integrity, and, what they liked much better, they have been amply rewarded out of the public purse; after all this, out comes the fact, that, never in the world were the accounts of any nation in such a shameful state, never was there upon earth a nation so cheated and plundered; and, it is with these facts before us, that we are called upon to pay for new sets of Commissioners of Accounts, and, moreover, to believe, that they will do better than their predecessors! In every former instance, we have seen, that the creating of such Commissions arose from the threefold motive of obtaining a sort of indemnity for the past, of providing for the stupid and lazy relations of those who had the means of

supporting the minister of the day, and, of securing a stock of credit for good intentions, whereon to proceed the more safely in the reprobated practices:

"E'en in penance planning sins anew."

And, are we *now*; are we, at this day; after all that has come to light; after all the moral turpitude and the political apostacy that we have witnessed in the world; are we now to be blamed, because we hesitate to believe, that the adding of 50 or 100,000l. a year to our taxes, in salaries and pensions to commissioners, will do us good; will lighten our burdens? Are we to be blamed if we have our suspicions? Shall the Morning Chronicle reproach us with ignorance and obstinacy, because we wince and recoil? "Why don't you lie still, you *fool?*" said the butcher as he gave the struggling lamb a blow in the ribs with the handle of his knife.——Great offence has, by the print here mentioned, been taken at our having been afraid that the new commission was intended, in part, at least, to furnish the ministry with a pretence for putting a stop to all inquiries, in the House of Commons, relative to the expenditure of the public money. But, was there not, nay, *is* there not, good reason to fear this? Have we not seen, that, during the last 26 years, during the whole of the time that the 450 millions of unaccounted for money has been expended, this pretence has been so made use of? Have we not, in answer to every suspicion of unjust charges against the public; in answer to every such suspicion, expressed by a member of parliament, have we not heard the minister assert, his majority backing the assertion, that the Auditors of Accounts were upright and diligent and able men, and they so being, and all accounts coming necessarily before them, any inquiry in the House of Commons was unnecessary, and could only tend to "interrupt the *business* "*of the House*," just in the very words that the Morning Chronicle now says it? And, if all along heretofore, this has been the course pursued by the minister of the day; if this has been the course pursued all the time that 450 millions of the public money was expended without being accounted for, what reason, I should be glad to know, is there to suppose, that it is not intended to be pursued now; more especially when we take into view the conduct of the ministers, and of this Lord Henry Petty in particular, on Mr. Robson's motion for papers, on Friday, the 17th instant. Upon that occasion it was contended by the said Lord, that there being a commission appointed to inquire into every thing relative to the military expenditure, under which general head the Barrack-Department was, of course, included; that, the House having, in this respect, *delegated* its powers to the said commission, it was neither proper, consistent, nor decent for the House itself therein to interfere, until after the said commission had thereon made their report. This was the argument of Lord Henry Petty, which argument was repeated by Mr. Hiley Addington, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Sturges, and OLD GEORGE ROSE, and, upon the grounds of which argument Mr. Robson's motions were actually rejected. What reason, then, let me ask, was there for supposing, that the same argument would not be urged, and with redoubled force, when the new sets of commissions should come fresh from the hands of their political creators? This pretence for stifling inquiry in the House, which inquiry, I beg leave to repeat, is *public*, while all other sorts of inquiry are *private*, was, in fact, what I most dreaded, and what I still most dread, as the consequence of the intended Commission, for, if the minister of finance could make use of this pretence, when a system was existing, under which he knew that there were 450 millions unaccounted for, is it possible to believe that he will not do the same, not to say more, when his system of *purity* is established?——We are asked, if we mean that the House of Commons ought to be the *Auditors* of the Public Accounts? We care nothing about names; but, we mean, and we repeat, that the House of Commons, or any individual member thereof, has a right, and it is their duty, not only to inquire into, expose, and cause to be punished, if possible, all *abuses* in the public expenditure that may come to their knowledge, but also to *inform themselves how* the public money *has been* expended; and that, if this doctrine be not sound, the members of the House of Commons serve as a mere mask to a government that spends the public money just as it pleases. Sir John Newport, the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, and who is a banker besides, said, that, "if "every individual member might move for "whatever papers he pleased, without as- "signing any reason, the House could ne- "ver get through *their business*." Now, observe, Mr. Robson had assigned a reason, to wit, that, the papers would show that the barns in question were paid for at double the rate that they ought to have been paid for; but, suppose there had been no reason assigned other than that of wishing to know at *what rate* the barns had been

paid for. Would not this reason have been sufficient? And, if it would not, is it not a mockery too gross to be borne to hold up the House of Commons as a *check* upon the public expenditure? "The *business* of the "House!" Why, is not *this* their business? Are they assembled merely to say *aye* to the tax-bills? Aye, Aye, Aye, to the laying on of 10 per centum upon all income, and property in the funds, except *that of His Majesty?* Is this "their busi- "ness?" This was not, formerly, described as the business of the House of Commons, and, I trust, it will not now be so considered. It may be said, that they have other business, such as the forming of a military system; to which I answer, that all the business they have with this, is, to refuse, or grant, the *money* necessary to support the army; in the making of such refusal or grant, they may properly debate upon the nature of the force; but, at last, their rightful power consists entirely in the refusing, or the granting, of the money; that, whatever SIR JOHN NEWPORT may think of it, is the *business* of the House of Commons.——But, what has excited the most suspicion in my mind, with respect to the measure of the intended Commission, or Commissions, is, that it is, as it would seem, to have no *retrospective* effect; or, at least, that, acting upon the new doctrine of MR. FOX, there is to be no punishment for *past* offences in the wasting of the public money; and that, as the "*merits*" have been proclaimed, the *debts paid*, and the *monument* is raising (at the *public expense*) of the minister, under whom all the wicked waste took place, it is to be considered as inconsistent and useless severity to pursue and to punish the underlings. That this is the intention appears but too plainly; and of the defence of it, by anticipation made in the Morning Chronicle of the 27th instant, the reader shall here see a specimen. "To those "who view mankind as they are, rather "than as they ought to be, it can cause no "surprize that the expenditure of this "country has been prodigal; that, from "time to time, when the fit of inquiry "came on, either by a periodical fever of "patriotism in the House of Commons, or "discontent in the people, very gross and "scandalous instances of fraud and peculation have been discovered. The temptations have been *too great for the lubricity "of human virtue to withstand;* particularly in a state of society where the mere "possession of wealth is distinction. Indeed, while the facilities of abuse were "great, the dangers of detection small or "distant, and the temptations strong, *we "doubt very much whether rigour of punishment be just.* There seems much "reason in the decision of the honest Justice, who

> "Sent the thief, that stole the cash, away,
> "And punish'd him who put it in his way."

"The persons guilty of these offences are "*not* naturally *more dishonest than others*, "but they yield to temptations by which "those who *rail* at them were never as- "sailed."——Need I remind the indignant reader, that it was this very Morning Chronicle that took the lead in pursuing Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter? Need I remind him of its rage, when any mitigation of punishment was, in that case, suggested? And, need I remind him, that *then*, as well as *now*, it spoke the language of Mr. Fox and his associates? But, what principles of morality, what notions of justice have we here! These public robbers, we are told, are not to be considered as more dishonest than other men, but as having been assailed by greater temptations: in other words, that *all* men would be rogues if they had the opportunity! The *tempter*, that is to say, the *confiding* party, is, we are here told, the proper object of punishment; and, as Mr. PITT's debts have been paid by the public, as a monument is raising to his memory at the expense of that same public, we must, of course, mount still higher for an object of punishment, which object can, then, be no other than the *nation itself*; and thus, after having been deceived, robbed, and reduced to beggary, we are to be insulted with the assertion, that, for the crimes committed against us, we ourselves ought, if the wish of Caligula could be realized here, to suffer in the flesh and expire upon a gallows; and this, too, observe, we are told, in a country where the laws doom to death the wretch, who, though he may be driven by hunger, steals a sheep from the fold, or a peck of flour from a mill! ——Is it in my own country; is it in England, whose laws and whose character for honour and for justice have so often been the theme of my praise, and so long been the pride of my heart? Is it in this land, heretofore so renowned for public virtue and for the impartial operation of its righteous laws, that I hear principles like these openly declared; and, as if the cup of mortification were to be filled beyond the possibility of thereinto pouring an additional drop, am I, Mr. SPANKEY, to hear them from *you?* From you, whose talents I have so much admired; for whom I have so often

and so sincerely expressed my friendship and esteem; and whom I have so confidently hoped to see taking that place in life to which you are entitled by your superiority of mind? I would fain hope, that *you* are not the writer of the paper I have quoted; and, if it be not too late, I would earnestly exhort you to reflect, that you will dishonour the giver of your talents as well as yourself by becoming an *underling*, and especially of those, whom, at the bottom of your heart, you must hold in contempt; to reflect, that your country, which has always a claim upon the talents of all her children, has, at this crisis of her fate, a claim peculiarly strong, and that she calls upon you to come out from amongst the contenders for pelf, and to be the advocate of truth and of justice; to reflect, that, if this were to be, "the be all and the end all," to truckle to the rivals for pageantry, to the brainless beings that swarm and bask in the regions of power, would, in you, be detestably base; but further, and above all things, to reflect, that the hour must come, when yourself, as well as others in their turn, will make a comparison between SHERIDAN with his two thousand pound feast and ANDREW MARVEL with his mutton bone; and, with the certainty in your mind that this hour will and must come, need I, if your breast contain one particle of the love of true fame, exhort you to shun the path of the underling, though illumined with smiles and scattered with gold!

NELSON GRANT, (Continued from page 722). This enormous grant has before been spoken of at the page referred to, where will be found MR. FRANCIS's excellent speech upon the subject, and, in the sentiments of which speech, I will venture to say, that Mr. Francis is joined by every considerate man in the kingdom. The proceedings of the House of Commons upon Queen Anne's message, relative to the pension of the Duke of Marlborough, in 1702, was before referred to; but it may not be amiss here to give an account of that proceeding a little more in detail.——By the Journals of the House of Commons, and by the Parliamentary Debates, it appears, that, on the 10th of December, 1702, a message was brought to the house by Mr. Secretary HEDGES, signed by the Queen herself, *viz.* "ANN R. The Earl of Marlborough's services to Her Majesty and to the public, "have been so eminent, &c." That she has granted him a pension of 5000l. per annum on the revenue of the post office, which she hopes the House will find means to continue to him, as long as the title should be in his family. The reporter says, "that "the Commons, after the reading of the "message, seemed for some time to be in "amaze, and kept so long silent that the "Speaker stood up and looked round to see "if any body would speak to it, &c." On the 21st of December, (eleven days after, observe) they resolved on their address, which was as follows: "It is to their inexpressible "grief, that Your Majesty's faithful Com- "mons find any instances, where they are "unable to comply with what Your Ma- "jesty proposes to them; but they beg "leave humbly to lay before Your Ma- "jesty the apprehensions they have of ma- "king a precedent for the future aliena- "tions of the revenue of the crown, which "has been so much reduced by the *exor- "bitant grants* of the last reign, &c."—— And, here, the question for us to put to ourselves, is; do we hope ever to see the House of Commons again reject a grant, that shall be proposed from the Crown? Have we ever heard, not only of such a thing, but of any one that seriously thought of such a thing, in our days?——As to the grant itself, if Lord Nelson had lived, or if he had had a lineal descendant; the case would have been different; but, that the grant is now, especially when we consider the pecuniary situation of the country, great, and lavish, beyond all bounds, no man can deny; and, unless as a sort of *precedent* for other grants, which have been, and which may be, made, it is, I think, quite impossible to assign any rational ground for it. A public funeral, a noble and durable monument, a first rate ship of war bearing the name of Nelson, and an ample income for *Lady* Nelson, together with some provision for all Lord Nelson's near relations, would have been quite enough; and, I am decidedly of opinion, that the monument should have been at BURNHAM THORP, and not in the metropolis, which having drained the country of its blood, seems resolved to have its honours too. It is contrary to every wise and just and noble principle thus to rob the birth-places of the brave and the renowned; and the exhibition of Lord Nelson's remains, in the metropolis, to spectators at a shilling a head, was characteristic enough of the vulgarity of idea which seems to have every where prevailed with regard to the whole of the transaction, the funeral ceremony excepted.

INCOME TAX. (Continued from p. 719). —The bill for imposing this tax, has, at last, passed the House of Commons and that, too, with an *exemption* to *foreigners* who may have money in the funds. Upon the

injustice of this exemption some remarks were offered in the page last referred to. Mr. Francis made a last stand upon the passing of the bill, against this exemption, and was met by Mr. Fox, with a repetition of the weak quibbling arguments before noticed and before overset. But, what I wish, upon the present occasion, to draw the attention of my readers to, is expressed in the following words, as taken from the report of the debate, in the Morning Post news-paper of the 29th instant. "On the motion of "Mr. Vansittart, amendments were made "to exempt stock or dividends, *the property* "*of his Majesty*, in whatever name they "may stand."——Observe, this was first moved upon the passing of the bill! How came it not to be thought of before? Did the ministers forget it? Had they stood in need of a flapper? But, the time and manner are nothing compared to the thing itself. What! the king has really money in the funds, then! His Majesty is really one of the creditors of his subjects! Well, but, if this be so (and I find it so stated in all the news-papers), I, for my part should like to know, *why* his stock is to be exempted from the tax; and, if there is not a man in the nation to join me, I will publickly ask the question. Upon what *principle*, whether of a "want of being *represented* "*in parliament*," or other, this exemption was proposed, and, without hesitation adopted, we are not informed, and, therefore, we cannot ascertain, whether it was as Elector of Hanover or as a private person, that the exemption was made in favour of his Majesty's property. If, however, as Elector of Hanover, I beg leave to observe, that we are now at war with Prussia for the restoration of that electorate, and Mr. Fox has declared, that nothing in his life ever gave him so much pleasure, as the being authorized by His Majesty to declare, that he would make no peace that should not include that restoration; and, that, therefore, I cannot see, even upon Mr. Fox's principle, any reason for the exempting of such property from the tax, seeing that the two countries are now so indissolubly united in their fate. If it be *private* property, which his Majesty has in the funds, while, in common with my readers, I must feel great pleasure, that his Majesty has been able to save money, I must, at the same time, confess, that the proposition for exempting that property from its fair proportion of a tax, which is to reach even those of his subjects who have an income of only *fifty* pounds a year, has astonished me more than any thing I ever before heard of in my life; insomuch, that I could not believe the fact, until I had, by examination, ascertained, that it was stated in all the newspaper reports of the date before mentioned. What! at a time when it is thought necessary to tax the income of every subject down so low as, agreeably to the expression of Mr. Fox, only just to "stop "short of those who receive bread from the "parish;" at a time when the case of the widow and the orphan annuitant is such as is, though not elegantly, yet most powerfully described in a letter in a subsequent page, addressed to Lord Henry Petty, and which came to me, an utter stranger to her, from the hands of the distressed writer herself; at such a time; at a time when remonstrances like this are wrung from the hearts of the people; at such a time..... but, I will say no more at present. I will pause, in the hope, that all these reporters have mistaken the purport of the motion; or, if not so, that the motion will, finally, be rendered of no effect.

India Affairs, (continued from pages 171, 197, 303, 368, 460, 530, 545, 609, 641, and 724). On Wednesday, the 28th instant, Mr. Paull produced, in the House of Commons, his Second Charge against Marquis Wellesley, in which the Marquis is accused of high crimes and misdemeanours, committed in his transactions with respect to the Nabob Vizier of Oude, and which, having been previously read at the table, was, upon the motion of Mr. Paull, ordered to be printed. The motions of Mr. Paull were, upon this occasion, seconded by Lord Archibald Hamilton. As the charge itself will now very soon be before the public, the only remark that I shall make upon the subject at present, is, that if the charge be what it is represented to be in the report of the newspapers, and if it be well-founded, and if the crimes alledged go unpunished, or if the East India Company be suffered to retain the territory seized upon in Oude, the nations of Europe and the people of the whole world, as far as the British name shall reach, will, without the assistance of Mr. Whitshed Keene, know very well how to estimate British professions, relative to the invading, over-running, laying waste, or seizing upon Electorates and other territories upon the Continent —— Mr. Fox's speech as well as that of Mr. Francis were expressive of a determination to do justice.

Brewing Tax.——At present I have not time to enter into detail upon this subject; but, I cannot for one moment delay to express my earnest hope, that the ministers will not persist in a measure, which, besides

the oppression of it, besides the terrible principle of introducing excisemen into private houses, those houses which, in the books of our laws, are called the *castles* of Englishmen; besides this pecuniary evil and this mark of slavery, who can bear the idea of driving to the public house, absolutely driving to the public house to quench his thirst, every man who has more than five windows in his house? In London, where there is a choice of brewers, and where the middle class of people can send for their porter to a variety of places within a minute's walk; here the case is different; and, here no one brews his own beer; but, to prevent private brewing in the country (and to tax it is to prevent it) is to destroy all the remains of English hospitality; is to sow the seed of immorality with an unsparing hand; is to break up house-keeping; and it is to go a step farther than any one has ever yet dared to go in annihilating the domestic liberties of Englishmen. It is an odious and a terrible measure; and, therefore, I do hope, and trust, that it will be instantly abandoned.

☞ During the present week several articles, upon the subject of the intended new *Commission*, have appeared in the COURIER newspaper. They are written with great ability, and are worthy of general attention.

ERRORS in the last Number of the Register.——In page 771, for 30,000 Hanoverians, read 13,000. In page 772, for *five* men read *seven* men.

INCOME TAX.

To the Right Hon. Lord Henry Petty.

MY LORD;——I take the liberty with the most profound respect, to address your lordship and colleagues, and trust it will not be deemed arrogant or presumptuous, although from the pen of a woman, who has no eloquence to plead in her favour, but the dictates of nature, the voice of reason, and the calls of humanity, which I trust and hope will have some weight. Notwithstanding your lordship is a young man just coming into life, in possession of a large fortune, high in his Majesty's administration, a large emolument of course attached to it; yet I cannot for an instant suppose it possible, amidst all the pomp and power of wealth, that your lordship can be so totally divested of feeling and principle, those divine attributes that illume and adorn the mind, and dignify the soul, worthy the godlike image you bear; you surely, my lord, cannot have given this Income Tax one moment's thought; when I read it in the paper I stood agast, my soul shrunk with horror, for of all the taxations that ever was proposed by man for cruelty and injustice, this spurns at comparison: you stab the very vitals of that part of the community whom the laws human and divine bind you to protect; the orphan, the widow, the unprotected spinster, thousands I dare say besides myself, whose income is so penurious as barely to admit existence. Give me leave then to ask you, my Lord, is it consonant with justice to tax the mite with the voluptuous, to leave no alternative but black despair, no recourse but a mad-house; "to dig I cannot, to beg I am ashamed:" humanity must shudder. Forbid it heaven! forbid it every feeling and principle that is humane! I cannot help remarking, my Lord, how little do the rich and great feel. Surely their hearts must be made of adamant, who with all the arrogance of wealth and power, hesitate not to wring from the wretched the last thread of life, with no other feeling than, to use Mr. Fox's words, they "must have the money, the war must be supported." Granted; but will you prey upon the vitals of that part of the community which scarcely exists, that has not the common necessaries, and yet must endeavour to keep up appearances? For shame, my lord; tax the luxuries: there you may retrench, and indeed in comforts: but, will you starve some thousands of your fellow creatures upon the earth? Nature recoils; tax those that sport three or four carriages in a day, tax your public places, there is no necessity for your going there if you cannot afford it; tax the Opera House, whose dancers and singers have from two to three thousand a year, to the shame and folly of the nobility be it spoken.—Then those are the people to tax that have two or three footmen behind their carriages, those are the people that have most at stake, and ought to come forward; no, our iron hand shall press the poor wretch to the earth. No, my lord, their sufferings and feelings will most assuredly be heard if not by you; there is that Allseeing Omnipotent God, that will protect the oppressed, and you can never expect a blessing on so unjust an act. Forbear then, my lord, to oppress the orphan, the widow, and the unprotected. It will contaminate you, and you will sink beneath its *weight*. I could fill a volume with its oppression, but I shall at present forbear, and most humbly intreat, nay, conjure your lordship and colleagues, to take it into consideration; for the person that has but 50*l.* a year to pay a tax equal with those of 30,000*l.* it

is the most preposterous, unjust thing that ever was thought upon, by any tyrant since civil society has been established. I cannot conclude, till I again warn your lordship from such unjust proceedings. It is perfectly assassinating the most virtuous part of his Majesty's subjects, which will most assuredly bring down the wrath of that Omnipotent God, without whose blessing all human aid is vain.——I remain my lord, with the most profound respect, your lordship's obedient servant. —— From An Oppressed Woman.

Property Tax and Freedom of Trade.

To the Rt. Hon. Charles James Fox.

Sir;——Having since 1784 uniformly considered your political theories as beyond every degree of comparison superior to Mr. Pitt's political practice; believing also, that nothing is required to carry these theories into practice but honesty and resolution, and being an elector of Westminster, I cannot, to avoid the imputation of having supported impracticable theories for 22 years, feel otherways than deeply interested, both as a man and an elector, in every instance in which your practice and professions as a minister, proves the practicability or impracticability of the theories which I have supported; and which, in my humble opinion, conferred upon you the most enviable title which the breath of man can create, "*the "Man of the People.*" In the Morning Chronicle of the 16th instant, the conductors of which had uniformly opposed the visions of Mr. Pitt, till you were cajoled and condemned to follow them; you are reported to say, "that there was a general principle on which the Property Tax Bill was founded; namely, that *all* should be bound to contribute towards the exigencies of the state, in proportion to their means of subsistence. But there was another and a very different principle in the exceptions to the general rule, which is, that care shall be taken, as far as possible," mark the promise, "that no man be driven to the necessity of seeking parochial or accidental relief in consequence of the enactments of the bill." Sir, of all the puzzles with which a puzzling minister ever attempted to puzzle a puzzled world, the principle of your exception, as intended to prevent the necessity of applying for parochial or accidental relief, appears to me the greatest. Can any principle go farther than that of the general rule to prevent such necessity? If no man be driven to contribute more than in proportion to his means of subsistence, is it not naturally impossible that any man, before another, can be driven to seek such relief? If it be, Sir, and giving you credit for knowledge of your subject, can the principle of your exception be intended for any other purpose than that of driving some parties to contribute more than in proportion to their means of subsistence, and by necessary conclusion to drive such parties to the necessity of seeking parochial or accidental relief, sooner than they would be driven by the unimproveable equity of the general rule? In plain English, Sir, you are made to say to the puzzled public, and to the still more puzzled electors of Westminster, "Gentlemen, I have laid down a "general rule, by the principle of which I "am certain none of you shall be driven "before another to seek parochial or acci-"dental relief, but I have introduced an ex-"ception to it, by the principle of which "some of you must be driven to seek such "relief before the rest. You will, how-"ever, give me credit for sincerity, when I "declare that I shall take every possible "care, by means of the excepting principle, "which naturally drives some of you before "the other to seek such relief, that none of "you shall be driven to seek parochial or "accidental relief before another!!!" Refer again, Sir, to my text, and see if more or less can be made of it than I have made of it in this puzzle, which is enough to puzzle the most puzzling lawyer in the world. But, Sir, had Mr. Pitt dealt with us in this clear obscure manner, in the very act of trying whether the last feather, the property tax, would "break the horses' backs" or no, I will not say what you would have done as an *independant* whig, but I will venture to assert, that Messrs. Perry and Spankey, as proprietors and conductors of the Morning Chronicle, would have so laboured him in the mire of ridicule, that even that transcendent financier Old Rose himself, could no more know his brother puzzler when these gentlemen permitted him to rise and shake himself, than he will admit that, when his leases are out, he adds the taxes which he pays for his servants and carriages, to the annual value of the immense tract of ground of which the *distress* of its proprietors, and his own *honest* earning from the public gave him the command: and so not only escape all taxes whatever, but also add to the unwieldy bulk of his fortune, from the spoil of that part of the consumers who cannot throw upon the shoulders of others the contributions which they are called upon to pay. The exceptions, however, which are thus made in favour of Mr. Rose, are no other, Sir, than the general advantages of *free trade*, of the "*right of every man to do as he*

pleases with his own property." But, as this right, or, the freedom of trade, renders it a thing naturally impossible that "any power on earth can apply the equitable" principle on which the bill is founded, to the Roses, or any other men of property, so far as to bind them to contribute even a shilling towards the exigencies of the state; and, as it is next to impossible, that the "broad bottomed administration, the united wisdom "and talents of the country," could have the assurance to shove themselves into office ignorant of the fact, what object, Sir, could you promise to yourself from the introduction of the less equitable principle of your exceptions, if it be not a puzzle, if it be not a determination to support to the last extremity, that profound and general ignorance of finance, and of the bearings of free trade, on the general state of the community, which brought Mr. Pitt into office, and kept him there for above 20 years; and which, in a little more than a century created more Work-houses than Mansions, greatly increased as the Mansions since are? Do you Sir, in spite of the example which you have in Mr. Rose's case, and of the evidences which even Mr. Rose himself, *able as he is to direct Lord Henry Petty as to the choice of subjects of taxation*, derives from the advance which has taken place in the price of corn, tea, and tobacco, since the property tax was agitated in parliament, think that Mr. Rose or any other man of property, means to contribute a farthing towards the exigencies of the state, of the tax upon servants, carriages, and beer, or any other tax which they may recommend or support? If you do, Sir, you will have the candour to leave out the *clear obscure* in argument, and openly put the negative upon the following questions to which I feel myself entitled to give the answer I do; not only from my attention to the delusive and unequitable bearings of free trade, but also from my knowledge of the growing wealth of such men as the Roses, the Grenvilles, and the Jenkinsons, under the accumulating pressure of taxes, while they appear to Sir Thomas Metcalf and other financial luminaries of the commercial world, to sacrifice, of all others, the most "towards the exigencies of the state, and in defence of the *stake* which they have to preserve." I declare it, Sir, as my positive conviction, and I do so with all the sincerity of which the human mind is capable, that the Bank of England is the great governing engine with which the freedom of trade will defeat the principle on which the property bill is founded, and exempt from the payment of any tax whatever, the class to which Sir Thomas Metcalf belongs, however great the sum may be, which they pay in the first instance towards the exigencies of the state. I therefore, ask you, Sir, can any power upon earth apply "the principle upon which the bill is founded," to the corporation of that supreme arbitrator of our lives and fortunes, in every possible way in which the abundance or scantiness of money can render us happy or miserable?—No, Sir, with the appearance of every thing that is plausible, liberal, and patriotic on their side, they take the advantage which the pressure of the tax upon the merchants offers, and discount bills for them to an amount, the interest of which will far exceed their proportion of the tax, perhaps, before they pay a shilling towards it. Sir, can you deny this charge, and account in any other way for the millions which they have added to their capital, and the hundreds of thousands of pounds which they have otherways divided among themselves, while the pressure of taxes were multiplying the number of paupers in a given proportion to itself? If you cannot, Sir, my readers must consider my evidence as conclusive, that the proprietors of the Bank, any more than the Roses, and the Grenvilles, &c. will not contribute a shilling towards the exigencies of the state.—Well then, Sir, can you apply the principle of the bill to the Merchants? For as government have instituted a bank for their accommodation, and as the accommodations which the bank gives them, are no less liberal than *disinterested*, though far short of what their speculative stomachs crave, and would digest if they could get it; one would think, that their practice would not be an inch behind their professions in contributing towards the exigencies of the state. But, no, Sir; their principle as individuals is, and can any other influence them collectively? "every man for himself." Consequently, their endeavours individually as well as collectively, are exerted to the highest possible pitch, to add the discount paid by them to the bank, to the taxes laid upon them by government, and both to the price of the articles in which they deal; in the very same manner in which Mr. Rose adds his *liberally granted* imposts to the rent of his farms; and as the farmer adds the addition to the price of his grain, and so on, till consumers are found, who *cannot* take the benefits of *free trade*, and shift the burden from themselves on the shoulders of some other party. Sir, can you deny this shifting practice of the merchants to be the fact, and assign their immense command of the national wealth, nay, their *usurpation of*

the national government to any other definable cause? Or, will you venture to assert, that in their progress to this wealth and power, they have contributed a shilling, and much less in proportion to their means of subsistence, towards the exigencies of the state? If you will not, I shall consider the fact as established; namely, that our merchants and bankers will not only evade the property tax, but add millions sterling to their wealth from the pressure of that tax on those who cannot take the advantages which the general freedom of trade offers, and shift the tax from themselves on the shoulders of some other party. But, here, Sir, by getting rid of the jargon of college taught financiers, and following the practice of merchants and bankers in its natural course, while they have "a right to do as they please with their own property," we have come at "a secret worth knowing" even to merchants themselves. With respect to the principle of evading the payment of all taxes every man is a merchant or banker who is not a limited annuitant, a labourer, a clerk, or a person who had saved something, or had something left him on which to live independent of labour. This description of persons cannot take benefits of *free trade*, and shift any burden from themselves upon some other party. Consequently they are under the absolute necessity, not only of deducting from the sum which they were in the habit of laying out with the merchants annually, the per centage which you mean to take annually from their incomes, but also of paying from the remaining cents, the percentage which the merchants lay upon their goods, not only to cover the taxes, but to make their fortune in the bargain. The limited annuitants, even were they exempted from all direct taxes, cannot withstand the progressive pressure of the percentage which the merchants thus progressively lay on their goods, to cover the progressive increase of taxes; consequently, they drop into the work-house and become paupers as taxes increase. And as the merchants lose the difference between their incomes, or, if you please, *earnings* in that asylum of wretchedness, and what it had been in the field, workshop, counting-house, and in a state of independance of either, they themselves follow these victims of *free trade*, into the same grave of moral and political justice. And so on, limited annuitants falling first, and merchants tumbling after them, till the "*freedom of trade*" transfers the property of both to the bankers, *who are the only gainers in the case*, and reduces both to that state of wretchedness, which naturally exempts itself from the percentage of all parties. To complete this transfer bankers have nothing to do but to be *true to themselves*, to exchange one another's paper, and discount that of the merchants. The command which this accommodating and accumulating practice, has already given them of the national wealth, leaves them little or nothing to do to possess themselves of the whole. For the power of their accommodating fund is similar in all its circumstances to that of your sinking fund, except in this particular; namely, that there is nothing to impede, but every thing to accelerate the motion of the first, while the liquidating power of the latter is destroyed by the necessity which it creates on the part of government, of borrowing annually to its own amount, to repay as much of the public expense, as it would itself repay, were it not visionarily and expensively applied to the discharge of the national debt. And as to the wretchedness of the state to which the accommodating fund will reduce the merchants, as well as the limited annuitants, and judging from the number of paupers with which it has already incommoded the nation, no doubt can remain as to the addition which it will make to the number of paupers, while it continues an engine of destruction in the hands of *free trade*. To convince you then, Sir, or rather, I hope, those who cajole you out of your consistency, that you cannot be "the man of the people" and support this engine;—even the merchants themselves, that the accommodations which they receive from it, or you either, as the basis of your warlike power and military plans, are but "Will o' the Wisps which lead you to your doom," I think it is only necessary to state the difference between the number of paupers which is now a burden to the nation, and that which it had to carry in the 16th century, when the *Whigs established the engine, let loose the passions, and united the hands of free trade*. At "the ever memorable and *glorious* revolution of 1688," six years before the bank was established, the poors rate in England and Wales, including the county assessments, which go to defray county expense, as distinct from the charges of the poor, amounted only to £665,362. (Vide Sir F. M. Eden on the State of the Poor.) Dividing this sum, even including the county rates, by the wretched pittance of four pence per day, for each pauper, gives their number, at only 139,977 or 1-8th of the population. Fourpence was then about the price of a quartern loaf of bread. And can we possibly think, that all the charges of this wretched character to the nation in house-room, food, raiment,

&c. can amount to less than the value of this much bread? And if we take his charges at more, the number of paupers must be proportionably smaller. At the ever memorable period at which you, Sir, stepped into the "bed of roses," the number of paupers in the same divisions of the United Kingdoms, is given, by parliament, at no less than 1,200,000 which is more than 1-9th of the population of these divisions; and allowing but a shilling per day each, which is less than the price of a quartern loaf, their charges to the public is no less than £21,600,000 sterling, if *bank notes* be sterling money. Parliament, however, does not give the poors rate even at £6,000,000 that is, at 3d per day, that is, perhaps, at more than the common charge per day of a fox hound or a pointer dog. And so much the better, since the broad bottomed wisdom, virtue, and talents of the country, had not the courage and sagacity, as their first performance in office, to unmask the broader seated injustice of Free Trade, in all its bearings on the state of the nation. For, as this fund of paupers added to that of the mercenary soldiers which the Whigs mean to create for the defence of bankers, and both to the fund of expensive commissioners which they are establishing to free the House of Commons from the trouble of investigating the public accounts, inherit every property of the sinking fund, and reduce all but the bankers to the wretched allowance of less than 3d½ per day, with the same degree of certainty and progressive power with which that fund would sink the national debt, were not an accumulating burden to impede its progress; the merchants, or all who are not strictly limited annuitants, as well as those who are, will either feel and see the evil of free trade as it overwhelms them, and call for its remedy; or they will sink under its pressure with that manly fortitude and resignation, which would dignify, even at the foot of the gibbet, the exit of "*Forty Thieves.*" Long, Sir, as these observations are, such is my sense of the importance which attaches itself to what may be farther said upon the subject, that I have no power to quit it without making some direct remarks on the *glories* of the revolution of 1688. This *whig measure*, Sir, had the best of theories for its basis; but, alas, they mistook the means of carrying them into practice; and an increase of 1,100,000 paupers is the indisputable effect. Unless it be shewn clearly, but *disgracefully and barbarously*, that each pauper does not cost the public the value of a quartern loaf per day. It appears to me, Sir, that the particular glories of this revolution consists in its having established the *bill of rights*, on the ruins of the restrictive laws of Henry VIII. and of Queen Elizabeth. In doing this, it apparently diminished the right of doing wrong in the hands of government, and really increased it in the more liable to do wrong hands of bankers and merchants; of men who have no knowledge of finance beyond the skin deep surface of pounds, shillings, and pence; of men whose avowed leading principle of action is, the detestable and anti-patriotic rule of "*every man for himself, and*" the devil, not "*God for us all.*" The 25 of Henry VIII. prevented the consolidation of farms, and the conversion of them into pasture for sheep, under the *then* great penalty of 3s. 4d. per week. And in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a stop was not only put to buildings in and about London, but the number of lodgers to be admitted into any house, was positively regulated by law, so sensible were the legislators of those times of the tendency which the farm consolidating system, and the unlimited extension of cities and towns had to create paupers, as well as thieves, robbers, and vagabonds. Yet more than a century's knowledge of the increase of these characters, has not convinced the whigs of their error; I had almost said of their inability to legislate. For, let us but cast our eye around the face of the country, and we see nothing but large farms and gentlemen farmers. And judging from the buildings which have been erected, and which are rapidly going on in and about London, and in and about every city and town in the United Kingdoms, the inference is, that agriculture is to be deserted altogether; that all the gentlemen farmers, with their labourers, mean to become gentlemen, and labouring merchants and mechanics, as soon as the buildings are finished to receive them!!! Whigs and Tories, both notorious bad politicians, if you can see your error *even now*, you have seen it by far too late. For your power and energy, your military plans, and plans of reform in the different departments of government, which are all excellent *merely as such*, can never reach the evils of free trade, as they deal destruction around them by means of paper currency, and repair the injury which their parent, your *bill of rights* has done to the happiness of the people, and the character of your country, as cruel and *unjust to herself, proud and overbearing towards others.*——C. S.—*May* 22, 1806.

FATE OF THE FUNDS.

SIR,—After what has appeared at different

times in your valuable Register, respecting the state of our public finances, and the distressful prospect before us, that our burthens, grievous as they are, must inevitably, upon the system now pursuing, be still increased; and that, with such magnitude and rapidity, as soon to be beyond our ability to support; it was natural to expect, that you would have proceeded to devise some mode, which might reach the exigency of the case, and rescue us from a situation so perilous and alarming. But notwithstanding the anxiety which must have been so generally felt, nothing as I know of, has yet been suggested for relief. Can there however, I would ask, amongst all the various subjects which at this eventful crisis, present themselves for public observation, be one, more generally important, and more worthy of the serious and attentive consideration of every enlightened individual in the kingdom, than the subject now before us? Why, then, Mr. Cobbett, have you dropt it; and contented yourself with having only just shewn us the gulph that threatens to swallow us up, without pointing out the course to avoid it?—As I think it right to impute to every one, the best possible motives, where motives are not avowed; I will suppose that your silence here, and that the conduct of the present ministry, in proceeding, as they now are, to raise supplies upon the very plans which many of their leading members have so long, and so uniformly, deprecated, as pregnant with ruin; is only with a view to bring us to acquiesce more readily, with some remedy intended to be applied to the evil, and calculated effectually to remove it; from having previously made us feel still more, and with such an unsparing hand, the necessity of such a remedy. If it be so, the expedient cannot fail of success: we shall now both see, and feel, enough to convince every thinking unbiassed mind, that such a necessity really does exist; and it cannot be the intention of government, to continue our sufferings, till all the sinking fund dotards, and other visionaries, are convinced so too; and, what perhaps may be still more difficult, are brought to own it. Seriously, I do hope and trust, that his Majesty's present ministers are actuated by some such motive as I have above supposed; as I cannot bring myself to think, that they would wish to sacrifice the public good, either to the shameful profligacy of keeping on foot a corrupt and infamous patronage, or to the culpable weakness of seeking to put off the disclosure of the public circumstances, from an apprehension of the effects it may produce. They are too enlightened not to perceive, and, I hope, too honest not to own, that the former cannot stand in much longer stead; and that any further delay, will but ultimately increase the evil.—There are but few articles now exempt from taxation in one shape or other; it is therefore difficult to conceive a new tax: and each one, must be still more and more vexatious and oppressive in its operation: and, in proportion as the burthen increases, individuals will be forced to make retrenchments. Every additional impost therefore, will in a considerable degree defeat its own purpose: and how are the deficiencies to be made up, unless by having recourse again and again to Income? And where is it to stop?—Great, and well founded, as our reliance upon the honour, integrity, and wisdom, of our present rulers may be; and urgently as the distresses of the nation call upon them promptly to unite their utmost energies to ease us of a burthen so galling and oppressive; it is nevertheless the duty of every individual to assist, if he can, in the common cause: and let no one hastily conclude, that the case is too difficult, because the evil is vast and extensive. I trust, on due consideration, it will appear, that there is no very formidable difficulty to encounter, and that a remedy may be found, which will be both easy and effectual.—To extinguish the Public Debt at once, would be most unjust, and what the existing circumstances, grievous as they are, do by no means require. Some middle course, I apprehend, may be adopted, with which both the public creditor, and the community at large, may have reason to be satisfied.—When an individual becomes insolvent, and his situation is known, would his creditors advise, that he should continue his dealings; and would they consent that their several claims should be consolidated into a fund; to remain at interest, and take his notes for the interest? Would it not occur to them, that his embarrassments must eventually be increased, and consequently his means of liquidating their demands, be lessened, by the additional responsibility he would thus incur? Such a mode would never be resorted to. A National Debt has a high sound; but, duly considered, I conceive it is in its nature the same as the debt of an individual; and the same reasoning, and the same principles for adjusting the claims, which are applicable to the one, are equally applicable to the other: the difference is only in the magnitude of the two cases. In the instance of the private insolvent, we know, that, whatever mode would be taken, the ulterior object would be to bring all his property forwards, and divide it equally

amongst his creditors; or else compound with them, according to the means he would appear to possess. Why not then adopt this course for the public creditors? Let all the assets that belong to these creditors, *if there are any*, be brought forwards, and see how far they will go; and then let proper means be adopted to ascertain the amount of every description of property we possess (excepting what arises from these public claims); and let every individual contribute, either together, or by instalments, a certain proportion, perhaps a 14th or a 15th of the whole, as the deficiency may appear to be; or, one, or two years income (income is now ascertained) to add to the fund: and the whole, so raised, be divided, by way of composition, amongst the public creditors.—Such contribution, either to be in money or other effects, (the value of which to be adjudged by commissioners) as may be most convenient to the contributors.—This enormous burthen being thus removed, with its attendant, and most extensive mischiefs, there would be nothing then left to be provided for, but the real exigencies of the state. And thus, assisted by proper and salutary regulations, which would naturally suggest themselves, as part of the plan (ex. gr. perhaps a proportionate general maximum, for one) specie would resume its former value, and no longer be depreciated by its connexion with the vast mass of paper now in circulation (and by which alone such depreciation has been effected), and the great increase in the price of labor, and of every article both for home and foreign consumption; all, evidently arising from the same source, would regain their equilibrium, and a prospect of domestic comfort, and national prosperity, once more restored to us.—The most oppressive and vexatious of the taxes; such as the tax on light Legacies; the partial tax on land; two-thirds at least of the Stamp Duties; most of the taxes under the denomination of Excise (instead of extending this most odious system), with a great variety of others, equally objectionable, might be abolished; as the public expenditure would then be trifling, compared with what it is now, and might be easily provided for, by retaining, and in some instances new modifying, such of the taxes, as are impartial, and not liable to evasion.——It is ridiculous to talk of the faith of parliament being pledged to pay the public creditors. The debt is now arrived at that magnitude, which never could have been anticipated: and, as parliament *cannot* make good its pledge; the wisest, and honestest, thing it *can* do; is, *immediately*, to make provision to pay as far as it can: and not defer the evil day, till it may be impossible to raise even a part.—The measure I have here suggested, is far from being so objectionable by the stock-holders as it may at first appear, when it is considered, that (without adverting to the *danger* he at least is now in, of never receiving any part of his claim) the depreciation as it proceeds, must proportionably lessen the value of stock; which cannot rise to meet it as other property does: and still less will the contributors to the fund have reason for objection, as the effect of the measure will be at once to relieve them from a vast load of taxes, which they annually pay, not only in their regular assessments, but in almost every article they consume, perhaps, to double the amount of the interest of the sum they would have to contribute: besides which, they should consider that the contribution sum itself, will not be any thing like equal to the increase of property, each must have derived from the depreciation so much more severely felt by the stock-holder.—I am sensible, Mr. Cobbett, that these remarks are very crude, indeed, I mean them only as a mere outline of a plan, and perhaps what I have suggested may be thought both inapplicable and inexpedient. This, however, I am confident of, that the calamitous situation the country is in, calls aloud for a remedy, at once prompt, bold, and striking at the very root of the evil; and it ought to be calculated as much as possible to bear equally upon all ——E. N.—*May* 27, 1806.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

LETTER II.

SIR;——Conscious rectitude of motive, and goodness of intention, with a strong feeling of the importance of my subject, formed my only inducement to submit to the public, through the medium of your Political Register, (p. 470) some thoughts on the condition of the people of Ireland. The early insertion with which you honoured my former communication, though it might have been flattering to vanity, is highly grateful to me on a far different account; it encourages a hope of seeing the affairs of that calumniated country brought before the public view, and fully discussed in your distinguished publication. To me, indeed, it will be matter of astonishment, if at this momentous period when the civilised world is convulsed, and its governments subverted, or threatened with revolution, men of reflection and experience will still decline to employ a portion of their talents, for the instruction of the British nation, upon objects so intimately

interwoven in the general interest of the empire. Let it not be attempted to excuse supineness or indifference, by any supposed inefficacy of literary effort to awaken slumbering apathy, and give attraction and interest to a cause habitually and criminally so much neglected. The British mind is not so callous, so degenerated, as to be uninfluenced by the lessons of wisdom, and the dictates of policy; to be unmoved by the forceful deductions of cultivated reason, and the strong impressions of manly virtue. But, why so anxiously desire the popular discussion of this subject? Because the impulse of popular wish may communicate motion to a free government; and the coincidence and approbation of popular opinion give additional effect to remedial measures. Because inveterate prejudices exist which must be eradicated, by exposure and argument; and that the intellectual and physical powers of the lower orders of the Irish, must become better understood, and more justly appreciated. Their character must no longer be received on the authority of a prosing, pragmatic doctor, a talking, technical chancellor, or a pliant and versatile young lord *with two strings to his bow*. The garrats and cellars of St. Giles's must not be raked for specimens of the lower Irish; scenes where the reaction of an indignant spirit against provoking insult, and irritating sarcasm, gives to the poor Irishman a character not habitual to him, and which in fairness ought to be attributed to his situation and circumstances. To give unity of effect to the political union of the two countries; to weaken, and ultimately destroy the moral repulsion which disunites the people, and would burst the artificial chain of unequal connexion, a reform, in the system of manners and treatment pursued towards the Irish, is essentially necessary. The Irish coxcomb too, whatever be his rank and station, who fancies that his elegance and refinement may suit with a higher scene of birth, must be convinced, that there is nothing culpable in being born in Ireland. That the distinguishing accent of his countrymen is not disgraceful, though affectation make it ridiculous. Existing fashions must be completely altered. No unworthy, or time-serving complaisance for the higher civilization, and boasted superiority of Englishmen, should induce Irishmen to misrepresent the character of their native country, to flatter the vanity of others, at the sacrifice of truth and candour. The man who is guilty of such intolerable folly, or abominable apostacy, but sullies his own character, by the smoke of that incense he burns on the altar, which parasitical sycophancy, and venal prostitution have raised to the national pride of a more prosperous people. Let him be well assured, that neither wit, nor imagination, nor the powers of language, can save him from being himself, in some degree, affected by the impression, which in the extravagancy of caricature, he has foolishly and disingenuously produced. A little reflection will repress or extinguish this too common vice, or error; and the small dealers in literature will no longer have any motive to employ a sterile invention, in the fabrication of *Irish bulls and blunders*; or an arid imagination to decorate with new dresses, and Irish scenery, the stale jokes of the worthy Joe Millar. Interested knavery, and perverted intellect will cease to invent falsehoods for credulity and self-love, to believe and propagate. Liberal, reflecting Englishmen will blush at the recollection, that the natural and necessary effects of a novercal, oppressive system of government have been, hitherto, unjustly and insultingly assigned as the cause of overbearing insolence, and supercilious contempt towards the sister country, as Ireland is usually styled, by an ingratiating figure of rhetoric. They will learn to dissolve the unfounded association of the name of common Irish, with the odious vices of laziness, drunkenness, and dishonesty, when they have examined to what extent those vicious qualities really belong to those orders, and to what degree their existence is imputable to the nature of their government, and other moral causes. It will be no satisfactory proof of laziness, to observe the annual crowds of haymakers, who possessing a greater spirit of industry than scope for its exercise, resort to this country, in time of harvest, to seek employment; and return home with their little savings, at the close of the season. Similar migrations from the Western Counties of Ireland, to the Northern, and Eastern, and other more opulent parts of the island, afford an additional refutation of this traditional calumny. Nor will the charge receive much support from the companies of Irish pavers, bricklayers, masons, and labourers, to be met with in every street of the metropolis; and those still more laborious drudges, the coal-heavers on the River Thames, and the hardy fishermen of Newfoundland. Intoxicating liquors are too often the resource of pining want, and lingering wretchedness, to stimulate an exhausted, prostrate system, into temporary animation; or to suspend the uneasy feelings of cheerless poverty. The exhilarating cordial is a powerful anodyne, the sovereign panacea for human ills. This injurious practice is not peculiar to the Irish; and instances

are not unfrequent, among the natives of this country, of persons equally addicted to it. It is the hasty resolution of impatient suffering; let the flame of life burn brighter while it lasts, and we regard not how soon it be extinguished. But a government cannot, with any colour of justice, complain of habits which they have themselves chiefly produced; and from the indulgence of which they derive an ample revenue. Why has not the brewery of ale, and porter, been encouraged in Ireland, rather than the distillation of a fiery, deleterious spirit! The crimp and the exciseman may explain the secret. But the cheapness of this destructive beverage, and those seductive properties usually ascribed to it, have proved temptations too strong, even for English sobriety to resist; as the Warwickshire militia whilst on duty in Dublin, in the year 1797, decisively experienced, to the no small disadvantage of their health and discipline. I do not think that dishonesty is common among the lower classes, in situations of trust or confidence. But, surely, abject poverty is a bad school for honesty or virtue. Man is the creature of excitements and circumstances; and in a country where rebellion and confiscation have been familiar, and the violent transfer of possession maintained by superior power, it is not surprising that the simple, and the ignorant, should confound the ideas of usurped title, and legitimate property. That they should cease to feel this sacred regard for that first of rights, in man's progress towards civilization and improvement, so much cherished in this country, where it has, happily, remained so long undisturbed. There, unfortunately, society was divided into oppressors, and oppressed; plunderers and plundered; and, as might be expected in such a situation of things, the plundered, and their descendants were restrained by the strong arm of power alone, from continual inroads on the newly acquired property, under the notion of retaliation, or rightful resumption. Besides, the morals of the people were neglected; spiritual edification was substituted for rational instruction. The beneficent spirit of the Christian religion was sacrificed to a blind, devotional attachment to rituals, and forms. The comprehensive code of the gospel was, by the comments, and interpretations of rival, polemic doctors, restricted to the narrow pale of their respective followers. Heathen philosophy would sigh to behold men professing a religion of universal charity, and brotherly love, yet sowing the seeds of infuriate dissention; defeating the moral and practical tendency of the sublime precepts of their Heavenly Master. Jealousy and distrust, now divided the higher from the lower ranks; the lord from his tenant; the master from his servant. Odious duplicity and treachery marked the intercourse of the classes. Affability and condescension on the rich man's tongue, but concealed the suspicion which lay lurking in his heart. The poor man's gratitude rose no higher, than submissive acquiescence in his hard condition. The sources of social comfort were dried up; society was impoisoned by fear and hatred; until gradually sapped in its foundations, it crumbled into those disjointed ruins, which still mark by their distance the violence of the separation. This is the unseemly heap, in which the mass of Irish population presents itself to our view; this is the prospect from which every friend of humanity, every friend of the British Empire, must recoil with horror. Through the remote influence of circumstances so inauspicious to the practice of the social virtues, some persons may be found, who, from a confusion of morals, are less scrupulous on the distinctions of property, which, in their view, have not acquired that maturity, which can countervail the antiquity of former claim. Yet, while their sense of order, and of right, has been deadened by the violent operation of irregular causes, the prisons continue to be their only schools of morality, and the executioner the most impressive of its teachers. Unhappily, too, some men, through a fatal and perverse disposition, of a mind warped by the influence of a corrupt government, and deformed by the base passion of inveterate selfishness, contribute by their policy and conduct to perpetuate those evils. Of the beneficial effects of the present vice-regal government in Ireland, we can make little account. The precarious, and uncertain duration of this sort of government, perpetually changing the complexion of its administration, under the direction and influence of a succession of men, of different principles and plans of policy, renders it incapable of producing any extensive or durable benefit. The power of vice-royalty may undulate from the Castle, and move the fluctuating mass of the people; but like the waves of the ocean, subject to the changes and storms of a superior element. I have now considered some of those causes of jealousy, and alienated affections, which, among the lower orders of the Irish, destroy all attachment to this country; and every feeling of interest in the general prosperity, and security of the empire. I have proved the injustice of some common reflections on their national character; and shewn, that those features of it which are most excep-

tionable, are fairly imputable to other causes, than untowardness or depravity of natural disposition. I have pointed some observations to the reform in British sentiment, and manners, necessary to conciliate the Irish people; and to unite and cement, both nations in feelings of amity, and reciprocal benevolence. I shall next proceed to those internal regulations, which, in my opinion, promise fairest to produce unanimity among the people of Ireland themselves. On this part of my subject, my embarrassment does not arise from the difficulty of finding expedients, but from the perverseness and opposition of those likely to obstruct their adoption, conceiving the present state of things more conducive to their particular interests. A new order of things, however, is absolutely necessary. The misery of the labouring poor of Ireland is not stationary, but progressive. I now assume the existence of this misery, according to a former statement, as an incontrovertible fact, a conclusion of the senses forced on the attention even of the most indifferent observer. Looking round me, and viewing this subject in its various aspects, I have weighed possibilities, and compared them with my object, in the eager wish to discover some remedy for the evil, by the gradual operation of causes, altogether independent of the direct interference of the legislature. Much might be done through the patriotic exertions of the aristocracy of Ireland; but the firm conviction of my mind, from past and present experience is, that no voluntary sacrifices of that body can be expected, sufficient to remove the overwhelming grievances of which the poor have to complain. The first object then should be to diminish the number of stipendiary labourers, and to increase the class of farming cultivators. To effectuate this, all underletting for terms of less than three lives, or thirty-one years, should be strictly and effectually prohibited, by an act of the legislature. In every case, where he who is willing to part with his land, has himself a shorter term, he should be obliged, by the provisions of the act, to make a complete assignment of his entire interest; or, should he wish to retain a part, then the land to be divided in such proportion as may be agreed on between the parties, the rent of the farm to be fairly apportioned, and the assignee to hold his part, immediately, of the original landlord, exempt from any responsibility whatever for or to the assignor. Such a law would extinguish the most detestable of the *middlemen;* but would be attended with decided advantage to the land owners. The value of their land would be considerably raised; as the small tenants would then have an interest in its proper cultivation, from the improbability that any other person could intercept the advantages of their improvements, by stepping between them and their landlord, when they came to apply for a renewal of their leases. Underleases, on the contrary, check all improvement for some years before the expiration of the term; and the farm reverts to the landlord, rather impoverished than improved. A frugal, and rigid œconomy habitual to the farming cultivator, would powerfully contribute to a rapid increase of stock, upon those little farms; which would multiply the annual produce to such a degree, as would reduce the price of articles of prime necessity, very considerably. An increasing demand for labour would soon take place; wages would, in consequence, be somewhat advanced, and the labourer, as in equity he ought, would enjoy the produce of his labour in greater plenty. But here no interference of the legislature is desirable; for, experience shews that all attempts to regulate wages, by law, have utterly failed, or been productive of mischief. The poor man's cabin, now the mansion of misery, would become the cheerful abode of homely plenty: An increasing progeny nurtured in wholsome abundance would gladden the father's heart, expanding through a wider sphere of social affection, and conscious of the importance of existence. The wealth of the country would rapidly increase, and with it the industry and happiness of the lower orders of the people; for it is with industry, as with other human qualities, which improve with encouragement. But to the productive powers of industry, the church establishment would oppose a formidable check. In Ireland lands are generally let at rack-rents. Let us, therefore, allow one third of the gross produce of the farm for the expences of cultivation, and management; and when we consider the proportion of the farm necessary for the subsistence of labourers, and labouring cattle, we shall not be disposed to think this allowance too large. The rent commonly rises to four tenths of the whole produce, which, added to the expence above stated, leaves little more than two tenths of the produce, in the form of profit. Of these two tenths, one falls to the share of the parson! But while the cultivator is thus compelled to part with one half of his profit, he is, moreover, in the manner of delivering it, liable to be harrassed, and interrupted in his business, by bailiffs and proctors; who always have it in their power, on the least ir-

regularity on his part, to drag him into the ecclesiastical court, and involve him in the the ruinous expences of an oppressive litigation. Such is the system of tythes; the most grievous and vexatious of all conceivable burdens as they affect the Irish catholics. Unnoticed, and unknown, by the man who riots in luxury on the produce of his labour, how often is he led to exclaim with bitterness, as he contemplates the prospect of an abundant harvest, the bountiful reward of industrious labour; and shall the man who hates, who despises, who traduces me reap the profit of this!—Shall the harpy hand of the rapacious tythe-proctor snatch from my just grasp the benefit of my increased exertion! He broods over the dispiriting thought; the reflection lies heavy on his mind; the distressing load presses like an incubus on the heart of his industry, stops the circulation, and benumbs its energies. The reader must have anticipated the remedy,—I mean a commutation.—This article has already grown to an inconvenient length, I must therefore defer my observations on the best plan of commutation, on a system of parochial instruction, &c.—I am, Sir, yours—ANGLO-HIBERNICUS.

PROPERTY AND INCOME TAX.

LETTER II.

SIR;——As my former letter on the above subject, has been honoured with the notice and approbation of two correspondents in your last week's Register, (see p. 729 and 754) and I cannot but consider the subject itself as of the highest importance; I beg leave to offer some farther observations upon it.—This tax being levied for the purpose of *securing* all the landed, funded, and other property in the United Kingdom of Great Britain, (whether belonging to subjects or *aliens)* by a payment of 10 per cent. of the annual *interest* arising from such property, may be aptly denominated a "Property Tax." But, as the same annual impost of 10 per cent. is by this tax indiscriminately laid upon all income, from whatever source derived, (though subject to certain exemptions) it is, as you justly observe, to all intents and purposes, an "income tax."——The former appellation, therefore, applies to its institution; the latter to its operation.—This distinction is of more importance than on a transient view it may appear to be; because it applies immediately to the case of *foreign* stock-holders, for the *security* of whose funded property, *all* classes of British subjects are obliged to pay 10 per cent. of their annual income. But, this subject has been so ably discussed by Mr. Francis and yourself, (in p. 720) that any farther observations upon it on this occasion are unnecessary. Neither shall I recapitulate those arguments in my former letter, in favour of a *progressive* scale of contribution, since their justice has been admitted by *all* your last week's correspondents, on the same subject; and they have been sanctioned by the very respectable authority of Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. W. Smith, when honourably and humanely pleading for a still farther extension of those exemptions which Lord H. Petty (actuated by the same just and liberal sentiments) has allowed to those who by great exertions could earn 5s.—His lordship's speech on this occasion, does great credit to his head and heart. It affords a gratifying expectation that he will exert to the utmost, his very respectable abilities in still farther alleviating the severe pressure of the income tax on the lower orders of the community; that he will rather be influenced by the eloquent pleadings of justice and humanity, in behalf of suffering *millions*, than by the interested clamours and groundless alarms of opulent land proprietors.——Is it just, is it *decent*, that those who are by the intended property tax, required only to pay a *tithe* of the annual *interest* of their immense property to secure the principal *unimpaired*, should complain of the injury they suffer, from the exemption to the journeyman, mechanic, or artisan, who by unremitted exertions can earn 5s. per day!!——No one, Sir, can be more fully convinced than myself, of the necessity for disparity of rank and condition, for the exercise of delegated, *responsible* power, and for the observance of due subordination among the different classes of civilised society.——Nay, farther, I will readily admit, that where there is *most freedom* in the constitution of a government, most clemency in the exercise of its authority, most wisdom, liberality, and humanity, in the August Representative, and the coexistent members of its sovereign power, *there* must also exist, the *highest* obligations of loyalty, subordination, and obedience.—Such is *still* the government, and such the subjects of these favoured islands, that such thing may continue to the end of time, must be the wish of every one who is worthy the name of Briton. But the government whose stability rests on the equipoise of different principles and powers, is equally endangered by despotism, as by licentiousness.

(To be Continued.)

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" Fire shall consume the tabernacles of bribery."——JOB. cap. xv.

TO THE ELECTORS OF HONITON.

LETTER II.

GENTLEMEN;——Perceiving that Mr. Cavendish Bradshaw has, since by your voice he was constituted one of the guardians of the public purse, taken care to obtain a place by the means of which he will draw into his own pocket some thousands a year out of that purse, and this, too, at a time when the load of indispensible taxes is pressing his honest and industrious constituents to the earth; perceiving this, and being fully persuaded, that, whenever the electors of any place re-choose representatives under similar circumstances, the cause is not so much in their own disposition as in the apathy and lukewarmness of those independent men who may have the ability to rescue them from such hands; with this truth being deeply impressed, I did, upon hearing of the approaching vacancy, use my efforts to prevail upon other men of this description to afford you an opportunity of evincing your good sense and uprightness, and, having failed in those efforts, I have thought it my duty to afford you this opportunity myself; it being manifestly true, that, unless men of independence and of public-spirit will offer themselves as candidates, to rail at electors for choosing and re-choosing the dependent and the mercenary is, in the highest degree, unreasonable and unjust.——As to professions, Gentlemen, so many and so loud, upon such occasions, have they been; so numerous are the instances, in which the foulness and shamelessness of the apostacy have borne an exact proportion to the purity and solemnity of the vow; so completely, and with such fatal effect, have the grounds of confidence been destroyed, that, it is now become necessary, upon all occasions like the present, to give a pledge, such as every man can clearly understand, and such as it is impossible to violate without exposing the violator to detection and to all the consequences of detected hypocrisy and falsehood; and, such a pledge I now give in declaring, that, whether you elect me or not, I never, as long as I live, either for myself, or for, or through the means of, any one of my family, will receive, under any name, whether of salary, pension or other, either directly or indirectly, one single farthing of the public money; but, without emolument, compensation, or reward of any kind or in any shape, will, to the utmost of my ability, watch over and defend the property, the liberties and the privileges of the people, never therefrom separating, as I never yet have, the just and constitutional rights and prerogatives of the crown.——This declaration, Gentlemen, is not made without due reflection as to the future as well as to the present, as to public men in general as well as to myself. It proceeds, first, from an opinion, that the representatives of the people ought never to be exposed to the temptation of betraying their trust; secondly, from long observation, that those who live upon the public are amongst the most miserable of men; and, thirdly, from that experience in the various walks of life, which has convinced me of the wisdom of Hagar, who prayed for neither riches nor poverty; not riches, lest he should forget God; not poverty, lest he should be tempted to steal: and, to receive the public money unjustly, is not only stealing, but stealing of the worst and basest sort, including a breach of the most sacred trust, accompanied with the cowardly consciousness of impunity. From reflections like these, Gentlemen, it is, that the declaration now made has proceeded, and, when I depart, in word or in deed, from this declaration, may I become the scorn of my country; wherein to be remembered with esteem, I prize beyond all the riches and all the honours of this world.——But, Gentlemen, as it is my firm determination never to receive a farthing of the public money, so it is my detremination equally firm, never, in any way whatever, to give one farthing of my own money to any man, in order to induce him to vote, or to cause others to vote, for me; and, being convinced, that it is this practice of giving, or promising to give, money, or money's worth, at elections; being convinced, that it is this disgraceful, this unlawful, this profligate, this impious practice, to which are to be ascribed all our calamities and all the dangers that now stare us in the face, I cannot refrain from exhorting you to be, against all attempts at such practices, constantly and watchfully upon your

guard. The candidates who have resorted to such means have always been found amongst the most wicked of men; men, who, having, by a life of adultery or of gambling, or of profligacy of some other sort, ruined both their character and their fortunes, have staked their last thousand upon an election, with the hope of thereby obtaining security from a jail, and of selling their vote for the means of future subsistence drawn from the sweat of the people at a hundred-fold; and thus expecting to pocket the profit of the corrupt speculation, sneering at their bribed and perjured constituents, as Satan is said to have sneered at the reprobate with whom he had bargained for his soul.——Far from you, Gentlemen, be credulity so foolish! Far from you, disgrace so deep, infamy so indelible! Far from you, so flagrant a violation of the law, so daring a defiance of the justice and the power and the wrath of God! But, were it otherwise, and did I find in Honiton but as many righteous men as were found in Sodom and Gomorrah, I would tender them my hand to lead them from the rest. Very different, however, are my hopes; these hopes forbid me to believe it possible, that there should be, collected upon one spot, four hundred Englishmen, having the eyes of all England upon them, who will not, by their votes, freely and cordially given, sanction the great principle upon which I now stand; and, in these hopes, I will, if I have life, do myself the honour to meet you on the day of election.

In the mean while,
I am, with great respect,
Gentlemen,
Your most humble and most obedient servant,
Wm. Cobbett.

1st of June, 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Under this head I have not time, at present, to say much; but there are two or three subjects that I cannot refrain from just touching upon.

Military Affairs.—Mr. Windham's Plan has been discussed, *in the shape of a clause in the annual mutiny bill.* What with the weight of the taxes and the now openly-confessed abuses in the expenditure, the attention of the public had been so much engaged that the regular *parties* in the House of Commons had good reason to fear that they would soon be totally forgotten; because, as to the imposing of taxes and the abuses of the expenditure, they are, of course, except in particular cases, *all of a mind.* With great impatience, therefore, do they appear to have waited for the producing of Mr. Windham's Plan about the army, a subject upon which they might, consistent with regular principles, differ widely in opinion, and dispute till a late hour in the morning. The Plan itself was not before the House on Friday last; but, there was a clause brought to be introduced into the mutiny act; and, as this clause contained a provision arising out of the proposed mode of *enlisting for term of years*, it afforded an excellent opportunity for a "grand debate," upon which all the professional gentlemen entered with as much eagerness and as much regularity and fairness as a main of cocks. Mr. Windham began, having Sir James Pulteney pitted against him. This IN Secretary of State and OUT General having finished, the next pair that came on were an OUT Secretary of State (Mr. Charles Yorke) and an IN General (Craufurd). And thus the combat was continued till a late hour in the morning, when it was closed by the two champions, Messrs. Canning and Fox. But, after this, there succeeded a sort of battle-royal, not without considerable confusion, and with some marks of what an inexperienced spectator would have taken for *real* anger. This, however, ended in an agreement to renew the combat on Monday last, which was accordingly done; but it was soon discovered, that the spectators came the second time with very little curiosity, and that the thing went off without having left any interest in the public mind. There were *divisions* both nights; but, as to the numbers either of the majority or the minority, it is of no use to be particular about them; it is a circumstance with which the people are fools if they trouble themselves; and it is worth while to observe merely, that, even upon these occasions, they were not present in the House more than *one half* of its members!——There was, as the news-papers tell us, a great deal said about *who were the fittest people to be ministers;* but, not a word that I have seen, about the immense power that Mr. Windham is placing, without any check whatever, in the hands of the Crown; not a word about the extreme danger that may arise from forming an army of 250,000 men, all the officers of which army are to be *appointed* by, and to be liable to be *dismissed and disgraced*, at any moment, by the King, *without a trial*, or a *hearing* of any sort, and all the men of which are to be separated from the people, kept in barracks, and are to have hardly any common feeling of interest with the people. Not a word

about this; and not a word about the 13,000 Hanoverians, who have *foreigners* for *officers*, and who are kept here, while the native troops are daily shipping off to the East and the West Indies. These, we must suppose, were not topics of *regular* debate. It is to be hoped, however, that, when the bill itself for creating this army comes to be discussed, that some independent member will endeavour to obtain an explanation as to the ultimate views of the ministers upon these important points; for while it is our duty to make every exertion and every sacrifice necessary to the defence of our country, it is not less our duty to take care, as far as we constitutionally can, that the country so defended remain what it formerly was; and to convince the people that it will so remain would, I am fully persuaded, do more towards its defence, in the hour of danger, than would be done by all the Hanoverian troops that ever existed since the beginning of the world. It would be very useful to obtain a pretty exact account of all the money that the Hanoverian troops, including their *bands of music*, have cost the country, since they were first raised. A little slip of paper would exhibit this account; and a very valuable one it would be. We should then be able to ascertain the price at which we purchase these our defenders; and having ascertained it, we should, probably, be induced, every one of us in his rank and degree, to make greater exertions for the raising of native soldiers. The *experience* which these Hanoverian veterans have had in defending countries may, indeed, be a considerable advantage; but, let us hope, that, having had such an example before us, five or six of us would, in time, particularly with the aid of that "excellent discipline," which Mr. Windham has now discovered to proceed from the Duke of York, become equal to one Hanoverian.——In the mean while, and in the face of all Mr. Fox's resolute declarations; in the face of all Mr. Windham's plans; in the face of all the Duke of York's skill and prowess; in the face of all these, Buonaparté is going on. He has made a king in Holland; and, greatly do I fear, that Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham will acknowledge that king as a legitimate sovereign. Nay, I really fear, that they will not insist at last, upon the *restoration of Hanover*, notwithstanding the sturdy declaration above alluded to; and I fear this for a reason which I will more fully state another time. If my fears should prove well-founded, what becomes of the Hanoverian Legion? *Where* will *their country* be? This will be a curious question in public law. It will be a question to puzzle even such persons as Lord Grenville and Sir John Newport. It will require greater profundity than was so conspicuous in the implied propositions for restoring cash-payments at the Bank.

Income Tax.——Lord Henry Petty has given notice that he intends to bring in a bill so to alter the effect of the Income Tax bill, that persons with small incomes and large families shall meet with some relief. Thanks to you, my Lord! Better late than never; and, let us hope, that this change of purpose has been produced by the cries of the distressed; by the cries of those who dreaded complete starvation.——There are, my Lord, one or two letters in a subsequent part of this sheet, which were intended to be presented to you; but which, in consequence of the writers not being able to come at you, have been sent to me, with the hope, that, through this channel, they might reach the eye of your lordship. I beseech you to read them. They will convey to you more useful information than you will ever receive from all your Secretaries and all the numerous swarm of expectants that hang about you like flies about a grocer's shop in the chill days of October.——But, now the tax will be *less productive*. True; and you must, at last, my lord, come into the proposition of Mr. Francis. You must make *foreigners* pay the tax as well as we; and, you must raise the rate of the tax in proportion to the amount of the income; and, if you repeat the argument, that this would be acting upon a *levelling* principle, let me ask, my lord, what principle it is that has prevailed in apportioning of the *tax upon windows*; and why this principle should not apply in a tax upon income as well as in a tax upon things arising from that income? The amount of the yearly *dividends* at the bank is about 20,000,000l. About one half of this sum is annually paid to persons having 50l. a year each. Take the tax from this half and add to this deduction the amount of the exemption to foreigners, and you will find a fearful defalcation in your present estimate. What is to be done, then? Why, you *must* take more from the *higher* incomes! and, with all my heart take it; but, first, I think, before you go any further with the funds, about half a million a year might be taken from the *Sinecure* and *Pension* List! Some of these Sinecures and Pensions are enormous; and, what is more, they are, in general, great in an inverse proportion to

the public services of the persons by whom they are received. There are many of these which I will mention in detail at some future time, contenting myself, at present, with having just pointed out to your lordship this copious and yet apparently unperceived source of pecuniary means. Any Sinecure that has been given for *real* services performed, or real loss sustained, for the benefit of the country in general, ought to remain untouched; but, every other grant in this way ought, at such a time as this, to undergo a revision; and, surely, it *legally* may, as well as the funds, be taxed. Yet, strange as it may seem, this is a source that never seems to have presented itself to the mind of any minister or any Secretary of the Treasury! And, my lord, where would be the harm of imposing a tax upon the *non-residence of beneficed clergymen?* There are 5,000 of them at this moment, the greater part of whom have *two livings* each. Why should they not pay a tax of 20 or 30 pounds a year each for a licence to non-reside? Is it reasonable, is it just, that the clergyman who performs constant duty for his income should be taxed as heavily for that income as the clergyman who receives his income without performing any duty at all for it? Many, my lord, are the objects of this sort to tax. Some of them have, I know, been pointed out to you in private; and, I think, you will excuse me for saying what I have to say, in public. The funds must certainly be much more heavily taxed than they now are, especially if we adhere to Mr. Fox's declaration, and carry on the war, until Hanover be restored to His Majesty; but, previously to that more weighty tax upon the funds, honesty as well as humanity call upon us to resort to all the other means of raising and of *saving* public money, which means shall not destroy the settled notions of property and of liberty. I grant, that all these means must, at the present rate, soon be exhausted; and that, with a heavier and a heavier hand, you must come to the funds; but, let us exhaust, fairly exhaust, these means first; and then, the coming upon the funds will be fully justified, the holders having had, in the mean while, warning sufficient.

BREWING TAX.——Upon this subject an excellent letter or two will be found in the subsequent pages of this sheet. The *Excise-man*-part of the plan will, probably, be given up for the present; but, the assessment must be left in the hands of Commissioners; and, what *redress* will there be as to the amount? But, "money *must* be "had," says Mr. Fox, and so say I; though, as to the means we differ. I am for *saving*. I am not for adding to the Income Tax in order to pay advanced salaries and enormous grants, and then for taxing those very salaries and grants. When I hear that barns in the Isle of Wight have been rented by government at five or six times their annual value, I feel little consolation in reflecting that the barn owner will have a greater income and will pay more to the Income Tax. I am for saving the *rent* at once. So with every branch of expenditure. So with the debts, or pretended debts, of the Nabob of Arcot. So with the immense sums expended upon the *Staff* of the Army. So with contracts of every description.——The question is, and it is a question whereon for Mr. Fox seriously to reflect, not how far taxation can possibly be carried, but how far it can be carried without the *immediate* assistance of the army; and, as I am sure that neither he, nor any man in England, I hope, would wish to see it carried so far as to render such assistance necessary, I do most earnestly exhort him to turn his mind, not only towards the particular objects, which I have taken the liberty to point out, but towards objects of *economy* in general.

INDIA AFFAIRS.——The reader was informed in my last sheet, page 810, that the SECOND CHARGE against Marquis Wellesley, namely the charge respecting his transactions in Oude, was laid upon the table on Wednesday the 28th ultimo. On Tuesday, the 3d instant a debate, of which the following is a report, taken from the TIMES news-paper, took place upon the subject, in the House of Commons.——
"LORD TEMPLE pursuant to the notice he "had given upon a former day, now rose "for the purpose of moving a specific day, "for taking into consideration the charges "of high crimes and misdemeanours against "the Marquis Wellesley, laid upon the "table by an Hon. Member, on the 28th "of last month. He hoped it would not "be necessary for him to preface his mo-"tion by observations to any great length. "But as the Hon. Member who had "brought forward those charges had named "no particular day for moving the House "to their consideration—feeling as he did "the nature and importance of those "charges to be such as called for their full "investigation with the least possible de-"lay—he now rose for that purpose. Gen-"tlemen who had looked into those charges "must have felt them to be of the most

" weighty and important nature. They " directly imputed to Lord Wellesley not " only every species of public delinquency " that could brand the character of a public " officer, but every charge of private de- " pravity that could stain the personal repu- " tation of an individual. He had no " doubt that the Hon. Gentleman who " brought forward those charges, had done " so under a self-persuasion of their truth, " and a belief that he should be able to " substantiate them in evidence. He would " not pay the Hon. Gentleman so bad a " compliment, as to suppose he would bring " forward such charges against any man, " much less against the noble lord, unless " he was himself persuaded they were " founded in fact, and without being pre- " pared with evidence, which he himself " conceived competent to sustain them. " But the hon. gent. must allow that, not- " withstanding the strength of his own per- " suasion upon the subject, it was still pos- " sible the noble lord might possess a confi- " dence in his own innocence, superior to " every accusation of such a nature, and " must feel extremely impatient for the op- " portunity of his own vindication, more " especially when those charges included " one of a nature more atrocious than all " the rest, and such a one as called for the " most immediate investigation, namely, " the charge of a foul, deliberate, and cruel " murder. In this charge was also included " a person, not a member of either house of " parliament, for whose account also, much " anxiety must be felt, though he had not " the honor even of a slight personal ac- " quaintance with him, namely, Mr. Henry " Wellesley. But, from the nature of the " charges altogether, and more especially " the last, it became absolutely necessary, " that an early investigation should now " take place. If the hon. gent. had named " any day for such an inquiry, it would not " be his wish to take it out of his hands: " for the present, however, he should move, " " That the House do, on to-morrow " " fortnight, take into its consideration " " the charges of high crimes and misde- " " meanours, laid on their table, against " " Richard Marquis Wellesley, on the " " 28th ult. concerning the affair of Oude." " If the hon. gent. should then have any " motion to submit to the House upon the " subject, he would have an opportunity of " doing so. If not, he (Lord Temple), " should certainly propose a motion on the " subject.——Mr. Paull adverted to the " precedent of Mr. Burke's proceedings " against Governor Hastings, and said, that " that right hon. gent., after five years deli- " beration and repeated motions, had, upon " the 4th April, 1786, laid on the table se- " ven articles of charge against Mr. Has- " tings; on the 12th of April, he laid four " more; and on the 7th of May, three " more; and notwithstanding the right " hon. gent. had taken five years to delibe- " rate upon his purpose; that he had the " benefit of the Reports of the Secret Com- " mittee, of various papers he moved for, " and of evidence examined at the bar for " the proof of his charges; yet it was not " in less than six weeks afterwards, that he " moved the House to any proceeding upon " those charges. Now he had given notice " only yesterday, that he had witnesses to " examine, and had also moved for a num- " ber of papers, many of which were abso- " lutely necessary in support of the charges " alluded to by the noble lord. Let those " witnesses be examined at the bar; let " those papers be produced in proper time, " and he should not have the smallest ob- " jection to proceed to the investigation on " the day proposed. Indeed, it was his in- " tention to have moved for that day, if the " testimony and documents had been fairly " before the House: but until they were, " he should not be induced to move one " step to the right or to the left, or to " move one degree quicker or slower, in " consequence of the noble lord's mo- " tion, or of any importunity from the " friends of Lord Wellesley: and with " respect to the charge of murder, alluded " to by the noble lord, it was a general " charge, and only mentioned amongst " others, with a hope that, upon substan- " tiating the preceding charges, he would " be allowed to bring a supplementary " charge upon that distinct head; and he " would be ready to go into the proofs upon " that point to-morrow, if the others were " gone through. —— Lord Archibald " Hamilton could not let pass some ex- " pressions which had fallen from the noble " lord, without making some observations " upon them. The noble lord had com- " plained that the charges of the hon. gent. " went to impeach the private character of " Lord Wellesley for acts merely of public " and official conduct, and that he had ap- " plied to the noble Marquis personally " every atrocious epithet—of tyranny, " cruelty, oppression, plunder, and even of " murder, for acts done in his public and " official situation. But he must conceive " it impossible, that such could have been " the purpose of the hon. gent.; and as to " the charge of murder, he did not conceive

" it to be put by the hon. gent. in the way " it was imputed. But really, if in bringing forward charges such as those now on " the table of the House, and every tittle of " which his lordship conceived to be warranted by the documents already brought " forward in support of them, a member " was to be restrained in the use of such " language and such epithets as were usual " in expressing opinions, extremely natural " to his feelings, upon such circumstances " as those charged, lest the private character " of the party accused should be supposed " to be implicated in his public conduct, it " would be impossible for any man to devise " a becoming language for bringing before " that House criminal charges against public delinquency in any man ——Sir " John Newport expressed some surprise, " how the noble lord who spoke last, if he " had read the charges upon the table, could " so far mistake that particular charge, " which related to murder, as to say the " crime was not roundly and specifically " charged against the noble Marquis, in " conjunction with others. The hon. bart. " here read an extract from the charge, " which stated, that the said Marquis, in " conjunction with Richard Wellesley, had, " with numbers of armed men, surrounded " the mansions of certain Zemindars and " Rajahs, the subjects of the Nabob of " Oude, and within his dominions, and did " attack, slay, and destroy several of the " said Rajahs, Zemindars, and their attendants and adherents, and did sack and " plunder their said mansions of their property; thus completing the measure of " his oppression and tyranny, by a foul, deliberate, wanton, and cruel murder. If " this, then, was not a charge of murder, " couched in as strong words as had ever " appeared in the language of an indictment, he was at a loss to conceive what " words could describe it more strongly."—Certainly this is a charge of murder. Certainly, Sir John, it requires no great depth of noddle to find out that; and, whether the Marquis was really guilty of the particular crime here laid to his charge will depend, first upon the result of the question, whether he *ordered* the aforesaid Zemindars to be attacked, and, then again, remounting another step, whether he had a *right* to give such orders, whether he gave them in virtue of powers by him, the said Marquis Wellesley, *lawfully acquired*. If, in riding a hunting I kill a man by accident, I am not guilty of murder; but, if I am breaking into a house, and kill a man by accident, I am guilty of murder, Sir John; and, if having broken into a house, I wish to compel the servants to join me, and I kill them for refusing, what is then my crime? " Rebellion!" Sir Arthur Wellesley called the resistance of the Zemindars rebellion! But, what is rebellion? Resistance to the lawful commands of a *lawful Sovereign*. That is rebellion, Sir Arthur; and, if you can make it out that your brother, or his master, the East India Company, were the sovereigns, the *lawful sovereigns* of the Zemindars, then you may possibly make something like a defence. So that there is no occasion for this captious exception to words.——As to the motion of Lord Temple, it was perfectly useless. The consideration of the charge will come quite soon enough for Lord Wellesley, and for the whole of *the Body-Guard*. Of this Sir John Newport may be assured; and, therefore, it is really a pity that he should withdraw from the Irish taxing business any portion of the attention of that great mind, which seems destined to be one of the principal instruments in saving the sinking state. It is really a pity, that, though Lord Grenville is now Prime Minister and first Treasurer of both England and Ireland, he and his able coadjutors, Sir John and Lord Henry, have not yet been able to get half an hour's leisure to order *the Bank to pay in cash!* Why not let Mr. Paull and Lord Wellesley alone, and look to the Bank a little, especially as Buonaparté has expressly declared, that, *when we pay our bank notes in cash*, he will acknowledge us to be *safe from his power*. Now, then, why does not this mighty Lord Treasurer do the thing at once? At any rate, until that be done, I hope we shall not see the great mind of Sir John Newport withdrawn from the subject of the finances.

Slave Trade.——But, I have no room. Let us hope that Mr. Fox's declaration upon this subject is a proof that he is returning to himself; that old professions are reviving in his memory; that we shall now hear and see what we expected. Let us hope this; for as to the Slave Trade *alone*, that I, for my part shall never accept of. This project will destroy the West India Colonies; but, England, with the *other things* that Mr. Fox promised us, may still live. We must, however, have those *other things*. No tub will do. Give us *the rest*, and I consent to the abolishing the Slave Trade, though I am convinced it will utterly ruin the West India Colonies; but, as often as this question and its plea of humanity is agitated, so often will I remind the agitators of what *other* things they promised to do; things that they *can* do; things that would be universally ac-

knowledged to be good and just. So often as they agitate this question, with all its cant, for the relief of 500,000 blacks; so often will I remind them of the 1,200,000 white paupers of England and Wales.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

SIR,—The ministry and their friends in their opposition to the inquiry that is called for into the conduct of the late governor-general of India appear, of late, to have shifted their ground of opposition, and now resist an impeachment, not on the score of its not being warranted by the facts that have already been brought to light, but because the loss of time such a mode of inquiry would occasion to the public functionaries, would produce greater inconvenience than the suffering Lord Wellesley's conduct to pass altogether uninvestigated. In regard to the case in question, there seems a doctrine so monstrous, and so pregnant with public mischief, that it seems matter of surprize the public should so long have failed to receive the benefit of its exposure from your nervous and luminous pen. No man can for a moment doubt that the suspension of other business, occasioned by the prosecution of an impeachment, is a great and serious grievance: but will any man say that the case in question is a case of this nature? Will any man say that in this instance, the violation of the laws, and the ostentatious and lavish expenditure of the public money, has not been carried to a sufficient extent, to entitle the public to know, under what pretences those laws have been violated, in what degree such an expenditure has been warranted, and to be satisfied whether or no they have a right to call upon the late governor-general to refund any part of such money? We have just witnessed an impeachment, in the course of which it was said, that the non-observance of the law was the only point necessarily to be attended to, and were that satisfactorily proved, conviction must follow of course. And has the law been observed in India? At least the suspicions in the public mind are so strong of its having been violated, as to entitle them to know, whether those suspicions are well grounded or not. The Court of Directors are, it seems, against impeachment: they have, by their organs in the House of Commons expressed, it appears, their unwillingness to carry things so far; and an opinion coming from such a source would naturally have considerable weight. But when it comes to be considered, that the expenses for carrying on the wars in India come (as you, sir, have so ably shewn) not out of the revenues supplied by India, but out of the pockets of the people of Great Britain; and when it also comes to be considered, that by the system of aggrandizement carried on by the late governor-general, the patronage of the Court of Directors has proportionably been increased, it will scarcely be expected that they, deriving such advantage from the system that has of late been pursued, and that too without being at the expense of the attainment of it, should, by heartily supporting an inquiry, appear to discountenance a similar line of conduct by any future governor-general.—But, sir, by stifling the present inquiry we do not merely give impunity to one alleged delinquent, but to delinquents as unlimited in number, as in the enormity of their crimes. We cannot consider this merely as an insulated case; we cannot say, that by sitting quiet on this occasion, the only loss we shall suffer will be that of a clearly liquidable sum; a sum composed of the difference between the sum to which the expenditure ought to have been confined and the actual expenditure. No: you are offering a premium for delinquency, for delinquency in proportion to its magnitude. For what is it but saying to every future governor-general, "Whatever crime you commit, take care that you involve your conduct in a sufficient degree of complication, and we shall never be able to reach you:" such is the nature of the constitution, that if the facts to prove your delinquency are intricate and difficult to be come at, we have no means of bringing you to punishment." Upon this occasion Mr. Hasting's case has been appealed to as an unanswerable argument against the adoption of a similar mode of inquiry in the present instance. Unfortunately, Mr. Hasting's case, like the French revolution, seems likely to serve as a scarecrow to terrify all future ages from prosecuting measures for the attainment of justice. We boast of our glorious constitution: but is it not a most alarming defect in it, that the nature of it is such, as that without suffering great public inconvenience, it is impossible to bring great public offenders to justice? Seeing this defect, the Legislature has attempted to remedy it. But you, sir, have observed, that the act having for one of its objects the providing a means for bringing East-India delinquents to justice is inadequate to its object, because the persons for constituting this judicature therein directed to be chosen out of the two Houses of Parliament, would be of the nomination of the minister. This, to a certain degree, would probably be the case. An opinion coming from you on this, as on any other

subject, cannot fail to have considerable weight. But supposing an impeachment to be decided against, such a mode of inquiry as this, however insufficient it might be, would at least in some degree operate as a preservation against the mischief that no inquiry at all be calculated to occasion. The expectations of the public might not perhaps be completely disappointed by this Board of Judicature. It is scarcely to be presumed that the present ministry would display less candour than the late. During the late ministry, Mr. Whitbread was appointed one of the managers to conduct the impeachment of Lord Melville: could the present ministry refuse the giving Mr. Paull, were he disposed to accept of it, (and the undaunted perseverance he has already displayed forces one to be persuaded he would) a place in such a Board of Judicature? Ten of this Board are to form a quorum; and among such a number (for probably no more than absolutely required by the act would actually sit), the influence of one man, were there to be but one among them, determined conscientiously to do his duty, could not fail of giving the public, if not a fair chance of seeing substantial justice administered, yet of knowing at least to whom and to what causes they were to ascribe the failure of the means of bringing an offender, accused of great crimes, to the punishment to which, if those crimes were satisfactorily proved, he might merit. And even the inquiry itself, were nothing to come of it, would not be altogether without its use: for besides that it would shew the futility of resorting to any such means in future, and the necessity of preparing, if the nature of things admits of it, a real efficient tribunal, the vexation occasioned by such an investigation (and merely the suspicion is strong enough to warrant the infliction of such vexation) would of itself operate in the way of punishment, and would thereby act as a warning to all future governors-general. Providing means for investigating into the public accounts, and thereby securing the public against future loss, appears to be the order of the day. Why Indian accounts are to be exempted from passing such an ordeal is not altogether clear: the most obvious, and the motive to which it will accordingly be ascribed, is party friendship; a conduct, the adherence to which is represented in private life as a virtue, but which ceases to be a virtue, when a great public mischief, or even the apprehension of a great public mischief, is the consequence of the observance of it.—I am, sir, your's, &c.—DECIUS.—*26th May*, 1800.

INCOME TAX.

SIR;——There are two objections to the Property Tax, which in my mind never can be satisfactorily apologised for; one of them for striking at the root of our independence and liberty, and the other as being notoriously unjust. The first is our being subjected to a complete disclosure of our most private concerns. To this, however obnoxious, we are now arrived, we are told, at that state, that there is an absolute necessity for our submitting to it. Be it so: but there certainly is no necessity for our submitting to injustice, nor do I think the legislature, if they saw it in the light which I do, would impose it upon us; and I trust that the bill, which I imagine is now on its way through the House of Lords, will be amended in this particular. What I complain of, is, the making one set of the people pay two hundred times more than another; or, in other words, making them pay *one-tenth of their whole property*, while the other pays *only one-tenth of the annual produce of their property*. This is an objection which I have never yet seen fairly stated; and, I think if it had, it is impossible that the House of Commons could have authorised such a law, at least the supporters of the bill must have changed their ground, and have used very different arguments in support of it than they did. Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Fox and others, repeatedly reminded the House, and desired them to keep it constantly in view, that it was a tax *not upon* income, *but upon property*.——Now, Sir, allow me to put the case, if a man who from his industry has during the year earned a sum of money amounting to £200, and that this is the whole property he has in the world (hundreds of which cases could be adduced). This man, by laying out his £200 at legal interest, would receive by the year £10, and were he to pay the tenth part of this last sum, or £1 of property tax, he would pay equally and at the same rate with the most opulent man in the country. But what does this bill, which is now fast hastening into a law, do? It takes from this man's hard earned property no less than £20, being one-tenth of all that he has, while from the man who has £4000 lent out upon mortgage or otherwise, and which yields him £200 a year, it takes no more than £20, being one-tenth of the annual produce of his property, leaving his capital untouched. No man surely, will say, that what you or I get by our labour is not as much our property as this man's £4000; nor can any one maintain that it is just to take from me *one-tenth* of my property of £200, while they take

from this man a sum equal to *the two-hundredth part only* of his £4000. We have always been taught to look up with respect and confidence to the dignity and justice of the House of Lords, and should they view this bill as I do, it is not possible that they can give it their sanction. If it is necessary that, besides all other taxes, we should pay to the extent of one-tenth of our property, let it be laid on all, but do not take from one set of the subjects one-tenth, while from others the two-hundreth part only is taken, and that from the most opulent.—— There is one part of the bill which does not fall under my objections to it, but which I notice, merely to remark upon Lord Henry Petty's answer upon this point. This is the scale of the tax, some contending that it ought to increase with the property to the extent perhaps of twenty per cent. Lord Henry's reason for all having £150 and upwards paying equally; namely, one-tenth, was, that this is proper on account of the different ranks in society, the distinctions in which ought always to be attended to. (I have not at present access to his precise words). Can his lordship from this mean, that those with small fortunes are more interested in the welfare of the state than those who have great; and, therefore, that they ought to be more heavily burdened? I confess I do not see any sound reasoning in this. I am rather inclined to think that his lordship said this, because upon some other occasion he had heard the same thing said before, and thought it would sufficiently answer his purpose, which it certainly did. I should imagine it to be the duty and interest of the man of rank and fortune, possessed of £60,000 a year, to pay under this tax £12,000 which would leave him £48,000 a year to spend, and his estate untouched, as much as it is the duty of a man possessed of an estate of £150 a year to pay £15, which would leave him only £135 for all other taxes, and for the annual maintenance of him and his family. But, as the bill at present stands, the man of £60,000 a year will pay only £6000, leaving him the immense sum of £54,000 for his taxes and other expenses within the year.—To advise the obstinate is in vain. But, were advice to be listened to, and if it be really necessary to raise annually the ten millions proposed to be got by this bill, I would decidedly recommend at once to abandon this abominable tax, borrow the ten millions each year as we used to do of old, and levy by taxes for payment of the interest. (Even without any new tax this interest might be discharged, were the East India Company to pay the £500,000 annually due by them to the country). Unless this good old plan be followed, I am much afraid that the discontent occasioned by this inquisitorial, unjust, and obnoxious law, will daily increase, till the British spirit can no longer endure it. No wise ministers for a paltry sum of money, should put to risk the unanimity of the great body of the people, particularly at a period when our whole support is so necessary. Little do they know, while cheering and congratulating each other upon the excellent qualities, and great benefits to be derived from this law, the real sentiments of the people upon it, nor are the many groans and execrations which it occasions communicated to them. If they were, I am fully convinced that both the proposers and supporters of the bill, would see the propriety of instantly arresting the further progress of it.——I am, with great esteem, your obedient servant,—D.— *Edinburgh, May* 31, 1806.

INCOME AND BREWING TAXES.

Sir;——Entertaining as I do the highest opinion of your very valuable Political Register, I am induced to request the insertion of a few remarks, not only on the oppressive tendency of the *income* tax, but also on that of *private brewing*, should you think them worthy of a place therein.——Before I proceed, it appears to me necessary to question the accuracy of your correspondent Lex, who, in your last number appeals to you, by asking you whether landed property, houses, &c. have not within the last twenty years, advanced in value at least one-third; he presumes to think, not only that you will admit it to be really the fact, but that every body in answering his question, whether the war taxes together with the depreciation of money, exceed the above one-third rise in landed property, will say *no*.—Now, Sir, as a proprietor of land, I must not only be permitted to doubt, but to express my decided opinion to be, that land has not *in general* increased in value equal to that proportion, and further, that the depreciation of money, added to the increased expense of necessary reparations belonging to a landed estate, are fully equal to the rise that has actually taken place in the value thereof. With regard to houses, from all the circumstances that have come within my knowledge, I have always understood that the rents, so far from increasing in the degree above mentioned, have actually decreased, and from the circumstance of the enormous window duty (nearly amounting to a rent) to which the occupier is subject. When I reflect on the comparison of the two widows, in a former

number, I am inclined to think that your sentiments correspond with mine, and that you will think with me, that if the gay lady had expended no more of her income from the funds, than the landed widow *could afford* to do, from the same capital in land, that the saving from the former would certainly have increased in a greater degree than that of land has done. I have no other motive for these observations than that of placing the landed interest on a footing with that of the fund holder and mortgagee, and I have formed a most erroneous opinion, if the *clear income* of the two latter, from a capital of the same amount, is not nearly double; if so, why wish to favour one part of the community at the expense of the other? In these times of public difficulty all ought to bear the burthen equally, of whatever description their property may be. All I contend for at present is equity in adjusting this oppressive tax, which in the plan proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer respecting *small incomes*, does not appear to have been attended to, or he never under any circumstances could have proposed to take from the small income of £100, so large a proportion as a 10th, nor could he have expected that an income of £50 should contribute to the support of the state, when it must be admitted by every impartial man, that in these times it is barely sufficient to provide necessaries for a moderate sized family. The principles upon which Mr. Fox argued in support of this tax (as reported in the public papers) is what I little expected ever to hear fall from the lips of this liberal, enlightened, and humane statesman, for it seems to convey an idea that every thing might be taken from the person of *small income*, but what was actually necessary for his existence; in short, so that he was not driven to public or private charity for support; this is elucidated by instances, that if a person possessed of £1000, from which he derived £30 a year, was called upon for the tax, it could not be said that with a capital of £1000 he could set up a title to your charitable assistance; and he further said, that to levy the tax on this description of people could not embarrass commissioners. Shocking reflection! The honest, industrious, saving individual, who, willing to lay by a part of his earnings for his support in old age, should be thus reduced to the necessity of taking every year, a part of his little capital to supply the exigencies of the state; and whilst this oppression is exercised on the most valuable part of the community, we are told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that to increase the rate of charge on the rich, agreeably to every principle of equity and honour, would have an equalizing tendency with regard to the different classes of society. I am very much mistaken if the pain that all commissioners, who are independent men, will experience in thus *reducing* the property of their poor neighbours, is not considered by them as a sufficient embarrassment to compel them to withdraw from such a scene of oppressive taxation; and should it unfortunately happen, that the people have nobody to look to in the management of the taxes, but those who are the tools of government, I shall tremble for the fate of my country.——With regard to the duty on beer brewed in private families, the first observation that will naturally strike an Englishman, is, the hint thrown out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that *the obvious* method would be *to carry the excise into every private family*, but on account of the *odium* that his lordship confesses would *attach on such a measure*, permission is given to enter into a composition by way of assessed taxes. The bare mention of such a detestable proposition coming from a quarter that I so highly respect, I must confess fills my mind with consternation; I have, however, too high an opinion of the present ministers, to think that they will ever consent to carry it into effect; for where are our boasted liberties to be looked for, should the homes of Englishmen be made familiar to the inspection of excisemen?——This odious tax is nothing less than an additional burthen on the barley counties, which will scarcely be felt in those where cider is in general use, and with what propriety this proposition comes, when the duty on malt has been so lately doubled, is very far beyond my comprehension. The duty also of 10s. per bushel appears to me enormous, and when the *different materials* of home brewed, and brewers' beer is considered, I presume the balance will be very much in favour of the public brewer; I cannot, however, for a moment suppose that this truly respectable nobleman would wish to benefit the public brewer at the expense of the public at large. I am free to grant that the imposing of taxes in a country already so drained, is a most difficult and odious task, yet I cannot but think that there is one privilege enjoyed by our representatives, as well as the peers, which at this time of public distress and difficulty, it would reflect much honour on them to give up; it would, I presume, produce a very considerable sum, and could not be attended with even *a serious inconvenience* to any one individual; it is obvious that I allude to the pri-

vilege of franking. There is a description of property, which if taken proper advantage of might be converted to the most essential service, both of his Majesty and the people; I mean the sale of the crown lands. In viewing this subject there does not appear to me one single objection, and the benefits are so many and visible, that it does strike me as strange that no one of our great patriots (to whom the country are now looking up with doubt as to their views) has preferred this measure, to one so ruinous and oppressive as the tax on private brewing; a measure that would add so essentially to the produce of the necessaries of life, by bringing into cultivation large tracts of good land, and at a time too, when we seem to be shut out from the Continent for supply. One very great advantage that this proposition possesses is, that instead of considering it a burthen, the people would in parting with their money for the support of government receive an actual valuable consideration in return. I really cannot discover any possible objection to this proposition, unless the depriving the minister of the day of the power of influencing gentlemen by grants of these lands, or the giving salaries, *taken out of our pockets by taxes*, to persons for the *supposed* management of them, can be considered as such.——I am, Sir, your most obedient, servant.—An Englishman.—*Godalming, May 22, 1806.*

BREWING TAX.

Sir;——There is something so revolting to the feelings of an Englishman, in the establishment of a private excise, that it is presumed Lord H. Petty will gladly adopt any other mode of collecting the tax, proposed to be laid upon private brewers, that may be less obnoxious to the public than the domiciliary visit of the exciseman. The good old saying, "That every Englishman's house "is his Castle, not to be attacked or violated "except in cases of crime," is deeply rooted in the minds of the country gentlemen and yeomanry of this kingdom. Their disgust is already vehemently excited, at the bare proposition of this abominable inquisition, and their decided hostility is not to be braved with impunity by any minister. "Is it to "be born," they exclaim, "that we must "surrender up the dearest of the rights be"queathed to us by our forefathers, or sub"mit to pay an exorbitant, an unequal, a "disgraceful commutation. And, who are "the men who demand from us this sacri"fice? Those whom we have been accus"tomed to look up to as the champions of "our liberties, the best friends of the peo"ple. This too," they add, "is one of the "*first* measures of their administration. "Where will this system end? The step "from the cellar to the parlour is a very "short one; and in the next year a govern"ment appraiser treading upon the heels of "the exciseman, will be introduced into "every room, and secret chamber of our "houses, to assess the value of our furni"ture, our moveables and stock of every "kind."—Such, but clothed in moderate terms, is the language of every man residing in the country; it would be indecent to add the invectives, the execrations, the comparisons to our French neighbours, which are heard on every side. If this measure be less unpopular in the metropolis, and other large towns, where individuals seldom have the conveniencies requisite for private brewing, and of course will not be affected by it in their purses; it is because unfortunately in the evil days on which we are fallen, the selfish principle is too apt to prevail over the patriotic, and makes men blind to consequences. The inhabitants of manufacturing towns too, are led to accede to this odious imposition, from a naturally entertained apprehension, that if this tax be laid aside the substitute will probably affect some branch of trade with which they are connected. Shutting their eyes therefore, to the extent of the threatened evil, they affect to be surprised at the indignation of their country neighbours, telling them that if they are averse to the exciseman's visits, they may avail themselves of the modifications proposed. But vain is the attempt to soften down a measure so radically bad, by the delusive and treacherous palliative of a commutation. No modification, no qualification whatever, can ever render it palatable to the free and independent yeomanry of the kingdom, they know that it is decidedly hostile to the whole spirit of the British constitution; and, they feel that if it is once adopted all their honest pride is gone, a vital stab is given to their liberties. As to the proposed commutation they turn from it with horror, they dread, and not without reason, that it is only an artifice to make the measure pass, and that it will subsequently be found convenient to withdraw it. What, it may now be asked, will some members of his Majesty's present government have to urge in their defence, when their declamations on a former occasion (a measure of somewhat similar nature being under discussion) are brought up in judgment against them? How will they explain away the doctrines they have held concerning the right of resistance? But, let it be hoped they will

not be reduced to this necessity. With this hope, the following alteration in the mode of assessing this tax upon private brewers, is submitted to his lordship's consideration.—His lordship's statement is, that 750,000 quarters of malt are annually consumed by the private brewer, and he proposes by the private excise or commutation thereof, to raise £500,000. To the suggestion that it would be a fairer mode to collect the whole of the Malt Liquor Tax on malt only, by repealing the tax on beer, &c. and raising that on malt, there are certainly very great objections. Now, it is proposed, in lieu of this, and of the private excise, that an additional duty should be laid on all malt used by private brewers, to be charged and collected by the exciseman as it passes out of the hands of the dealer in malt. An additional duty of 2s. per bushel, i. e. 16s. per quarter, will produce no less a sum than £600,000 taking the quantity used from his lordship's statement. There is no infringement of liberty, no obtrusion of an officer of government into private dwellings, and the public will gain by this mode £100,000. The exciseman, in the performance of his present duties, knows exactly the quantity of malt made by every dealer; and, it is an easy matter to compel the dealer to account to the exciseman for the manner in which his whole stock is consumed, whether by *public* or *private* brewers. Let him be obliged under a heavy penalty, to make a return to the exciseman of the *name and place of residence* of every person to whom he sends out any malt, together with the *quantity* sold; or, let him be obliged to apply to the exciseman for a permit, in which these particulars are to be specified, previous to his sending it off his premises. Thus, the exciseman who has a list of public brewers and dealers in beer, is at once furnished with the means of charging the additional duty, for which the dealer in malt of course indemnifies himself from his customers, by an increased price.——The only probability of fraud or evasion of this duty which occurs is, the case of the malster returning a portion of the malt sold to *private* brewers, as being sold to *public* brewers; but the exciseman's book and guage will easily detect this, in his daily visits to the public houses and breweries.—Should, indeed, the dealer in malt in his attempt to defraud the revenue, return a portion of the malt sold to the *private* brewer as being sold to a *public brewer living out of the ride* of the exciseman, under whose immediate inspection he is, this exciseman must be compelled to send notice thereof to the exciseman of the ride into which the malt is stated to be sent, and such last mentioned exciseman will easily ascertain whether such quantity of malt has been really received by such public brewer under his inspection, from the quantity and quality of the liquor he brews. It may also be provided that any public brewer buying malt of any dealer, living out of the ride of the exciseman under whose inspection he is, shall submit such malt to the view of such exciseman before he uses it; and, whether he does use it or not, the exciseman's guage will tell him.——Besides, heavy penalties may be enacted to guard against these frauds, which, however, can hardly occur; and a power may be given to the magistracy, on application from the exciseman, when there is any ground for the suspicion of fraud, to summon parties, examine them upon oath, to demand invoices, &c. &c.——Such is the outline of a plan by which the country may still be rescued from the disgrace of a private excise, and which possesses at the same time the advantages of being considerably more productive, and of not being expensive in the collection.——FROM A FRIEND TO HIS MAJESTY'S PRESENT GOVERNMENT.——*May* 29, 1806.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S APPOINTMENT.

SIR;——Though the rights of brave and free men, are not founded on any particular municipal law, but stand on a higher and a firmer ground, yet something is still due to prescription and established usage; and, in reality, it is so natural for us to think after this manner, that, however just a principle may be in itself, we yield our assent to it the more readily, if it has been likewise adopted into the laws, and sanctioned by the institutions of our forefathers. It is for this, among other reasons, that history, always important, becomes doubly so in questions of a constitutional nature. In the late discussions, on Lord ELLENBOROUGH's appointment to a seat in the cabinet, the able men who conducted the debate on the behalf of ministers, argued from the usages of former times, while their opponents were so little versed in the history of their country, that it neither enabled them to dispute the precedents which had been urged against them, nor furnished them with any in their own favour. To make up for their deficiency, I offer you a few remarks, which, if not now out of season, you will, perhaps, insert. For, though, from the two numbers I have just read of your "Debates," the weight of talent seems to have been all on the ministerial side, my opinion is still un-

changed as to the principle of the English constitution. I do not, however, mean to enter on the question at large, but only to examine a few precedents, and, as far as the subject will allow, in the manner of a law-argument.—It was said, that " from the earliest periods of our history, it would be found that legal persons have been called to the councils of the Sovereign. The grand justiciary was formerly the first minister."—[*Lord* GRENVILLE's *speech*]—Sir, there can be no doubt that the grand justiciary was a minister of state: but, for the *reason* of his being so, we must look to many concurring causes, which, as they no longer exist, can furnish no precedent to our times. In our reasonings on history we do worse than trifle, when we argue as if some single custom were to continue, or some one point (as it were) to be stationary, when every thing around is shifted; every thing which gave principle to the institution, and life (if I may say so) to the form. Nor is it only the state of society that is changed: for the situation itself of a grand justiciary, differs in so many points of its origin, and nature, and object from that of a modern chief justice, that no argument can be fairly drawn from one to the other. It would not be difficult to trace the cause and growth of the justiciary's power, the changes it underwent, and, at length, the separation of his many offices. But, as this is not a place for such researches, I will only add, that though the situation " of chief justice, was in show but one office, yet in those times" he was not only the ordinary chief judge, but the high steward also, and " the King's lieutenant-general in all causes and places, as well in warre as peace." [*Nat.* BACON's " *Hist. Discourses.*"] So that, if the argument from the grand justiciary prove any thing it proves too much; and is a precedent for vesting in Lord ELLENBOROUGH not only the office of a chief justice, and the situation of a political adviser of the crown; but the offices, likewise, of high-steward, and of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Sometimes, indeed, all this was too little: for, in the reign of RICHARD Ist, William Longchamp was at once Bishop of Ely, Papal Legate, Chancellor, and Grand Justiciary. But *is* this an example to be copied in our times? Or, would a bishop be now better qualified than another man, to fill the office of chancellor or chief justice? No, Sir. Instead of copying the precise form of an ancient institution, when taken literally and by itself; instead of looking at it apart from all those circumstances which gave rise to it, and that state of society to which, perhaps, it was well fitted, we should keep that state and those circumstances full before us, and (in political as well as other philosophy) rise from particular cases to the principles by which those cases were governed. Since the days of the justiciaries, the study of the laws, and the habits of the world at large are changed: a liberal education has become common among gentlemen; and such of them as are not tied down to professional pursuits, are most likely to acquaint themselves with points of general politics. Mr. Fox, indeed, observes, " that there are many subjects of war and peace, commerce and finances, upon which a chief justice may be consulted:" [*Mr. Fox's speech*] but we all must know that the habits of a practising lawyer are so far from qualifying him for such subjects, that they tend in their very nature to prevent his becoming master of them. The law is, itself, the labour of a life; nor, I think, would Mr. Fox, as Secretary of State, very seriously consult Lord ELLENBOROUGH, with a view of gaining information on foreign affairs. If, indeed, a lawyer can ever withdraw himself from the paths of professional practice, to pursuits of a more general nature, he will do well to employ his leisure, not in the details of foreign politics, but in studying the free constitution of his native country, that he may learn to love and to support it. Even those members of the profession whose situation has sometimes forced them out of the circle, which seemed properly to be their own, have, on such occasions added nothing either to their influence in society or to their good name in future times. We respect Lord CLARENDON for example, not that he negociated the sale of DUNKIRK, but that he saved the constitution, equally from the court, and the mistaken loyalty of the people themselves.*

* It is well worthy notice, that Lord Clarendon rejected the idea of being *political adviser of the crown, without having also an office in the government,* though a plan of this kind was urged upon him by the Duke of Ormond, the Duke of York, and " others who wished well to him," and " did always think that he might have prevented his own fate, if he had at that time submitted to their judgment;" or, to speak plainly, they thought that he might thus have held political power, and yet have avoided the consequences of that responsibility which in England properly belongs to it; that he might

We respect also Lord SOMERS, not for the share which he had in the "Partition Treaty," but for his wise and virtuous conduct at the time of the revolution, and the measures which he afterwards took for securing to us the benefit of that great event.—But to return: in addition to our justiciaries, we find Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE pressed into the support of this argument; and we are told, that "in the reign of Charles IId. he introduced a *bill* for the appointment of a Committee of Privy Counsellors," and that "by this bill it was provided, that the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas should be a member of the proposed Committee of Council." [Mr. Fox's *Speech.*] Before I come to the plan, let me say a word or two of its author, to whom our literature as well as constitutional policy have been much indebted. His works are an early instance, in our language, of a classical style, at once happy in the structure of the sentences, and full of life and sweetness, and his "Memoirs" (in which we find his scheme for this "new council"), are among the most interesting details of his time. He understood too the subject of government, and loved the liberties of England. But with all this he had a species of vanity in his character, which sometimes prompted him to attempt things seemingly inconsistent. It was this turn of mind (played upon by CHARLES II.) that among other things kindled in him an attachment to the House of Stuart, and led him, though a friend of liberty, to resist the Exclusion Bill. By this key we may, I think, explain some parts of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's conduct, though perhaps we need not have recourse to it in our present question.—The Cabinet, we know, is but a Committee of Privy Counsellors: so that the words (as reported) of Mr. Fox, "A Committee of Privy Counsellors," and a "Committee of Council," may mislead many into an idea that this, by whatever name, was of the nature of a Cabinet Council, and formed (as that is) for purposes altogether political. No such thing. It was to every purpose a complete council, with committees issuing out of itself. Speaking of its formation, Sir W. TEMPLE says, "These considerations cast me upon the thought of the King's establishing a "*new council;*" [*Temple's Works*, v. i. p. 333.] and afterwards he remarks, "how much the general affairs devolved upon the council, *or* the particular committees." [v. 1. p. 336.] RALPH, mentioning the Privy Council which was turned out, in order to make way for this, says, "The present council was, with repeated thanks for their past services, &c. dissolved. The next morning was appointed for the meeting of the *new one*;" [*Ralph History*, v. i. p. 439.] and BURNET (a contemporary historian) tells us, of the same event, that "the King was prevailed upon to dismiss the *whole council*, which was all made up of Lord Danby's creatures, and the chief men of both Houses were brought into it." [*Own Time*, v. i. p. 454.] In all this we do not find a word of its being a "Committee of Council." On the other hand, it is expressed to be itself a complete Privy Council, and a substitute for the old one which was dissolved. In which case it was, no doubt, fitting to have one or more Judges members of it, to "inform the King" (as TEMPLE expresses himself) "in what concerns the laws." We must remember that the Privy Council are not (as the Cabinet Council) merely political advisers of the Crown, but that they, in fact, also form with the King, a Court of Judicature, and have causes for their decision continually brought before them. In this, then, there is a marked distinction between the two. Yet were they argued on in the debate, as if the same in nature! and it was triumphantly asked if the Chief Justice "should be struck out of the list of Privy Counsellors? Off the list of Peers?" [Mr. NAT. BOND's *Speech.*] No, sir, he should remain a member of the Privy Council, if for no other reason, yet because it is a Court of Judicature, and the presence o a Chief Justice there may be important; a reason, by the bye, which must have had still greater weight, when the Court of Star Chamber was also in being, and every Privy Counsellor (says COKE) had "a voice and place in it," by virtue of his office. As to the other point of Mr. N. BOND's most extraordinary question, "whether he should be struck off the list of Peers? Why, really sir, I am at a loss to guess how it came at

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have escaped the punishment *merely* through the difficulty of detection. Clarendon's "fate" was hard and undeserved; yet "he often said that he would not have redeemed himself by that expedient;" for such power, in whatever degree, is of the same nature with that of a prime minister on the Continent; and Clarendon might well judge that the thing itself was foreign to our constitution, when the very "title" of it "was so newly translated out of French into English, that it was not enough understood to be liked." [*Continuation of the Earl of Clarendon's Life by Himself.* 45 *and seq.*]

all into the discussion. It shall not continue in it through my means. Only as Mr Bond has so happily started the idea, I will just inform him that the first modern instance of a peerage being given to a Judge of Common Law was that conferred upon the Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, by James the II. as a reward for his exploits in what that King pleasantly termed his western "campaign." "A dignity (says Burnet) which, though anciently some Judges were raised to it, yet in these latter ages, as there was no example of it, so it was thought inconsistent with the character of a Judge." [*Own Time*, v. i. p. 648.] I submit this passage to Mr. Bond's perusal; and perhaps he will not hereafter put idle questions.——But to return to Sir W. Temple: the instance of the Council he proposed does not, we have seen, apply to the point at issue. Though, if it had been otherwise, I should, in a constitutional enquiry, have conceded little to the precedent of a Council, one object of whose establishment (it is plainly intimated by its author) was, that if the House of Commons should refuse supplies, "the Council out of their own "stock," (and they were partly chosen for their wealth) "might, upon a pinch, furnish the King so far as to relieve some "great necessity of the crown." [Temple's Works. vol. 1, page 333.]——I have now touched upon such precedents as the ministry brought forward and their opponents omitted to examine. In the course of my remarks on them, I have said that a Chief Justice is not likely to cast much light on questions of foreign policy. Let us see how far it is to be wished that he should offer his opinions to the Government on some points, which are more immediately in his own province. And here we have illustrations without number: but I mean to content myself with one of them. (In "Peacham's Case," James the first "directed" that Lord *Coke* (who was, at that time, Chief Justice of the King's-Bench) should give an opinion of its merits, at the Council Table. But Coke (says Bacon) "complained that such particular and auricular "taking of opinions was not according to "the custom of this Realm." [Bacon's Works, vol. 4, letter 50.]——Stronger still, and of a larger application are the opinions recorded by himself, of this Oracle of English Law. He observes, (it is in the third Institute) that "to the end that the Trial, "may be more indifferent, seeing that the "safety of the prisoner consisteth in the "indifferency of the Court, the Judges "ought not to deliver their opinions before-"hand of any criminal case that may come "before them judicially." He then notices the case of "Humfrey Stafford, that Arch Traitor, "in the reign of Henry VII, "when Hussey, Chief Justice, besought the King that he would not desire to know their opinions beforehand for Humphrey Stafford, for they thought it should come before them in the King's Bench judicially." Hussey spoke as well in the name of the other judges as in his own; and, Henry, though full enough of his prerogative, admitted the propriety of their appeal to him, "for how can they be indifferent who have delivered their opinions before-hand, without hearing of the party, when a small addition or substraction may alter the case? And, *how doth it stand with their oath, who are sworn that they should well and lawfully serve our Lord the King and his people, in the office of a justice?* And they should do equal law and execution of right to all his subjects?" [3 *Inst. Fol.* 29.]—With this extract I shall end the argument. The conduct of Hussey and the quotation from Coke, are express to the purpose. In spirit and in principle they are full to the point: nor can I conclude more satisfactorily than with the opinion of that great and upright chief justice, who has left us in his writings, the best treasure of the common law, and who closed his public labours, by drawing, supporting, and carrying the petition of right.—In this letter, I have abstained from repeating any arguments which were urged in the debate; but I have done all that I meant to do, by searching into some precedents on the subject. In such enquiry, I have not only been unbiassed by my party-feelings, but, for once, have strongly taken part against them, and in this very letter I should, perhaps, say something, of Mr. Fox especially, if he were not in office; while in whatever point of view I look at those who are against him, they seem to me alike unfit to compose the ministry or the opposition of a free and enlightened people.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

10*th April*, 1806. R. T.

Property and Income Tax.

(*Continued from p.* 832.)

As your correspondent A. B. (p. 756) very justly observes, "the only plan that can "rouse the spirit of the people, is to con-"vince them that they have something to

" defend."——On this principle I am impelled to repeat my former observation, that *no income under* 100 *l. per annum* should be subject to the Income Tax; and *that* not higher than 2 per cent.; the deficiency (as Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. W. Smith very liberally proposed) " to be compensated by a " higher rate on the more enlarged in- " comes "—To demonstrate the justice of this principle, I will select the following instance. Suppose a clerk in a public office, or private counting house, to have a salary of 100 l. per annum, which is more than many of them have. With this he has a wife and family to maintain, and some decency of appearance to support beyond what is expected from a mechanic or journeyman, who is entitled to exemption because his earnings do not exceed 5s. per day. The clerk must also pay more rent, and consequently *more taxes*, because he must from a necessary regard to *appearances*, live in a more respectable neighbourhood than a mechanic or journeyman is obliged to do. He *must* also (if he has 4 or 5 children) keep a female servant, which even on the most moderate computation cannot cost him less than 30 l. or 35 l. per annum. His house-rent and taxes will probably be full as much. But estimating both at only 50 l. per annum, that is *half* his income: 50 l. per annum then will be the utmost that can remain for the support of himself and family. To take 10 l. per annum from this scanty pittance of his hard earned wages, and that too under the name of a " Property Tax," can only be considered by him as a *cruel mockery* of his indigence and distress; as oppression aggravated by insult! What then must be his sensations when he reflects that this tax is imposed upon him to *secure the property* of foreign stock-holders, who must themselves remain *untaxed*, because *unrepresented!* Or of an opulent *loan-monger*, or land-holder, who daily riots on every luxury which art can furnish, or wealth can buy, while he and his family are condemned to an irremediable state of penury and despair!!——To all thus circumstanced, a tax of 10 l. per annum, whether called " Property Tax," or by any other name, is as really a tax on the *necessaries* of life, as if it were laid on the bread they eat.—But the evil ends not even here, for this tax of 10 per cent. comes not alone. As your correspondent " Senex" very justly observes, (p. 230) the proprietors of houses not only shift the property tax from themselves to their tenants, but actually overpay themselves in the advance of their rent, " not only for this, but for every " other tax to which their property is sub- " ject."—That they act thus in this neighbourhood, I could prove by numerous facts; and even the very lowest class of the labouring poor, who live in hovels of 8 or 10 l. per annum, have, by the sordid avarice of their landlords, in various instances that have come to my knowledge, been compelled either to pay the Property Tax, (their landlords *refusing* to take the printed receipts in part of their rent) to quit their miserable houses, or to pay an advanced rent of more than double the amount of the tax.——The rapid advance in the rent of houses in this neighbourhood, since the revival of the Property Tax is astonishing. Out of many instances I shall only mention the following. A row of 14 houses (of that class usually inhabited by clerks in public or private offices, with small salaries) was begun about three years ago. The first houses that were finished consisting of 6 small rooms, (kitchen and washhouse included) were let at from 18 to 20 guineas per annum.——The last finished only last Michaelmas, obtained from 28 to 30 guineas per annum; and none of them are now to be had under 30 l. or guineas.—By this advance in the rent of 10 l. per annum, the tax on *inhabited* houses is also increased from about 24s. to 3 l. per annum, and parochial taxes always advance with the rent.—All these burdens aggravated by the rapid increase of price in all the necessaries of life, necessarily arising from the multiplication of taxes, and the depreciation of money, fall with accumulated and intolerable weight on all life annuitants, and persons of small incomes; particularly so on all clerks in public or private offices; shopmen, and all that numerous class removed a few degrees above the journeyman or mechanic, but whose employment though more light, still occupies almost the whole of their time and attention —They may be flattered with the appellation of *gentleman*, and their *wages* may be dignified with the name of *salary*, but if those compliments which partake much more of ridicule than honour, are succeeded by a tax of 10 per cent. per annum on their income, what can be their future prospect, but a gaol for themselves, and a workhouse for their families!——I am, Sir, &c. &c.——BRITANNICUS.—*May* 19, 1806.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" There appears to me to be no new source left; and that, when you have tried all other ways in vain, you " must come again with further additions to the Assessed Taxes, or to the Income Tax."—MR. FRANCIS's Speech on the Budget.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BREWING TAX.——It is with most sincere satisfaction that I have to observe to my readers, that the ministers have given up this odious tax, which would have so multiplied the pretexts of tax-gatherers for intruding into private houses, which would have so increased the number of those tax-gatherers, which would have added so very much to the vexations of the taxing system, that there is no knowing to what consequences it might finally have led. Old George Rose is, I perceive, opposed to the addition made to the Assessed Taxes. This alone would, with me, be no very weak presumption in favour of the measure: but, the measure does not stand in need of George's opposition; for, while it is allowed, that more taxes must be raised, the things to be desired are, that the raising of them should not create new tax-gatherers, new restraints upon the liberty of the subject, and new vexations, and that the weight should not immediately fall upon those the least able to bear it, as in the case of the lower classes on whom the Income Tax has been imposed, but, from whom it is now, I believe, to be taken off. I have only to repeat my hearty approbation of this measure; and, while I congratulate the ministry upon having adopted it, I beg leave again to beseech them to reflect upon the necessity of imposing a heavy tax upon all *sinecures*, *pensions* and *grants*, not bestowed in consequence of real services performed, or real losses sustained, for the good of the country in general. A heavy tax, or large deduction from these, together with a resolute and efficient inquiry into the *expenditure* of the public, and a firm determination to retrench whenever it is practicable, would render new taxes quite unnecessary for many years to come. But, if we go on adding to the taxes; if, though the thing becomes every year more and more difficult to accomplish, we still go on borrowing and taxing, does any man believe it possible, that the war can be carried on, let what will be the terms or the consequence of peace? It is not merely the pressure upon the people, though that is an object well worthy of attention; it is in their ultimate effect upon the questions of peace or war that I most dread the additions made to the taxes. To make peace upon terms that would enable us to diminish our expenses, we must let the enemy see that we are able to continue the war, without evident ruin to our national credit; and, never will he see this; never will he, for one moment, be induced to believe it, while he sees us reduced to such miserable means of providing for the expenses of the year. He does, indeed, see LORD GRENVILLE and SIR JOHN NEWPORT at the head of our financial concerns; and, of course, he must suppose, that there is something very *profound* in contemplation; but, he is too wise a man not to wait for " experience and the evidence of facts," before he believes, that these great political economists have actually placed our affairs upon such a footing as will enable them to order *cash payments to be received at the Bank!*——It is this TAXING part of our present system that forms the only serious obstacle to the schemes, be they what they may, of any minister. As long as new taxes can be found, new loans will be made; and from these new loans, new places, new pensions, and new grants will flow. But, the taxing must stop some time or other; and it must stop, too, some time before it be necessary to have resort to military aid *immediately* employed in the collection of taxes; or, if it do not, the consequences must be dreadful indeed. Therefore, as there appears to be no prospect of a termination to the war; as there appears to be no practicable means left of adding to the amount of the revenue; the only thing remaining to us, is, to *diminish our expenditure*; this does remain to us; and to this our ministers will, I trust, lose no time in resorting.

SLAVE TRADE.——On Tuesday, the 10th instant, Mr. Fox, after a speech of some length, in the House of Commons, introduced and made the following motion:—
" That this House, conceiving the African
" Slave Trade to be contrary to the principles
" of humanity, justice, and sound policy,
" will, with all practicable expedition, take

" such measures as shall appear to them ef-
" fectual for the abolition of the said trade
" in such manner, and at such a period as
" may be deemed adviseable "—The debate lasted for several hours, and concluded with a division of 114 for, and 15 against it.—Lord Castlereagh observed, that this motion, a mere declaration of an intention to act, without naming any time, or any particular manner of acting, appeared to him to be of no use, except, perhaps, that of keeping up, for a little longer, the old character of the right honble. mover amongst those who had felt evident disappointment at his conduct since in office.—And, really, what can possibly be the use of this motion, other than the one here spoken of? *That* use, however, it will not be of; for, of all those who have been disappointed at the conduct of Mr. Fox (and great indeed is that number) I have never yet heard of one, who even thought about the *Slave Trade*, every one appearing to have his mind quite sufficiently occupied with seeking for the means of preventing us, ourselves, from becoming slaves, here at home, in our native country; the more especially as the voice of humanity called upon us much more loudly in favour of 1,200,000 paupers of England than in favour of 400,000 negroes of the West-Indies, no one of which negroes is not better fed, is not better off, than any one of those paupers; nay, than any one of the day-labouring men in England.—Mr. Fox will, perhaps, tell us, that he cannot help the miseries of the people of England; that it was not he who brought those miseries upon them; and, that any attempt of his to relieve them would be vain. True, he cannot, all at once, relieve the poor of England; and, let me add, that he *cannot* do what his motion purports relative to the negroes. It was not he who brought these miseries upon the people of England; but, he has applauded the minister who did, and, what is more, he has, on account of the public merits of that minister, voted 40,000l. of the public money to pay his debts. And, besides, as declarations are so cheap, why not move a declaration descriptive of a wish to relieve the miseries of the poor of England? Really, one would imagine, that the hearts of the people here are the only ones that the ministers do not think worth gaining.—But, why bring forward the SLAVE TRADE and leave so many other solemn pledges unredeemed? What are become of all the pledges about PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; about the IRISH CATHOLICS; about the MODE OF GOVERNING INDIA; about the CORRECTION OF ABUSES in the public expenditure? Upon the subject of India there has been made, and is now upon record, a declaration of the House of Commons that has been over and over again violated. Whether Mr. Fox has discovered any very great degree of keenness to punish the violators, I shall not say; but, in the face of that fact, what purpose can it answer to add another declaration to the one *already existing* about the Slave Trade?—The declaration about the Slave Trade is a dead letter. There is not the least prospect of its being *acted upon* for many years; whereas the " emancipation" of the Irish Catholics might take place in a month or six weeks' time. " Parliamentary Reform " might be begun, at least; and, as to the " Mode of " Governing," or rather, of tyrannizing over India, there never was a better opportunity for changing that, than the one which now presents itself; yet, *there*, Mr. Fox tells us, that " when a system is once esta-
" blished, it is, ninety-nine times out of a
" hundred, better to let it remain, though
" with many evils, than to run the risk of
" a change!"——It is perfectly whimsical to have fixed upon this Slave-Trade subject, whereupon to give a proof of consistency, wherein to make a stir and whence to draw forth the fair fruits of patriotic labour, while all the other great principles, so easily acted upon, are suffered to lie fallow. " My dear " Sir," said the English minister to the Ambassador of Bantam, " I will go to the " end of the world to serve you." But, when the Ambassador asked him merely to go to the end of the street to fetch a trunk for him, " the varlet laughed in his " face." There are two motives which may lead to the encountering of difficult things: the one is, the love of that fame which is to be acquired only by achievements: the other is, the desire to obtain credit for an attempt, and to secure, at the same time, an apology for a failure. From which of these Mr. Fox's motion has proceeded I must leave the reader to judge; but, I must say, that, unless the resolution could have been immediately acted upon; or, at least, unless *some* time could have been *named* for acting upon it, the motion does appear to me to be capable of producing nothing but mischief in the West-Indies, and, that too, at a moment the most critical that ever existed for those colonies. If Mr. Fox thinks that the West-India Colonies are a burden to England, and that to get rid of them would be a good thing, then I allow, that he is acting wisely; but, still, even in that case, I would have preferred the direct course, being convinced, that the present mode of proceeding must produce great mis-

chief without the possibility of producing any good at all.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—AMERICA.——To the subjects of dispute, already existing between Great Britain and the United States of America, another has now been added of a nature more serious than any heretofore agitated. The PRESIDENT's proclamation will speak for itself. I shall insert it here, and offer a few short remarks upon the events therewith connected: "Whereas "satisfactory information has been received "that Henry Whitby, commanding a Bri- "tish armed vessel, called the Leander, "did on the 25th day of the month of April "last past, within the waters and jurisdiction "of the United States, and near to the en- "trance of the harbour of New York by a "cannon shot fired from the said vessel "Leander, commit a murder on the body of "John Pierce, a citizen of the United "States, then pursuing his lawful vocations "within the same waters and jurisdiction "of the United States, and near to their "shores, and that the said Henry Whitby, "cannot at this time be brought to justice "by the ordinary powers of the law.—And "Whereas it does further appear that both "before and after the said day, sundry "trespasses, wrongs, and unlawful inter- "ruptions and vexations on trading vessels "coming to the United States, and within "their waters and vicinity, were committed "by the said armed vessel the Leander, "her officers and people, by one other "armed vessel called the Cambrian, com- "manded by John Nairne, her officers and "people, and by one other armed vessel called "the Driver, commanded by Slingsby Simp- "son, her officers and people, which vessels "being all of the same nation were aiding "and assisting each other in the tres- "passes, interruptions and vexations afore- "said.—Now, wherefore, to the end that "the said Henry Whitby may be brought "to justice, and due punishment inflicted "for the said murder, I do hereby enjoin "and require all officers having autho- "rity, civil or military, and to all other "persons within the limits or jurisdiction "of the United States, wheresoever the "said Henry Whitby may be found, "now or hereafter, to apprehend and "secure the said Henry Whitby, and "him safely and diligently to deliver to the "civil authority of the place, to be proceeded "against according to law.—And I do fur- "ther require that the said armed vessel the "Leander, with her other officers and peo- "ple, and the said armed vessels the Cam- "brian and Driver, their officers and people, "immediately and without delay, depart "from the harbours and waters of the "United States. And I do for ever inter- "dict the entrance of all the harbours and "waters of the United States to the said armed "ed vessels, and to all other vessels which "shall be commanded by the said Henry "Whitby, John Nairne, and Slingsby Simp- "son, or either of them:—And if the said "vessels, or any of them, shall fail to depart "as aforesaid, or shall re-enter the harbours "or waters aforesaid, I do in that case "forbid all intercourse with the said armed "vessels, the Leander, the Cambrian, and "the Driver, or with any of them, and the "officers and crews thereof, and do prohi- "bit all supplies and aid from being fur- "nished them or any of them. And I do "declare and make known, that if any "person, from, or within the jurisdictional "limits of the United States, shall afford "any aid to either of the said armed vessels, "contrary to the Proclamation, either in "repairing such vessel, or in furnishing her "officers or crews with supplies of any "kind, or in any manner whatsoever, or "if any Pilot shall assist in navigating any "of the said armed vessels, unless it be for "the purpose of carrying them in the first "instance, beyond the limits and juris- "diction of the United States, such person "or persons shall, on conviction, suffer all "the pains and penalties by the laws pro- "vided for such offences: and I do hereby "enjoin and require all persons bearing office "Civil or Military within the United States, "and all others, citizens or inhabitants "thereof, or being within the same, with "vigilance and promptitude to exert their "respective authorities, and to be aiding "and assisting to the carrying this procla- "mation and every part thereof into full "effect.—In testimony whereof, I have "caused the Seal of the United States to be "affixed (L. S.) to these presents, and "signed the same with my hand.—Given "at the city of Washington, the 3d day of "May, in the year of our Lord, one "thousand eight hundred and six, and of "the sovereignty and independence of the "United States the thirtieth.—(Signed) "THOMAS JEFFERSON, By the President. "(Signed) JAMES MADISON, Sec of State." The ferment, we are told, which had been excited in New-York and other towns, on the death of the American seaman, was beyond any thing the reader can conceive. It was scarcely exceeded by the popular fury of Marat's associates in Paris, when the revolutionary frenzy was at its height there. No Englishman could appear in the streets, but

at the hazard of his life; parties paraded with the American colours hoisted over those of England. Meetings were held to originate resolutions in which England was execrated, and their own government treated with the grossest contempt, for its tardiness in declaring against England. The walls were covered with inflammatory hand bills, the writers of which, with the newspapers attached to the party, stuck at nothing that could fan the popular fury.——All this I, who know them, can easily believe of the mongrel rabble at New-York, who call themselves Americans, but who, for the far greater part, perhaps, have escaped from their creditors or the persons they have robbed in Europe. Very different will, I am certain, have been the feelings of the *people of America* properly so called; and, agreeably with those better feelings, the President seems to have acted.——I wish not to justify, or even to excuse the conduct of the British officers, if they have been guilty of the crime alledged against them. I know, too, that some of them are arrogant enough, seeming to think that they inherit from nature all the power which their King and country have placed in their hands; and, thence, acting very often, for the indulgence of their own passions, without taking into view the interests of their employers. But, I also know, that they frequently meet, in America, with treatment too provoking for men of common spirit to bear. I know, that upon all occasions, the magistracy of New-York have shewn the greatest possible partiality to the enemy's of England; they have, when British sailors have got on shore, protected them against the searches of their ships; they have annoyed our ships in all manner of ways, while they have, in all manner of ways, favoured the ships of the French. All this does not justify the killing of a man, in an American ship, *within the waters of the United States*, unless the American ship *struck the first blow*; but, it is quite enough to make us hesitate, before we believe, that the act of violence *was* committed within those waters, and without justificatory provocation, especially when we reflect, that, to the character for insolence unparalleled in the world, the American *captains* add the character for falsehood equally pre-eminent. I speak, of course, with exceptions; but, the archives of our courts of vice-admiralty will testify for the general truth of my statement.——The lamentations over the body of the dead seaman, and the indignation so loudly expressed against those who had been the cause of his death, would have sounded better did we not recollect, that, when, during the last war, American seamen were beaten, flogged, fired at, and, in more than one instance killed, by the *French* ships, not one regular complaint was made! And, I remember, that, when a vessel had been fired upon, when great mischief had been done, and when the French actually came on board and made the Americans *pay for the shot that had been fired at them*, I endeavoured, but *in vain*, to excite in the people of Philadelphia and New-York, some degree of active indignation. I endeavoured to work them up to a petition, or something of that sort; but, so far was I from succeeding, that I was accused of a desire to plunge the nation into war; and, some of the people went so far as actually to propose to send me out of the country, under the *Alien Act!* Now, when I recollect all these things, though I shall not attempt to justify or excuse the English captains, though I very much regret that an American seaman should have been killed by British hands, and though I have the greatest dislike to every act of injustice or severity or even rudeness towards the Americans, I must hesitate before I join in condemning the conduct of those captains. Let us hear *their* account. Let us compare it with the statement of "Mr. De Wit," of New-York, the far greater portion of the public merit of which Mr. De Wit, is, merely that he has always been known for a bitter and sworn enemy of England.—— The conduct of the President has, in this case, been moderate and dignified. He is too wise to plunge the country into war for the purpose of gratifying the hatred of the dominant party at New-York; and, indeed, though his proclamation is founded upon their report and their complaint, it is very evident that he not only perceives the motive by which they are actuated, but that, in addition thereto, he suspects their *veracity*.

India Affairs.——No proceeding can, as was before stated, take place, in the House of Commons, relative to the Oude Charge, until the 18th instant, when it is, apparently, Mr. Paull's intention to call some witnesses to the bar of the House. The Charge itself will be, in part at least, inserted in the present sheet. The remainder will follow; and, it is my intention, under the head of Oude Charge, to put upon record every thing material, whether in support, or in resistance of the charge, which shall occur in the House of Commons; it being, in my opinion, of great importance to the character and the interest of the nation, that this case should be fully and fairly laid before the

world.——In the mean while several additional papers have been moved for on both sides; and, amongst others, a letter written in India by Mr. PAULL approving of the conduct of Marquis Wellesley. The following is the report, taken from the COURIER newspaper, of what was said by Sir Arthur Wellesley and Mr. Paull, in the House of Commons, on the 10th instant, upon the subject of the letter here spoken of: "Sir "ARTHUR WELLESLEY moved, that there "be laid before the House, an Extract from "the proceedings of the Governor General "at Bengal, in the public department, on "the 10th of March, 1803, being a Copy "of a Letter from Mr James Paull, dated "December the 1st 1802; and the Answer "thereto from the Secretary to the Govern"ment, dated March the 10th 1803. "(The Hon. Baronet read a part of Mr. "Paull's Letter, in which he spoke of the "wise, liberal and enlightened policy "which had distinguished every measure "of Marquis Wellesley's Administration). "After a few words from Mr. Paull, who "allowed that the letter had been written "by him, but who stated that it was six "weeks after his return to Lucknow, from "England, the motion was agreed to,"—The defence must be very bad, if it stand in need of such means as this. Would any one, let me ask, think of answering me, upon the subject of Mr. Pitt's conduct as a minister, by telling me, that I praised Mr. Pitt as a minister in 1800, just after my return to England? But Mr. Paull now condemns in toto, an administration, which, in toto, he approved of in 1802; and just so have I acted with regard to the administration of Mr Pitt; but, I defy any one to shew that I have herein discovered any want of principle or of consistency. I was not, in 1800, acquainted with the facts that I am now, and long since have been acquainted with. I had, in 1800, been made acquainted with only just what Mr. Pitt and his press chose to let me know. Mr. Paull did, indeed, in returning to India, in 1802, find Marquis Wellesley in possession of Oude; but, did he know the *means*, by which that possession had been obtained? *Could* he know the means, and that, too, in six weeks after his arrival in the country? In time he did hear much about those means; but, I will venture to say, that he never was fully acquainted with them till the Oude Papers were put into his hands in consequence of his own motions. Yes, it must be a bad case, indeed, if a letter of the accuser, written under such circumstances; a letter of *compliments*, written to a man whom every one complimented; very bad must be the case, if such a letter, so written, be thought of any use in the *defence!* Let us hope that Marquis Wellesley has something much better than this to urge in his defence. Let us hope, that he has in reserve, some positive instructions to warrant his conduct towards the Nabob Vizier of Oude; or, some proof that the Nabob Vizier violated the treaty made with him by SIR JOHN SHORE, in 1798; for, unless the Marquis can produce something of this kind, I am persuaded that a complimentary letter from a private individual (however highly distinguished for probity and honour that individual might be) will have but little effect in effacing from the minds of foreign nations, the impressions that must necessarily have been produced by the documents now before parliament and the world, relative to the transactions in OUDE.

SOMERSETSHIRE ELECTION.——A contest for the vacant seat in the representation of this county (a vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. DICKINSON) has just begun. The candidates are MR. ACLAND of Fairfield, and MR. LETHBRIDGE of Bridgewater. MR. ACLAND is Chairman of the General Quarter Sessions of the county; and, the principal cause of the anger that seems to prevail in the county, is, that Mr. ACLAND, who had canvassed in August last, upon the prospect of an approaching vacancy, did, in April last, having in the interim become Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, make a formal resignation of his pretensions to a seat for the county, and this upon the ground, that such seat would be *altogether incompatible with the situation of Chairman* The paper addressed to his friends upon this occasion, is a most valuable one; not as relating merely to the present occasion, but, as containing principles, the application of which to other cases may be of the utmost importance to the nation in general. The question, how far *magistrates*, especially if high in point of power, should interfere in elections, or be eligible by the popular voice, has been a subject of discussion, especially in the County of Middlesex. MR. ACLAND, in a manner the most satisfactory, and in a style the most happily adapted to the matter, settled the point. I shall insert the whole of the paper, and then add a few remarks upon what has occurred since the date of it. "Upon the most ma"ture and grave deliberation, on the effects "of county representation attaching on the "Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, MR. "ACLAND is convinced that no political ob"ject, by which the public opinion might

" be courted, or feared, should be entertained by a Chairman.—In the discharge of such a sacred trust as that of the chair, the mind of the person holding it should be disinterested and independent; should be disengaged from the pursuit and contemplation of any situation, the attainment of which is to be sought for through the medium of popular opinion; and the possession of which must be maintained by such conciliating endeavours to please, as might not always be consistent with those principles, which should invariably predominate in the breast of a judicial character.——In order to prevent any apprehension of influence, and the possibility of its action, on the mind of a person in the high official situation of chairman, it would be prudent to look to the jealousy with which the constitution has protected the establishment of the judges, whose independence and uprightness are essential to the impartial administration of justice, and form one of the best securities of the rights and liberties of the subject; and guard by equal jealousy, the character and office of chairman, from any temptations or apprehensions which might by possibility arise from the hope or fear of popular opinion.——Whoever considers the judicial character of a chairman, his power, his respectability, and his duty, in the court in which he presides, he must wish that he, like the judges, should be independent; and that the energies of his mind should be free from the pressure of every species of influence, or bias, by which the sources of justice might be polluted, and the laws partially administered.——The momentous consequences of these reflections, arising not from imaginary theories, but from conclusions drawn from observations on facts as they have occurred, are so strongly felt by MR. ACLAND, that he is compelled to acknowledge they have made an indelible impression on his mind; and produced a decided conviction that no Chairman of the Quarter Session can discharge his duty, with that ease, integrity, and uprightness which he ought, if county representation be an object of his desire, either from the favour of the public, or the incentive of his own ambition. And that any means tending to unite the representation of the county with the office of the chair, would be incompatible with the general interests of the former, and would be dangerous and inconsistent with the administration of justice in the latter.——MR. ACLAND therefore, requests to lay these considerations before his friends; these have produced the unalterable determination in his mind, to give up all thoughts and pretensions of looking to the representation of the county in case of a vacancy.——He desires his friends to accept his most grateful thanks for the very flattering testimonies of their opinion, favour, and esteem; and to receive the most solemn assurances, that he has been solely influenced in this measure by the serious conviction that it would be dishonourable and criminal in him to look toward an object, neither the pursuit nor attainment of which can be sanctioned by his conscience, or justified by those principles which he regards as paramount to all other considerations.——FAIRFIELD.——*April 19, 1806.*"——Now, who will not lament to hear, that this gentleman, after all this, should have been persuaded to offer himself as a candidate for this very seat in parliament?——It is stated, in a hand-bill now before me, dated at BATH, 10th of June, 1806, that his friends have had great difficulty in overcoming his scruples; and, that, *if he should be elected*, he will *resign the post of Chairman*. But, does not the reader at once perceive, that this is not even a salvo; for that, though he will not now retain the chair in order to perpetuate the seat, he scruples not to pursue the seat while possessed of the chair, though he has positively declared, that, being in the chair, it would be " dishonourable and criminal in him to " *look toward* the seat, neither the *pursuit* " nor attainment of which can be sanctioned " by his *conscience*."——Aware of the weakness of their ground, his friends, in the hand-bill above referred to, have had recourse to *casuistry*, of which I will here give MR. WINDHAM a specimen:——" But " in point of argument, let us consider the " force of certain declarations even when " sanctioned by the *solemnity of an oath*. " Canonists and other moral writers, of the " highest authority, have laid it down as an " incontrovertible position treating of the " validity of *promissory oaths*; that " No " such oath is obligatory the nature of which " is to *prevent the performance of our duty*, " *or even any comparatively greater good*." " " Indeed," says one of those writers, " " it would be absurd to suppose that the " Almighty will admit of any appeal to " him, by which we might be *restrained* " from serving him in the most perfect " manner in our power." With respect to " all such *promissory oaths*, we are taught " that it was wrong to make them, and " that it would be wrong again to *attempt*

" to observe them. The immutable law of " God is paramount to all subsequent obli- " gations we may take upon ourselves, when- " ever these appear to militate against each " other." ! ! !——The word or two that I have room for I will address to MR. WINDHAM; and I do it, Sir, because the paper I have just quoted was *owned* by a person who is now become a great attendant upon you; because this person has been a prime mover in inducing MR. ACLAND to depart from a purpose and from principles which I know you must applaud; because this person uses *your* name in the endeavours which he is making to carry his point; because your name is in every one's mouth as connected with the reasoning which has been employed to seduce MR. ACLAND from his resolution; and, lastly, because I know, that, if there be one man, who, above all others in the world, abhors such casuistry, *that man is yourself*.....But, what I have to address to you upon the subject must be deferred till my next.——*Bath, Thursday, June* 12, 1806.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE HONITON ELECTION, JUNE 9, 1806.

The new writ for a member to serve in parliament for this borough was moved for in the House of Commons, on Monday, the 2d instant. The Sheriff's precept was received on Wednesday, the 4th; and, on the same day, notice was given by the Portreeve, that the election would be holden on Monday the 9th.—Mr. BRADSHAW, the member who had vacated his seat, in consequence of his having accepted of the office of *Teller of the Exchequer* in Ireland, set out from London on Sunday, the 1st instant, and, having canvassed the borough, had a *large dinner* at the rector's, the Rev. Doctor Honeywood (who has lately been appointed *one of the chaplains to his royal highness the Prince of Wales*), to which dinner many of the electors were invited.—Mr. CORBETT did not arrive in the borough until late in the day on Saturday, the 7th.—On the evening of Sunday the 8th, LORD COCHRANE arrived with several gentlemen in two post chaises and four. On Monday, the 9th, the proceedings began by the Portreeve's reading the writ, the acts of Parliament, &c. upon a platform in the middle of the borough. After which, the candidates addressed the electors in the following order, and as nearly as could possibly be collected in the following words.

MR. BRADSHAW.—Gentlemen; as I have had so many opportunities of addressing you individually, it would be useless now to take up much of your valuable time, particularly as your patience will, most probably, be pretty well tried by the gentleman who comes here for the express purpose (for I can see no other rational purpose that he has) of making a speech to you. Since you last did me the honour to return me to parliament, my Sovereign has been graciously pleased to appoint me to an office of great trust in Ireland; and, that this circumstance has not lessened your confidence in me, has been most satisfactorily proved by the kind reception I have met with from all my old friends; and from many, very many, of those whose suffrages I was not before so happy as to obtain. My principles, gentlemen, are, and shall remain for ever unaltered. I shall always support every measure that I think conducive to the good of my country, and shall always oppose every measure of a contrary description. As to the opposition that I am to meet with at this poll, gentlemen, it will, I believe, be rendered *very insignificant*, by your kindness and alacrity; and, though I have, of course, nothing to say as to the views of the gallant and noble lord, whom I am surprised to find here as an opponent, I have too much confidence in your good sense, gentlemen, to suppose that I have any thing to apprehend from my other opponent, who has had recourse to means so new and extraordinary to cultivate your friendship; and who, though he has been several days in the borough, has not, I believe, thought it consistent with his lofty notions of self-importance to solicit the vote or interest of one single gentleman amongst you. Gentlemen, I commit my cause to your hands; I rely confidently upon your good sense not only for a decided support, but for a speedy termination to a contest so unexpected, and, on the part of my opponents, I trust, so entirely unavailing.

LORD COCHRANE.—Gentlemen; the very short time that I have had, has completely prevented me from gratifying my wishes by a personal and respectful application to each individual elector; but, gentlemen, the very flattering reception I met with at my entrance into your respectable borough, and the numerous instances of public spirit which I have since witnessed in this favourite spot of the most favoured of counties, encourage me to hope, that my cause is not so very desperate as the gentleman who has just spoken seems to consider it. Gentlemen, any little merit that I may have been so fortunate as to acquire in the performance of my public duty, I shall certainly not put in competition with any merits, of any sort,

of Mr. Bradshaw. The greater part of my life has been spent in the toils of the sea; but, those toils have become pleasures, when I reflected that they might tend to the security and the honour of this happy land, and to the preservation of those inestimable liberties, to exercise the most important of which, you, gentlemen, are this day assembled. To preserve these liberties unimpaired shall be the business and the pride of my life; and, gentlemen, AS A PLEDGE THAT I WILL MAKE THESE EFFORTS PURELY FOR THE GOOD OF MY COUNTRY, I GIVE YOU MY WORD OF HONOUR, THAT I NEVER WILL ACCEPT OF ANY SINECURE OR PENSION, OR ANY GRANT OF THE PUBLIC MONEY, AND THAT I NEVER WILL ASK OR RECEIVE ANY SUCH FOR ANY PERSON WHATEVER, THAT MAY BE IN ANY WAY DEPENDENT UPON ME.

Mr. COBBETT.—Gentlemen; the Address which I have caused to be circulated amongst you contains so full an expression of the principles, upon which I stand here, that I shall not occupy much of your time, and keep you long in this burning sun, with any addition to what you have read in that Address; thinking it necessary merely to repeat, in terms the most explicit, and with heart the most sincere, that I have, in this undertaking, never been, for one single moment, actuated by private interest or by personal ambition. I have not waited upon any of you, gentlemen, in the way of what is called canvassing; and this omission, Mr. Bradshaw has endeavoured to make you believe, has arisen from a want of respect towards you; upon which insinuation, coupled with his printed and published assertion, that I had "railed at you," I must beg you to indulge me with a few words. Gentlemen, it was because I *did* respect you, that I did not insult you with a mock familiarity, with hypocritical smiles, with cringing and with fawning; it was because I did respect you; it was because I sincerely regarded you as my countrymen; it was because I would shew the same face to-morrow that I shew you to-day; it was because I hated the thought of seeing you degraded below the character that I wish you all to sustain;—these were the reasons that prevented me from attempting what is called a canvass And, as to "*railing* at you," gentlemen, what should induce me to rail at you? I did, it is true, leave the world room to *fear*, that a few, a very few, and possibly only one of you, would be found to sanction the great principle upon which I had ventured to stand. But, I did, at the same time, express my confident *hope*, that you would, in very great numbers stand forth to sanction that principle; and, gentlemen, as you do not so stand forth, the fault, if any, is yours, not mine. If my principle be good, it is your fault for not sanctioning it; if it be good for nothing, it is no "*railing*," to say that you will not sanction it. But. who is the man, from whom proceeds this charge of railing at you? who is the man that has taken such uncommon pains, and that has resorted to such unmanly means, of exciting such a clamour as should drown my voice on this day, and thereby keep from your ears the dreaded truths, which he knows must, first or last, here or elsewhere, produce effect? who is this man; and what has *he* said of you? has *he* never railed at you, gentlemen? has *he* always treated your name with respect? What I have said of you, I have said to your face; or, which is the same thing, I have subscribed my name to it, and I do now beg to be understood as repeating it every word. But he has chosen a very different course; and ashamed of myself should I be did he not. He, gentlemen, has said of you what I will now tell you; and while I tell it you, I beg you to believe, that I participate not in his contemptuous opinion of you, and that I deeply lament, that there should ever have been any foundation for his statements. Here, *at Honiton*, he calls you *gentlemen*; he has just now called you his *kind friends*; he has, as well as he could stammer it out, talked of the *happiness* and the *honour* of representing you; but, *in London*, gentlemen, he talks in a different strain of you; there, gentlemen, in a message sent to me by Mr. Robson, he said, in order to dissuade me from attempting to oppose him, that nothing but *money* would do at Honiton; that he had given you *six guineas* each for the last election, and was to give you *two guineas* each for this election, the *truth* of which I am exceedingly sorry to have heard confirmed since my arrival in this place; but, he has added, gentlemen, that he means to secure a seat by means of you for the next seven years, and that, *then, you may go to the devil for him*; besides which, he has recently said, even in the entrance to that very House of Commons, whereinto by your voice he was sent, that *you were the most corrupt rascals in the world!* This, gentlemen, is railing, indeed; and, if you, after this statement, for the truth of which I pledge my word, re-elect him, be the everlasting shame and dishonour upon your heads.—No, gentlemen, I have never railed at you. It is not in my nature to cast disgrace upon my

countrymen; every feeling of my heart pleads against it, while no one feeling of his heart can be expected so to plead. I was born and bred amongst you; he was not: I have been a partaker in all your labours; he has never partaken either in your labours or your cares: I have property that must be affected by every thing that affects your property or your labour; and, I sincerely believe, that he has not a brick or a tile, or a foot of land of his own in the kingdom: there is every reason that can be imagined for me to sympathize in all your sufferings; while, from the very nature of his pursuits in life, it is his interest to augment and to perpetuate those sufferings. With this view of the subject it was, that I offered myself to you, after having, in vain, endeavoured to find some other independent man to give you an opportunity of rescuing yourselves from the hands of this Sinecure Placeman; and, my principle, which I now repeat, was this; that, unless those who are invested with the power of returning members to parliament, will determine to return such only as will make a declaration to forego all profit, either to themselves or their family, arising out of the public money, the House of Commons will never be such as to support the measures which are now absolutely necessary to the preservation of our liberties and our independence.—Mr. Bradshaw has, in justification of his acceptance of his sinecure place, told you, gentlemen, that it would give him great pain, if he thought that this addition to his fortune would add to the distress of his constituents; but that he would have you remember, that this place is not at all connected with the revenue of THIS *part of the United Kingdom.* This, for want of breath, I suppose, he has not told you *here*, but in a publication signed with his name; and, being fairly explained, his meaning is this: "I do prey upon some-"body; I allow; yes, I do prey upon the "people; but, it is not upon *you;* it is "upon the people of another part of the "kingdom; it is upon the *Irish;*" who, observe, are his own *countrymen!* But, if you were base enough not to be shocked at a sentiment so unnatural, you ought not to be left in the dark as to the state of the fact, which is, that this declaration is a sheer deceit; a low and contemptible subterfuge; for, though I am perfectly willing to give Mr. Bradshaw credit for ignorance as profound as that of which any human being ever could boast, he must know, that, of the total amount of his sinecure salary, the people of England pay *fifteen* parts out of *seventeen;* so that, if this salary amount to 3,400 pounds a year, we, the people of England, pay the 3,000, and the remaining 400 are wrung from the hard hands of his own countrymen, the Irish, whom, when he goes there, he will, perhaps, console by reminding them, that *they* pay only two seventeenths of his salary, and that the rest is paid by the English, and amongst others, by those whom he has called the "corrupt "rascals" of Honiton.—But, gentlemen, there is, for us as well as for his own countrymen, one general consolation; namely; that he will, as he has told you, *resign* his place, whenever the keeping of it shall be inconsistent with his principles; and, he adds, by way of backing this promise, that the place, which he has now obtained, was held by *his father* and *his grandfather.* Now, gentlemen, this last might have been a very good argument to convince you that place-hunting ran in the blood of the family, and that he never would quit his hold until life quitted him; but, as an argument to convince you, that he would make the tenure of the place depend upon the preservation of his principles, it is, surely, the very worst that ever was conceived even in a mind like his.—As to the sincerity of these promises, relative to the future, you have, however, pretty good means of judging in his assertions as to the past. He has told you, in his printed paper, that he did *not* vote for the BREWING TAX, and that *you know* his opinion about that tax. The tax, thanks to the ministers themselves and to other persons than Mr. Bradshaw, is, for the present, given up; but, as to his assertion, it is, not to denominate it by a shorter and more harsh term, a most paltry subterfuge; for, gentlemen, the bill for imposing the tax could not be brought in without *a vote* of the House to give leave to bring it in; that vote was given after many members had spoken against it, and, observe me well, and let him contradict me if he can, he, upon that occasion, sat at the back of the minister, and there he gave his vote *for* the tax, even including the Exciseman part of the plan. He did not *speak* in favour of the tax: no, gentlemen, but, the whole of the parliamentary eloquence of this your representative is comprised in two short words; AYE and NO, *aye* for every proposition that tends to his profit, and *no* for every proposition that tends to the lightening of your burdens, or the preserving of your liberties. But, gentlemen, his inability to utter six coherent words at a time, must not excuse him on this occasion, because he has printed and published the equivocating assertions upon which I have

been remarking. Not, however, that I accuse him of *writing* these papers, and for this plain reason, because I know that he cannot; but, I do accuse him of having employed the pen of some JESUIT; and, [*looking round towards the group at the back of Mr. Bradshaw*], I beg you to believe, gentlemen, that there are Jesuits in the Protestant as well as in the Catholic church. But, as to *opposing* any measure of any minister, gentlemen, I hope you do not believe, that such a thing will ever be attempted by this sinecure placeman. He knows, gentlemen, he well knows, that he dares not, and that he never will dare to make such an attempt. When he tells you that he will resign his place, if the keeping of it should be inconsistent with his principles; he is speaking again from his Jesuitical prompter; for his sole principle, gentlemen, being to keep his place, there is, of course, nothing but the giving up of his place that can ever be inconsistent with his principle; and, gentlemen, as to *resigning*, when you see a Bradshaw voluntarily quit a place by the means of which he is able to prey upon the public, then expect to see the kites quit the tops of the trees and come and pick grain and cluck about your yards along with your hens and your chickens.—Now, gentlemen, by way of conclusion, give me leave again to remind you of the declaration with which I introduced myself to your notice, and in which I stated to you that my motive was not private interest or personal ambition, but an anxious desire to set an example of public-spirit and disinterestedness in those who should in future offer themselves for your suffrages; and, of the sincerity of this declaration, I shall, I hope, give you a convincing proof, when I now tell you, that, in consequence of the frank and specific declaration of the noble and gallant Officer who now stands before you, I am desirous of yielding to him whatever pretensions I may have had. Mr. Bradshaw, gentlemen, with that sort of courage which, in such a man, is always inspired by numbers and by noise on his side, seems to triumph at what he deems my want of success; but, gentlemen, he does not look far enough; if he did he would see that I have *succeeded*; completely succeeded; I have succeeded in giving you an opportunity of choosing a man of principles directly the contrary of his; I have succeeded in making an *election*, for where there is but one candidate there is no *choice*; I have succeeded in bringing you here this day, gentlemen; and, what I shall always be proud of, I have succeeded in bringing Lord Cochrane to present himself to you. If you reject him, the fault is not mine; and, if you still cling to Mr. Bradshaw, after what you now know, all that I can say is, much good may he do you!

MR. BRADSHAW.—Gentlemen; all that I shall say in answer to what Mr. Cobbett has said about my railing at you, is, that I never sent any message to him in my life; that I never had any communication, and that I never will have any communication with him, or any of his associates; that the man, who has now accused me of abusing you, is a *convicted libeller*; that I myself was in the court of justice and saw him convicted; that he has now told you that he *brought* Lord Cochrane here, though the noble Lord says that he came of his own accord. And this, gentlemen, is every word I shall say in answer to the long and fine speech of the great Mr. Cobbett.

MR. COBBETT.—Gentlemen, there are many persons here who insist that I shall not reply to Mr. Bradshaw, because I do not mean to call for any poll in my behalf; but, gentlemen, if you wish to get out of the heat of the sun I recommend you to give me a hearing; for reply I will, before we part. [*Order was restored*]—As to the *bringing* of Lord Cochrane here, gentlemen, I appeal to you, whether my words imported any thing more, than that I had *brought* him here in the same way that I had brought *you* here, that is to say, by the making of a stand, and by the promulgating of my address to you, which his lordship read at Plymouth?—As to my character, gentlemen, a *convicted libeller* Mr. Bradshaw had denominated me in one of his printed papers, and to that denomination he owes the well-merited chastisement under which you have just seen him writhing; but, gentlemen, what must you think of the candour and of the "*high birth*," of which this gentleman has, in print, boasted to you; when you are told, that the ministers who have given this man his place, have given a pension (I do not say improperly) to the writer of the libel he alludes to; when you are told that one of those ministers, his benefactors, and that, too, one of the most distinguished and most honourable of men, has, in open parliament described me as meriting a statue of gold, for services rendered to my country? All this Mr. Bradshaw knows very well; he knows, gentlemen, that I am an honourable and an incorruptible man; he knows that my character, both public and private, is without spot or blemish; he knows that I am no Swindling Gambler, no Treacherous Friend, no Convicted Adulterer: all this he well

knows, gentlemen, and, when you have had time to reflect upon his conduct of this day, I leave you to form an impartial judgment between him and me.

LORD COCHRANE,—Gentlemen, I was brought here by no person; I was induced to do myself the honour of presenting myself to you by the public address of Mr. Cobbett, which I read at Plymouth; and I have now only to add, that if you do me the honour to elect me, I give you my word, that I NEVER WILL (EXCEPT IN THE WAY OF MY PROFESSION,) RECEIVE A SHILLING OF THE PUBLIC MONEY, EITHER FOR MYSELF OR ANY ONE DEPENDENT UPON ME. My constant endeavour shall be to be useful to my country in general, and to this borough in particular; and I am, besides, extremely anxious to be able to point out some ENORMOUS ABUSES, which, from my own observation, I know to exist.

Here the Portreeve having asked, whether any one demanded a poll, Lord Cochrane demanded it; and, as there were no hustings prepared for taking the poll, the proceedings were adjourned until the next day (Tuesday) at ten o'clock.

ARTICLES OF CHARGE OF HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS COMMITTED BY RICHARD COLLEY MARQUIS WELLESLEY, IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE NABOB VIZIER OF OUDE.

That Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley was appointed, constituted, and actually became a servant of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East-Indies, in the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1797, and in the year of the reign of His Majesty the thirty-seventh. That the office which he was appointed to fill was that of Governor General of Bengal, and subsequently of Captain General of all the King's and Company's Forces serving in the British Territories in the East-Indies. That he arrived and took possession of the government committed to his charge, in the month of May 1798; and that he continued to fill, and to exercise the powers of, the said Office and Offices, until the month of August 1805, when he was therein superseded by Charles Marquis Cornwallis.—That Oude is an independent principality in in the peninsula of India, adjoining on the one side to the British territories, being in extent somewhat larger than England and Wales; having many large and populous cities, amongst which is Lucknow, the present capital, exceeding in number of inhabitants London and Westminster together; and containing, in the whole principality, a population of nearly six millions of souls. That the government is monarchical in form, and absolute in the person of the sovereign, whose title is that of Nabob Vizier; who had under him, previous to the spoliation and extortion of Marquis Wellesley, a high and opulent nobility; whose court exhibited every mark of splendor, and every proof of reverence and devotion to the sovereign; whose jewels alone were worth four millions of pounds sterling; whose retinue was so numerous, that he was sometimes attended with five hundred elephants, richly caparisoned, the whole number of his elephants and stable horses amounting to several thousand; and whose army consisted of more than thirteen thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, exclusive of artillery, and exclusive also of an armed police. That the principality of Oude abounds in fertile lands, and yields (besides those sorts of grain which are common to England) cotton, indigo, rice, sugar and many other valuable commodities. That the manufactories, previous to the spoliations of Marquis Wellesley, were extensive, and the reports thereof great, both in quantity of goods and in amount of value; and that the revenues of the country were abundant, and daily increasing. That the mode of raising the revenues of Oude has grown out of the nature of the government; according to the laws and usages of which, the sovereign, that is to say, the Nabob Vizier, is the sole and exclusive owner of the lands, there being in the country no property but that which is derived from the profits of the taxes farmed out or let by him, and collected by his authority, and, if need be, by the aid of his troops. That the great renters or farmers-general of the taxes, are called Aumils, of whom there are about twenty in number, and to whom the taxes of counties or portions of the country are let; the two principal Aumils being Almas Ali Cawn and Mirza Mehindy, the former having the farm of one-third and the latter of one-fourth of the revenues of the whole country. That there is another class of renters or farmers of the taxes under the Aumils, called Zemindars, a superior class of whom are also distinguished by the name of Rajahs, who rent of the Aumils the taxes of their several townships or villages, each Zemindar being, however, in such his minor district, a sort of hereditary feudal chieftain, having his family, his clan, and generally a fortress to defend himself against the Aumil, in case of a quarrel arising from the oppression of the latter, or from any other cause. That from the ryots or husbandmen, and manufactures

(which character is generally united in the same person) the taxes are collected by their respective Zemindars. That the rent of the taxes is fixed by agreements annually made, first between the Nabob Vizier and the Aumils, who are besides great nobles, composing a part of his court, and, except in the season of collecting, residing in the capital; next between the Aumils and the Zemindars from whom the former obtain as high a rent as they can prevail on the latter to give; and, lastly between the Zemindars and their ryots, to each of whom is left out of the produce of his labour, the means wherewith to subsist in a greater or less degree of ease, there being, according to the laws and usages of the country, no possibility of his acquiring any thing to which the name of property can apply. That, from such a state of existence, so degrading in the eyes of Britons, it became a British Governor and commander (if at all justified in interfering) to endeavour to exalt the people of Oude; but that, as it will hereinafter appear, the aforesaid Marquis Wellesley, after having under pretences the most groundless, encroached upon and extended his sway over the principality of Oude, did upon the people thereof, impose burdens greatly surpassing any tha thad ever been imposed even by the most oppressive of their native Sovereigns, their Aumils, or their Zemindars —That the British connection with Oude began in the year 1765, under the governor generalship of Robert Lord Clive, by the treaty of Allahabad, being a treaty of peace, and of defensive alliance between the East India Company and the then reigning sovereign, Sujah ul Dowlah; stipulating, amongst other things, that, "in case "the dominions of his Highness Sujah ul "Dowlah shall at any time hereafter be attacked, the English Company shall assist "him with forces according to the "exigency of his affairs and that in such "case the extraordinary expence of the "forces so employed, shall be defrayed by "him;" the said treaty, in form, language, and tenor, fully shewing, that the said Nabob Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, was to all intents and purposes, the sovereign of a state perfectly independent. That in 1768, by a treaty made at Benares, between the English Company and the Nabob Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, an explanatory clause was added to the treaty of Allahabad, respecting the number of troops to be in future maintained by his highness, and confirming the said treaty of Allahabad.—That in the year 1773, under governor generalship of Warren Hastings, esquire, a treaty of cession and of subsidy was made at Benares between the English Company and the Nabob Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah; by which treaty, were ceded for ever to the Vizier and his heirs, three considerable districts of country, then belonging to or claimed by the Company; in consideration of which it was stipulated, on the part of the Nabob Vizier, that he should pay to the English Company, at different periods there stated, fifty lacks of sicca rupees; and in a second article it was stipulated, in order to prevent disputes concerning the payments to be made by the Nabob Vizier for expenses of the company's troops, which might be called to march to his assistance, that the expense of a brigade should be computed at two lacks ten thousand sicca rupees (or £. 26,250) per month, such brigade to consist of two battalions of Europeans, six battalions of sepoys, and one company of artillery: and further it was stipulated, that "exclusive of the above-mentioned sum, no more shall, on any account, be demanded from him; and should "the company and the English chiefs have "occasion to send for the troops of the Nabob Vizier, the company and the English "chiefs shall also pay their expences in the "like manner." That in the year 1775, upon the death of Sujah ul Dowlah, Warren Hastings, esquire, being still governor general as aforesaid, a new treaty was made at Lucknow, between the English Company and the Nabob Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, son and successor of Sujah ul Dowlah, by which treaty it was stipulated that the said Nabob Vizier, for the aid and assistance of the English troops when stationed with him, should pay monthly for the charges of a brigade from the time that the said troops should enter his territories, at his request, until their return, the sum of two lacks sixty thousand sicca rupees (or 32,500l.); and, as the subsidy above stipulated for related particularly to the defence of possessions in the vicinity of the British territories, it was further stipulated in a subsequent article, that "if the aforesaid Nabob Vizier shall ever re-"quire the aid or assistance of the English "Company for the defence of any other of "his countries, he will fix something for the "Company in proportion to the service;" and in conclusion this solemn declaration was made, "The English Company; and "all the English Sirdars (or Chiefs) engage "to perform whatever articles are now mutually settled; and in the future, during "the life of the Nabob Vizier Asoph ul "Dowlut, they will not, in any respect or "manner, make requests of any thing new, "contrary to the tenor of this treaty; and

" this the parties mutually swear according " to their respective faiths." That in the year 1781 Warren Hastings, esquire, being still the governor general as aforesaid, another treaty between the English Company and the Nabob Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah, was made at Chunar: That previous to the making of this treaty, the subsidiary force having been found unequal to the purposes of external defence and internal tranquillity, other troops had been from time to time introduced, under the denomination of sibbendies, temporary brigade, &c. &c. so that the expences of the military department became a burthen too great for the finances of the country to support; wherefore, by the treaty herein last named, it was declared and agreed, that the said Nabob Vizier " having repeatedly and urgently represented that he is unable to support the expences of the temporary brigade, cavalry, " and English officers, with their battalions, " as well as other gentlemen, who are now " paid by him, under the denomination of " sebundy, &c. &c. and having made sundry requests to that and other purposes, " and as the constancy and firmness of his " alliance with the Company entitle him to " to every consideration and relief that may " depend upon us, I Warren Hastings, " Governor General, have agreed that the " temporary brigade, and three regiments " of cavalry, be no longer charged to the " Nabobs account for the year Fussellee " 1189, excepting a term for two and a half " months, which is required for their passing the Nabob's boundaries; and for " which, together with all former allowances and arrears, their usual pay and " allowances are to be made good; also, " that the English Officers, with their " sebundy battallions, and other gentlemen, " excepting the Resident's office, now upon " the Nabob's list, be no longer at his " charge for the year 1189, the arrears " being paid up, with the addition of two " months allowances; the true meaning of " this being, that no more troops be paid " for by the Nabob, than the number of " European artillery and sepoys agreed for " under the title of one brigade, with the " late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah now paid " for at the rate of 2,60,000 rupees (or " £32,500. per month to which is now to " be added one regiment of sepoys of the " present establishment, expressly allowed " for the purpose of protecting the office, " treasury, and person of the Resident at " Lucknow, the pay and allowances of " which shall commence from the first of " Aughun next, at the rate of 25,000 " rupees per month (or £.3,125.) the regiment to be relieved every three months; " also, that the brigade shall be stationed or moved wherever the Nabob shall " direct, in the mode prescribed by the " former treaty with the Nabob Vizier " deceased: And finally, that whenever " the Nabob Vizier shall require a further " aid of troops from the Company, the pay " and allowances shall commence from the " day of their passing the Carumnassa; " also, should the assistance of the Nabob's " troops be required by the Company, their " pay and allowances, as may then be " agreed on, be allowed during the time " they may serve." That thus, by this new treaty, it was settled that the temporary brigade and all other troops, the subsidiary brigade excepted, should be withdrawn; that the subsidiary brigade should be augmented with one regiment of sepoys, for which the Nabob Vizier was to pay at the rate of 25,000 rupees a month, making the whole subsidy amount to two lack and eighty-five thousand rupees or (35,625) a month, and that whatever further troops might be sent into the country, at the special request of the Nabob Vizier he should pay for at a rate to be agreed upon; and that, in conclusion, it was, by the said treaty declared and agreed, " That the treaties made " between the English and the Nabob " Sujah ul Dowlah should be ratified be- " tween the present parties, as far as might " be consistent with the above written arti- " cles; and that no officers, troops, or " others, should be put upon the Nabob's " establishment, exclusive of those before " stipulated." That, under the date of the treaty here mentioned of 1781, there was an agreement entered into between the English Company and the Nabob Vizier; in which agreement the Nabob Vizier promised to accept of and conform himself to the advice of the governor general as to the reduction of his expences, and the appropriation of his revenue, but that, in the said advice or agreement, it was " expressly " declared," that " the ultimate object " thereof was the Nabob Vizier's interest " alone, the interest of the English Com- " pany being no further concerned than in " the influence which they will eventually " have in the payment of the debt due from " the Nabob Vizier to the Company." That in the year 1787, Charles Marquis Cornwallis being then governor general under the said East India Company as aforesaid, a new treaty was made, on the twenty-first of July in the said year, between the said Company and the said Nabob Vizier

Asoph ul Dowlah. That this last-mentioned treaty was in form of a letter from Marquis Cornwallis to the Nabob Vizier, the propositions in which letter contained, being accepted in a letter from the Nabob Vizier, became the stipulations of a treaty between the parties aforesaid. That by this treaty it was stipulated, that, "after the "first of March 1787, the whole sum to "be paid annually by the Vizier to the "Company should be fifty lacks of Fyzabad "16 sun rupees (or 600,000l.) including "the charges for the brigades, those of the "residency, the allowance to Saadut Ali "Cawn, and the stipends of the Rohillas; "there should be no excess unless the "Vizier should demand more forces from "the Company; in that case the increase "to be provided for on a fair estimate: "that if either of the two brigades or corps "of cavalry should be recalled or any con-"siderable diminution in their number "should take place, the Company should "allow the Vizier for the decrease of the "expence from the sum of fifty lacks, "agreable to a fair valuation; that the "arrears due to the residency to the troops "to Saadut Ali Cawn, to the Rohillas, and "to Lieutenant Anderson, should be paid "to the 1st of March, but the other arrears "charged to the governor be struck out, "and no longer considered as a demand "of this government on his Excellency; "that a resident should remain at his Ex-"cellency's court; but it being a system "now positively and declaredly established, "that the company should not interfere in "any respect in the details of the Vizier's "government, strict orders should be sent "him neither to interfere himself, nor "suffer any interference, for any public or "private claims of British subjects or per-"sons under our authority; and that the "whole management of the Vizier's "country should be left to his Excellency "and his ministers, and no appeals from "any of its inhabitants be received by the "Company's government." That the said governor general Marquis Cornwallis in council did afterwards in a letter by them addressed to the Secret Committee of the East India Company, dated on the 16th of August 1787, state "that the satisfaction "of the Nabob Vizier at the conduct and "conclusion of this negociation had been "expressed in a letter addressed by him to "the governor general, a copy of which, as "well as of the Kistbundy executed by him, "were enclosed; that upon the whole, "they had every reason to affirm that it "would prove the foundation of a permanent "connection between him and the Com-"pany, being concluded upon principles "of mutual advantage to both; and that "notwithstanding the renunciation of the "large claims of the Company's government "upon the Nabob Vizier, it must in a "pecuniary light be deemed beneficial to "the Company; and that the negociation "would appear conformable to the spirit of "the Company's instructions regarding the "conduct of their government to the Nabob "Vizier." That, in conformity with the stipulations of the treaty here mentioned, the said governor general did, amongst other his instructions to Edward Otto Ives, Esq. then resident at Lucknow, strictly enjoin him not to interfere in the internal government of the Nabob Vizier; observing and ordering as follows; to wit: "That an interfe-"rence with the internal government of the "Nabob Vizier's dominions being now un-"necessary, as well as contrary to the "engagements subsisting between us and "the Vizier, you will be careful to avoid "both the reality and appearance of any; "and you will use your endeavours to ac-"quire the confidence of the Vizier and "his ministers, and to convince them, that "we have nothing in view but to render the "connection with Oude of mutual benefit "to both parties." That an account of the conducting and of the result of these negociations, between the Nabob Vizier and the Marquis Cornwallis, having been communicated to the said East India Company, the Court of Directors of the said Comyany by a letter to the said governor general in Council, dated on the eighth of April 1789, did "approve of the general arrangement, and "of the principles upon which it was fram-"ed," and did express their satisfaction, that "the nature of the connection with the "Nabob Vizier was now accurately defined, "the defence of Oude being assigned to the "British troops under a fixed subsidy, and "the internal government of the country "remaining with the Nabob Vizier." That thus the Nabob Vizier paying an annual subsidy of 600,000l. to the East India Company, the connection between the Company and the Nabob Vizier did continue uninterrupted and unaltered for the space of ten years. That, in the year 1797, Sir John Shore, Bart. (now Lord Teignmouth) being the then governor general under the said East India Company, it having been found necessary to augment the Company's forces, and "the "governor general having represented to "his Excellency the Nabob Vizier, the "late very great increase of the Company's "establishments, by the addition of several

" regiments of cavalry, both European and " Native; and having, in compliance with " the Company's order, solicited his excellency's assistance to defray the consequent " additional expense," it was stipulated, in an agreement made at Lucknow, in the month of March, in the year last-mentioned, between the said governor general and the Nabob Vizier, that, " his excellency " the Nabob Vizier, in the fullest reliance " that the Company's troops are ever ready, " in conformity to existing circumstances, " to protect and defend his dominions " against the attacks of all his enemies, will " annually defray the actual bonâ fide expenses of a regiment of Europeans and " one of Native cavalry (that is to say) two " regiments (the amount of which expenses, the governor general cannot at " present specify) provided they shall not " exceed, upon every account, five lacks " and a half of rupees per annum. The " amount to be defrayed by monthly instalments, of which the first shall commence " with the month of Bysade of the present " Fussiley year." That, in the year 1797, the Nabob Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah died, and was, for a short space, succeeded in the musnud (or throne) by a pretended son, named Vizier Ally Cawn, who, through the aid of the elder Begum and of the great Aumil Almas Ali Cawn, usurped the throne to the prejudice of the rightful heir Saadut Ali Cawn, brother of the late Nabob Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah. That, by the aid of the English East India Company, the usurper was dethroned, and Saadut Ali Cawn was placed on the throne on the 21st of January, 1798. That, on the 21st of February in the year last-mentioned, a new treaty was made at Lucknow, between the said Nabob Vizier Saadut Ali Cawn, on the one part, and the said East India Company on the other part, the said Sir John Shore being still the governor general as aforesaid. That, in the treaty here mentioned, it was stipulated, that, as the English Company had " incurred a considerable expense by their exertions to restore the Nabob Vizier to the " possession of his rights, he, the said Nabob Vizier should, in consideration thereof, pay to the Company the sum of twelve " lacs of rupees;" and further, it was in the said treaty stipulated, that, " with a view " to enable the English Company to fulfil " their engagements to defend the dominions of the Nabob Vizier, and at the " same time to provide for the protection of " their own dominions, the Company having " largely increased their military establishments by new levied regiments for that " purpose;" that the annual subsidy paid to the Company by the Nabob Vizier should be augmented from fifty-five and a half to seventy-six lacs of rupees (or £950,000) including the stipends to the Begums and others, and which subsidy the Nabob Vizier was to pay by monthly kists (or instalments) each instalment being in amount equal to a twelfth part of the whole annual subsidy; and further, it was in the said treaty stipulated as to the Company's troops to be maintained in the principality of Oude, for its defence, that the said troops should " never consist of less than ten " thousand men, including Europeans and " natives, cavalry, infantry, and artillery; " and that if, at any time, it should become " necessary to augment the troops of the " Company in Oude beyond the number of " thirteen thousand men, including Europeans and natives, infantry, cavalry, and " artillery, the Nabob Saadut Ali Cawn " should pay the actual difference occasioned by the excess above that number; and " that in the same manner, if the troops of " the Company of Oude, from any necessity, should be less than eight thousand " men, including infantry, cavalry, artillery, " natives, and Europeans, a deduction should " be made from the annual stipend of seventy-six lacs of rupees, equal to the actual difference of men below the specified number:" And further, it was in the said treaty stipulated, with regard to security for the regular payment of the kists as aforesaid, that, " as the payment of the Company's troops in Oude depends upon the " regular discharge of the subsidy, stated in " the second and third articles of the treaty, " the said Nabob engages to exert his utmost endeavours to discharge the stipulated kists with punctuality; but that if, " contrary to the sincere intentions and " exertions of the said Nabob, the payment " of the kists should fall into arrear, the " said Nabob Saadut Ali Cawn engages and " promises that he will then give such security to the Company for the discharge " of the existing arrears, and the future regular payment of the kists, as shall be " deemed satisfactory." And further, in the said treaty it was stipulated, with respect to reductions of expense in the government of the Nabob Vizier, that " the subsidy to " the Company being now considerably increased, and many other permanent " charges upon his excellency being incurred, on a comparison of his disbursements " with the assets or pecuniary means of his " country, it becomes necessary to make " such reductions in the superfluous charges

" of the public establishments, servants, " &c. as may be requisite, and are consist- " ent with his excellency's dignity and con- " venience, and to that end the said Nabob " agrees to consult with the Company's go- " vernment, and, in concert with them, " devise the proper objects of such reduc- " tions, and the best means of effecting " them." And, lastly, in the said treaty it was stipulated, as to the management of the internal affairs of the principality of Oude, that " all transactions between the " two states should be carried on with the " greatest cordiality and harmony on both " sides, and that the Nabob Vizier should " possess full authority over his household " affairs, hereditary dominions, his troops, " and his subjects." That the terms of the said treaty were highly advantageous to the English Company, not only as enabling them to defray almost the whole increased expense of their military establishment, and having added in perpetuity to the possessions of the Company the important fortress of Allahabad, which was to be put in a state of defence at the expense of the Nabob Vizier, but did greatly aid the said Company in their commercial concerns, as appears in a letter from the governor general in council to the secret committee of the Court of Directors, dated on the 5th of March, 1798, and of which advantages the Court of Directors were fully sensible, as appears by their answer to the extract last quoted, of their political letter to the Governor General Marquis Wellesley, dated the 15th day of May, in the year 1799; wherein they observe, that " the governor general's minute of the 5th " of March, 1798, contains a very satisfac- " tory explanation of the variations between " the terms of the previous engagement " executed by Saadut Alli at Benares, and " those of the definitive treaty concluded at " Lucknow. By the latter the Company's " influence over the Vizier's country ap- " pears to be sufficiently preserved without " the insertion of any article that might be " deemed offensive; and we have the fur- " ther satisfaction to find, that, exclusive of " the immediate payment of twelve lacs of " rupees (or £150,000 sterling) by the " Nabob Vizier, his annual subsidy is in- " creased upwards of twenty lacs of rupees, " (or £250,000) besides the acquisition of " a fortress in the Oude dominions of the " greatest consequence in the scale of ge- " neral defence;" and in the same letter they add, that " having taken this general " view of the subject, with a minute atten- " tion however to all the papers and pro- " ceedings, we are, upon the whole, de- " cidedly of opinion, that the late governor " general, Lord Teignmouth, in a most ar- " duous situation, and under circumstances " of much delicacy and embarrassment, con- " ducted himself with great temper, im- " partiality, ability, and firmness, and " that he finished a long course of faithful " services, by planning and carrying into " execution an arrangement which not only " redounds highly to his own honour, but " which will also operate to the reciprocal " advantage of the Company and the Na- " bob Vizier."——That the character and conduct of the said Nabob Vizier Saadut Ali Cawn was, in letters from the governor general, and from the governor general in council to the secret committee aforesaid, bearing date on the said 5th of March, 1798, thus described: " His talents and capacity, " though moderate, are not mean; his ha- " bits of economy are strong, and approach- " ing to parsimony; his conduct during his " residence at Benares, was reserved and " correct; in all his dealings he was fair " and just; if some moral defects are im- " puted to him, they are not exposed to " general observation. His conduct since " his accession has been dignified and con- " ciliatory; and indeed, in all respects, re- " gulated by the strictest propriety; and it " is with sincere pleasure we acquaint you, " that the most perfect tranquillity prevailed " at Oude at the time of the governor ge- " neral's departure therefrom, and that there " was no ground whatever to apprehend its " being disturbed."——That such and so auspicious was the state of affairs in Oude, and such its connection with the East India Company when Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley arrived in India, and entered upon his functions as aforesaid in the month of May, 1798; that is to say, three months after the date of the treaty so happily concluded, and so strongly approved of as aforesaid.——That, by an act passed in the year 1784, being the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his present Majesty, it was declared and enacted, that, " Whereas to pursue " schemes of conquest and extension of do- " minion in India are measures repugnant " to the wish, the honour, and policy of " this nation.

To be Continued.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" I hold previous questions very cheap, remembering, as I do, that my motion relative to the 19l. 10s. " bill was got rid of by a previous question. That motion did much good; and this motion will do more " good."—MR. ROBSON'S Speech, 16th May, 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BARRACK-OFFICE ABUSES.——It will be fresh in the recollection of the reader, that, on the 16th of May, Mr. ROBSON moved, in the House of Commons, for certain papers, relative to Barns, rented by government, and used as Barracks, in Sandown Bay Division in the Isle of Wight. By a reference to the history of that proceeding (in p. 773 of the present Volume), it will be seen, that this motion was set aside by a motion for the previous question, made by a clerk in the Ordnance Office, named CALCRAFT, and commonly called, for what reason I know not, *Colonel* Calcraft; that, in a few days afterwards, Lord Henry Petty, who had supported Mr. Calcraft's motion, came to the House himself, and moved for all the papers which Mr. Robson had moved for; and that he did, indeed, adopt the very motions and the very words of Mr. Robson, though, upon the former day, he had affected to ridicule the manner of them, and had represented the matter of them as extremely improper. ——The motions will be found in the account of the debate, in the page above referred to and in the following ones. The papers have been produced, together with another paper, which, for reasons by-and-by to be mentioned, Lord Henry Petty himself moved for. Of these papers I am now about to give the reader an account. Some of them I shall insert entire; and I venture to presume, that, as giving the public an insight into the shameful waste of the public money in this department, they will be regarded as of the greatest importance.—— The reader will please to bear in mind, that the object of Mr. Robson's motion was to prove to the parliament, that the barns, which had been, and which now are, rented by government and used as Barracks, in the Isle of Wight, had been paid for at double the price that they ought to have been paid for; and, indeed, that the price was four times as great as it ought to have been. He confined himself to Sandown Bay Division, because to that Division more particularly his information related.——The materials for producing a conviction of the great truth he had in view were suggested to him by the following facts that had come to his knowledge; to wit; that, in the month of December last, the then Barrack Master of the Sandown Bay Division, whose name is ATKINS, wrote a letter to Mr. Dundas the then Secretary at War, stating to him that a price beyond all measure too high was given for the Barrack-Barns in his division; that, as a proof of the correctness of this his statement, he enclosed to the Secretary, proposals from Mr. JAMES DAY of Brading, for the building of a barrack, capable of lodging as many men as could be lodged in the five barns at Brading; and that the said proposed barrack would be let to government for £220 a year, whereas the said five barns (the mere *shells* of them) cost the government more than £1,100 a year. That the Secretary at War, who had been told by Mr. Atkins, that this exposure would subject him to persecution if made known, did, nevertheless, send the letter of Mr. Atkins to the Barrack-Master General; that thereupon the Barrack-Master General sent the Assistant Barrack-Master General of the South Western District, one DAVIES, to make inquiry into the matter; that this DAVIES (who was the very person that had *made the contract for the barns)* arrived in the Isle of Wight on or about the 5th of January last; that Davies called before him, and had long conferences with, Mr. Day; that Day's proposals were not agreed to; but, that, in a very short time afterwards, to wit, in the month of March, the rent of the barns in Sandown Bay division was *reduced in or about the proportion of* ONE HALF; and, finally, which I beseech the reader well to note, that, in a few weeks after having produced this great good, in a few weeks after having rendered this essential service to the public, Mr. Atkins was, *by General Fitzpatrick*, TURNED OUT OF HIS EMPLOYMENT, and left, with a large family dependent entirely upon him, to meet all the calamities of poverty accompanied with as much disgrace as it was in the power of the government to throw upon him! Upon this information, communicated by Mr. Atkins to Mr. Robson, because he knew him to be an honest and an independent man, because it was his

bounden duty to endeavour to correct such an abuse in the public expenditure, because he was convinced that the House of Commons was the only place wherein for the matter to be brought forward with effect; upon this information it was that Mr. Robson proceeded, in the manner which the public has witnessed with so much satisfaction, and so much just praise, as well with respect to the form as the substance of the proceeding. ——The reader, thus put in possession of the origin and the object of Mr. Robson's motions, will be the better enabled to accompany me in my progress through the sequel, to the first stage of which we are brought by the copy of Mr. Atkins's letter to Mr. Dundas, which was as follows: "Not "being *honoured with an audience* on Monday or Tuesday when I presumed personally to solicit it, the duties of my situation forbidding longer delay, I commit to paper what I could have wished in person to communicate. Enclosed I have the honour to transmit a letter from the late highly respected Secretary at War, a credential by which, Sir, you can appreciate the credibility you can attach to my statement.—Within the district of Sandown, where I act as Barrack Master, there are twenty barns, annually rented as temporary barracks, fitted up in the interior at a vast expense by government, and subject to rents which must be considered enormous when simply viewed as barns. The troops have even occupied them reluctantly, and have considered government rather negligent of their comfort in appointing them to such situations.——I am far from implicating any gentleman who acted on the arrangements, but shall remonstrate to you, Sir; there was a vast oversight from the proposals I have the honour to enclose you. The annual saving, Sir, of *nine hundred pounds and four shillings*, out of *eleven hundred and twenty pounds*, must strike you as considerable; extended through a large scale, which I can point out as practicable, the aggregate sum would be vast; this saving only including five barns out of twenty in my division. I once presumed, Sir, to *solicit a removal* when there was a vacancy at Deal, deeming it a *necessary step for my safety, previous to disclosure. In full reliance of your honour* for immediate removal, I enforce *the danger I should incur by my residence here*, both from *those of my own department* in this island, and *the inhabitants, whose places were rented to so much advantage*. There are other matters which I could humbly point out for consideration, though the wise regulations of the present Barrack-Master General leaves but little to act on. The site on which the enclosed building would be erected is on a rising ground, the proprietor engaging to have it ready for troops in six weeks if approved of."—This letter, which was dated on the 29th of December, was sent, at once to Mr. Atkins's superiors, as before-mentioned; and Mr. Atkins was not removed to Deal, notwithstanding the representation of his dangers! And, as this representation was made in private; as the writer could not have the least notion of its ever being made public; as he really must have apprehended the dangers of which he speaks, I leave the reader to draw his own conclusion as to the known disposition of Mr. Atkins's superiors.——The person selected to inquire into the matters mentioned in this letter was, as was before observed, DAVIES, the very person who had made the contract for the barns. On the 10th of January he makes, upon Day's proposals, the following report: "The building proposed by Mr. Day is not according to the plan transmitted to the right hon. the Secretary at War; Mr. Day proposes simply to erect sheds of brick-nogging, eight feet high to the plate, with a fifteen-foot span, capable in the whole range of containing 384 men, for which shell he now asks a rent of £300 per annum.—— In this point of view the offer cannot be beneficial to the public, since, if it were adopted, it would require the immediate expense of £2,500 to fit it up in the most slight and temporary manner, Mr. Day declining to do any thing to the building than merely delivering it over (as before observed) "*a shell.*"—The Barrack Department would then have to provide for this (comparative) trivial accommodation, chimnies, floors, births, arm racks, pin rails, grates, windows, cooking kitchens, boilers, mess rooms, cleaning sheds, privies, guard house, pump and well. This, without including hospital, officers' barracks, stores, coa yard, or inclosures. Added to which, from the situation being a field, adjoining the village of Brading, of a clay soil, the access would soon be difficult, and roads necessary.—Roads, and forming a parade, will be very expensive. Experience in works of this nature at the Isle of Wight gives me full information, that materials for a parade is here more than commonly high."——Upon this report, which gives us a pretty good specimen of the knowledge and talents of the reporter, we must observe,

that "*a shell*" was all that was wanted to supply the place of the barrack-barns, *they* being merely shells, and that, too, of *boards* instead of brick; that all the *additions* here mentioned had been supplied by government in the case of the barns; and that all these additions might have been easily transferred from the barns to the proposed barrack, the shell of which would have wanted *no repairs*, whereas the shells of the barns cost *several hundreds a year to keep them in repair*. What means were employed to induce Mr. Day to *rise* in his demand from £220 to £300 a year, it would, perhaps, be difficult to say; but, after all, £300 a year would certainly have been a better bargain for the public than £1,100 a year; and how comes it, that *Davies* should have been the man selected by the Barrack-Master General (Hewett) to make the inquiry and to negotiate with Mr. Day?——But, though Mr Day's proposal was not agreed to, the *rent of the barns was reduced* in consequence of the representation of Mr. Atkins, as appears from the papers called for by Mr. Robson, and of which papers, as relating to this point, the following is the substance. Here we have first a description of the buildings (for in the papers other buildings are included) rented by government, and used as barracks in Sandown Bay Division; next we have the owners names; next the time when first rented; next the weekly rent paid PREVIOUS to Mr. Atkins's representation; and, lastly, the rent NOW paid.

			L.	*s.*	*d.*	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
4 Barns 3 Cottages	Smith	November, 1803	10	10	0	6	18	0
1 Barn 1 Outhouse	Ward	Ditto	4	4	0	2	4	0
1 Barn and Part of a House	White	Ditto	6	0	0	3	6	0
1 Hut	Porter	December, 1803	2	12	6	2	2	0
2 Barns	Cooper	Ditto	4	4	0	2	0	0
1 Barn	Wimbledon	Ditto	2	2	0	1	8	0
1 Barn and Part of a House	Brown	Ditto	4	4	0	2	2	0
1 Barn	Harvey	January, 1804	2	10	0	1	4	0
1 Barn	Kent	Ditto	4	10	0	2	12	0
			40	16	6	24	16	0

Thus, then, we see, that the buildings which cost the public 40*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* a week before Mr. Atkins made his representation to the Secretary at War, now cost the public 24*l.* 16*s.* a week; which, in this trifling Division alone makes a saving of 833*l.* 6*s.* a year; and, observe, that this saving ought to have been made for *two years and a quarter* before it began to take place, and that, therefore, 1,874*l.* 16*s.* has, in this little spot, and in this article alone, been squandered away! What, then, must have been the amount of the waste upon the whole of the millions that have been paid by the public on account of barracks! And is it any wonder that the resources of the nation fall short of the expenditure? Is it any wonder, that tax upon tax is laid upon the people; and that still the demand increases daily?—But, we must not stop here. We must not suppose, that the rents are not *now* too high; for, who is there amongst us that does not know what a barn is? Who does not know that the *mere shell* of a barn (to be *kept in repair by government)* cannot be worth *a hundred pounds a year?* Who does not know that a common barn is not worth, in the fee simple, a hundred pounds? Who does not know, that, at the place we are speaking of, a farm of a hundred acres together with barns, out-houses, and farm-house, do not let for a hundred pounds a year? And, is it not monstrous, then; is it not enough to sting us to madness, to know, that the mere shell of one of these barns should now cost us a hundred pounds a year, and that it should, for more than two years past, have cost us two hundred pounds a year? Let inquiry be made as to the amount of the rent of these *farms;* and, my life on it, it will be found from the tax-gatherers books, that the rent of the whole farms is not equal to the rent that the public *even now* pays for the barns and out-houses. Is not this, then, a fit subject for inquiry? Is it not a fit subject for parliamentary inquiry? For instant inquiry? For inquiry not to be left to Boards of Commissioners? And, have not the public good reason to thank Mr. Robson, who, in spite of Mr. Calcrafts' previous question, has brought about this most useful exposure?——But, while *Davies* and all the other persons concerned in the renting of these buildings, are to this hour in their places, what is become of Mr. *Atkins*, whose representation to the Secretary at War pro-

duced the great saving above-stated? This unfortunate man, with a wife and several small children, is now in the deepest distress in London, having scarcely any means of procuring even the necessaries of life! He was dismissed, as was before observed, BY GENERAL FITZPATRICK, in the month of February last; that is to say, in a few weeks *after* he had made a representation in consequence of which 8331. 6s. a year had, even upon the present scale (which is still much too high) been saved to the public; and, let it not be forgotten, that General Fitzpatrick had in his office, all the documents relating to this saving, and this highly meritorious act on the part of *Mr. Atkins*. Of the effect of a disclosure of these facts LORD HENRY PETTY seems to have been aware before he came down to the House to move for the adoption of Mr. Robson's motions; and, being thus aware, he moved, quite gratuitously, for a document relating to the *misconduct* of *Mr. Atkins*. That document, as constituting *the grounds of Mr. Atkins's dismission*, has been produced, and is now before me. And, the first impression that it made upon my mind, was, that of wonder at Lord Henry Petty's having thus given to this poor defenceless man so cruel a blow. I am sure the act never originated in his own pure mind. I am sure of it. It were to slander human nature to suppose that his lordship could have so acted from his own inclination; and, therefore, I do most sincerely acquit him of it. This document, upon which I will fully remark by-and-by, is an affidavit made to show, that Mr. Atkins himself was *a peculator;* that he wanted to borrow money, and that he actually did receive presents, from one of the barn-owners. But, first let us see the several letters relating to his dismission, whence it will appear, that he was accused in the dark; that he was dismissed without being confronted with his accusers before a competent tribunal; that, when he requested to be furnished with a copy of the documents, upon which he had been dismissed, the request was refused him; and that, the first sight he has ever obtained of these documents, has been in a paper laid before the House of Commons, and printed for the use of its members, a channel through which they must, according to established custom, naturally find their way to the public!

Copy of a Letter from the Sec. at War to the Barrack Master General, dated War-Office, 15th Feb. 1806.

SIR;—Having duly considered the several papers received in your letter of the 6th instant, respecting Mr. Atkins's conduct as a Barrack Master, I cannot hesitate to determine upon the evident impropriety of his being any further employed at Sandown Barracks; and I shall accordingly submit to His Majesty the name of another officer for that situation. You will be pleased to communicate this letter to Mr. Atkins.——

(Signed) R. FITZPATRICK.

Copy of a Letter from the Deputy Barrack Master General, to the Chief Barrack Master in the Isle of Wight, dated, Barrack Office, 19th Feb. 1806.

SIR;—I am directed by the Barrack Master General to transmit to you, the enclosed copy of a letter from the Sec. at War, respecting Mr. Atkins, Barrack Master of Sandown, and to desire you will immediately communicate the same to him, and direct him to prepare to deliver up the barracks, and stores, now under his charge, to the person who may be appointed to succeed him. You will also direct him to prepare for closing his accounts with this office, as Barrack Master at Sandown, to the period, when the transfer of the barracks shall be made.—*(Signed)* P. CAREY, Dty. B. M. Gl.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Atkins, to the Secretary at War, dated Feb. 22d, 1806.

SIR;—I have this day the honor to receive, through Captain Bygrave, your order communicated to the Barrack Master General; with respect for your decision, I must beg leave to appeal to your liberality, to be made acquainted with those charges preferred against me; and to permit me to stand a fair and candid trial. Unconscious that culpability could be attached to my pointing out situations where vast savings might have been made to Government, I stepped, perhaps, beyond the line of my duty, not aware of the consequence. *(Signed)* B. W. ATKINS.

Copy of a Letter from the Deputy Secretary at War, to Mr. Atkins, dated, War Office, 27th Feb. 1806.

SIR;—In reply to your letter of the 22d instant, I am directed to acquaint you, that you were discharged from His Majesty's service in consequence of misconduct in the discharge of your duties as Barrack Master, and not as you erroneously conceive, from any statement you may have given with respect to the rates of barracks hired in the Isle of Wight.—*(Signed)* F. MOORE.

Copy of a Letter from the Deputy Barrack Master General to Mr. Atkins, dated, Barrack Office, 28th Feb. 1806.

SIR;—I am directed by the Barrack Master General to acquaint you, in answer to your letter of the 22d instant, that your application for the papers therein alluded to, should be made to His Majesty's Secretary at War, to whom they were transmitted for his consideration and decision thereupon.—*(Signed)* P CAREY, D. B. M.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Atkins, to the Secretary of War, dated Mary la bonne, 9th March, 1806.

SIR;—I am directed by the Barrack Master General to apply to you for the papers containing the charges preferred against me, and submitted to you for your consideration and decision.—*(Signed)* B. W. ATKINS.

Copy of a Letter from the Deputy Secretary at War, to Mr. Atkins, dated, War Office, 12th March, 1806.

SIR;—In answer to your letter of this day's date, I am directed to acquaint you, that the practice of office precludes the Secretary at War from complying with your request.—*(Signed)* F. MOORE.

These letters speak for themselves. But, does not the reader think, that Lord Henry Petty should have called for these, as well as for the document of *evidence* against Mr. Atkins? Let us, however, first see what this document is, and then take a view of the circumstances under which it was brought forward, examine into the probability of its truth, and inquire what were the objects it was intended to answer.

Declaration, upon oath, of WILLIAM WARD, *made on the 18th of January,* 1806, *before H. Worsley Holmes, Esq.*

"About the time of *Michaelmas* 1804, Mr. B. W. Atkins called at my house at "Bigbury.—I not being at home, he said "to my wife that he wished to see me on "some very particular business the next "morning early. Agreeable to his request "I waited on him; he then produced a letter and shewed me, which he said he "received from the Barrack-master General, the contents of which he said was, "that he was to give up such barns and premises, let as temporary barracks, as were "most ill convenient. The answer I made "him was this—Sir, I hope you will continue to keep on my barn, you very well "know I have a large family—I have lately "sustained great losses. His reply was, "Ward, I will; but at the same time you "must remember me. I told him I would "do all that was in my power to serve him "*if he would keep my barn.* He said that "he then stood in need of the loan of 20l., "and would give me his note of hand, and "interest, for the same. I told him it was "not in my power at present, having no "money to spare. He answered that I "was not to talk of that, for he would give "me an order to draw part of my rent. I "then said I could not think of doing that, "because when the money was due it knew "its way altogether, but if I could get the "20l. I would bring it to him in the course "of the day. He says, do Ward.—I'll "put every thing in your way that lays in "my power *to continue your barn*; but it "was not in my power to get the money, "and so, of course, I could not give it him. "Some time in the month *of May* 1805, "he met me in the road near my house, "and desired me to give him my bill for the "rent of my barn.—I said, Sir, I have a "little bill for carting, I would wish to "know if I am to send that bill at the same "time. His answer was, that I could not "think of having any thing for carting, for "says he, you must give me that. I directly asked him if Mr. Smith gave him "the money that he got for cartage. He "replied, no; but mind that I pay you a "great deal of money in a year. I said, "you do, Sir; but if you did not do it "some other person would. The answer "he made me was this,—Depend on it that "the great expenses of getting the stores in "and out will be the consequence of your "barn being thrown up. I told him that if "it was a general thing I should not be "worse off than the others, for *considering* "*the payment of property tax*, and your repeated requests for fees, which is as follows, corn, hay, hogs, geese, ducks, "fowls, and many other things too tedious "to mention (in this declaration of his "conduct) and the ill-conveniency of having soldiers, I think I might nearly be as "well without letting the barn as with it. "He says, consider Ward, it is a great "deal of money—to-morrow I have a "Major coming to dine with me,—now if "you will give me a fat lamb, depend on it "I will *continue keeping your barn.* I told "him my lambs were all stock lambs, or "breeders; he then requested me to send "him a roasting pig.—I told him I had no "pigs fit for roasting. He said, he saw "some capital pigs in my yard. I told him "that business would not permit me to send "him a pig, but if he would send for one, "(such as they were) he might have it; accordingly he *did send for one*, and *had it.*

" The ensuing Chrismas when I went to " get my draft for my rent due at Midsummer, I spoke to him concerning the bill " of cartage. He says, Ward, I will call " on you some other day; the 3d of January, 1806, he called at my house, and " took me to a private room.—He told me " he called respecting the carting, and said, " Ward,—Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Kent have " carted as well as you, and they have given " me their cartage money, and I hope you " will do the same. I instantly told him " that I could not afford it; he answered, " you know I have been your friend:—you " know I have been imprisoned, and very " heavy expenses attended it. I said, it " was as much as I could do to keep myself " from the same place; then, he said, we " must go halves in it.—I told him again, " I could not afford it, but, as Mr. Harvey " and Mr. Kent has given you their money " I will give you the money for one journey " of cartage. He told me I must give him " two; I once more told him I could not " afford it. He then asked me where my " stamp was for the receipt, I immediately " gave it him; he told me to write the re- " ceipt in full, which was 5*l.* 5*s.* I said I " would be glad if he would write me a " copy on a piece of blank paper; I in- " stantly wrote the receipt; he took it, *and* " *gave me* 3 *l.* I told him it was not enough, " he said he owed me three shillings more; " I answered him in this manner, damn the " three shillings, let it go with the rest. I " finding not only myself but my family " greatly injured by the conduct of this " man, I am compelled to make this declaration."—*(Signed)* WM. WARD.

Letter from Ward to Davies, enclosing the above Declaration.

" SIR;—I send you this, not knowing " where to apply for redress, until *I heard* " *there was a gentleman come to the Isle* that " were over him, Mr. Atkins saying there " were no person over him here; but if you " are, Sir, I hope, Sir, you will do me " justice.—If you disbelieve any thing I " say, Sir, H. Holmes will give me a cha- " racter.——I am, Sir, your obedient " Servant, *(Signed)* WM. WARD.

These are the papers which Lord Henry Petty has brought before the House of Commons. And, why did he do so? What connection have these papers with the abuse in the expenditure of the public money complained of by Mr. Robson? Mr. Robson said nothing about Mr. Atkins's character. The nature of the facts did not at all depend upon that character, and cannot now possibly be altered by it? Why, then, were these papers gratuitously called for by Lord Henry Petty?——Leaving these questions to be answered by any one that is able to answer them, let us now examine a little into the nature of this evidence against Mr. Atkins. First there is but *one* witness. And *what* is that witness? He is a *barn-owner*, and, observe, that it was his interest to discredit and to ruin Mr. Atkins; because, if Mr. Atkins's report to the War-Office produced the desired effect, he, Ward, would be deprived of the 218*l.* 8*s.* a year, which he was then receiving for the shells of a barn and an out-house, as will be seen by the foregoing list of rents; and from this it will appear, that this man has actually lost about a hundred pounds a year in rent, in consequence of Mr. Atkins's report. Circumstances under which a witness would be more likely to be biassed, and less likely to speak the truth, it is quite impossible to conceive. Then, as to the facts stated in this declaration of WARD, we perceive that the greater part of them belong to periods of time long prior to the date of the declaration, so far back as Michaelmas 1804 and May 1805. How came WARD never to have made the declaration before? For, as to the reason given in the letter to DAVIES (which is a sort of Postscript to the declaration), who does not perceive, that this is a mere *after-thought?* Who, in fact, does not, without any positive information, perceive, that it must have been *suggested* to WARD, after the reading of his declaration, by some person who foresaw that it would be difficult to account for the lateness of his complaint? Who, indeed, is there that will not see clearly through the disguise of WARD's simplicity of style, and that will not be perfectly satisfied, that the whole was suggested to WARD, for the sole purpose of discrediting and ruining of Mr. Atkins, in order to prevent the reform of the abuses from taking place? WARD pretends, in his letter to DAVIES, that he has made his complaint *now*, because there is a *superior* of Mr. Atkins *come to the Island*. Not only however, had there been superiors of Mr. Atkins frequently visiting the Island during the time that had elapsed, but there had been, as WARD well knew, *a superior Barrack-Master*, Mr. BYGRAVE, *constantly residing* in the Island; and yet he never made his complaint before! Mr. Atkins does, I am informed, aver the facts to be false, and is preparing counter affidavits; but, first observing, that, whether true or false, these facts can never be construed into a justification of those who made

the contract for the barns, we will *for argument's sake*, and merely for argument's sake, admit the facts as stated by WARD, to be true; and then the amount of them is this: 1st, that Atkins promised Ward, that, if he would lend him 20l. he would do every thing in his power to cause the barn of Ward still to be rented by government: 2dly, that Atkins made frequent requests to Ward for presents of corn, hay, hogs, geese, ducks and fowls, but it is not stated that he ever actually obtained any thing but one pig: and 3dly, that, in the payment of Ward for cartage done for government, Mr. Atkins did actually pocket 2l. 5s. These facts, if true, as for argument's sake, we admit them to be, manifest a low, if not corrupt, mind, and cannot be justified upon the ground of any necessities growing out of Mr. Atkins's poverty: but still, they were not of a magnitude to defy the powers of forgiveness, especially when we recollect, that the knowledge of them was communicated to the Barrack-Master (HEWETT) and to the Secretary at War (FITZPATRICK) after both of them were in possession of that report of Mr. Atkins, by the means of which report he had produced a saving to the public of 833l. 16s. a year, and had, by the same act, furnished them with the information whereby a great and general saving of the public money might be made. This meritorious act; this great public service; this rare instance of an endeavour to save the public money; this, one would have thought, might have weighed something in favour of Mr. Atkins, who, though we should, for argument's sake, allow him to have been touched with the contamination, might, without any very glaring violation of moral principles, have been admitted to pardon for the sake of the discovery he had made with respect to the enormous waste before described. Statute upon statute have we, not only for *pardoning*, but for REWARDING participators in defrauding the *revenue*. Man is invited by law to inform against man; friend against friend; brother against brother, in whatever relates to the prevention of money being *raised* upon the people; for every informer of this description an ample indemnification is provided: what is the fate of those who endeavour to prevent frauds in the *expenditure* of that money we have a striking instance in Mr. Atkins's present situation. But, supposing, that, in the pure and unadulterated mind of GENERAL FITZPATRICK, no public merit could at all operate as a set off against moral guilt, however trifling in its magnitude; supposing the virtue of the Right Honourable General to be of that rigid, that Spartan-like, character, that rejects all compromises, that admits of no STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS, but that stands straight onward towards the end of abstract justice, and at last inflicts it with an unshaken hand, and without any even the smallest allowance for the frailties of human nature, however small the offence and however great the temptation; supposing all this, still, where are we to look for the motive of *refusing Mr. Atkins a sight of the documents upon which he had been dismissed* and ruined, and which dismission had plunged his wife and children into misery; into an absolute want of the necessaries of life?——It will have been observed, that the report of Mr. Atkins was made in *December* last; that the *inquiry into his conduct as a Barrack-Master* (made by the man who had contracted for the barns) took place in *January*; and that, upon the documents which were the result of this inquiry, Mr. Atkins was dimissed by the Spartan General in the month of *February*. Now, the reader will doubtless ask, not only how it came to pass, that this inquiry into Mr. Atkins's conduct was never made *before*, but, how it came to appear necessary to make it *after*, and, that, too, *immediately* after, Mr, Atkins made an endeavour to save the public money? DAVIES is sent into the Isle of Wight in consequence of Mr. Atkins's proposal to save the public money; and he reports; what? Not that he has found out any means of saving the public money; but that Mr. Atkins has received presents from one of the barn-owners! He does not appear to have paid the least attention to the means of saving the public money; he does nothing towards the reducing the rent of the barns; the old enormous rent is continued on for *ten weeks afterwards*, and until Mr. Atkins is found to have come up *to the neighbourhood of the parliament and the press*; and, in short, DAVIES seems to have paid very little attention to any thing but the obtaining of WARD's affidavit, and he says, in his letter to the Barrack-Master General (Hewett) that "the enclosed papers" [which are not furnished] "I could not attend to whilst I "was so *extremely employed* in the *business* "*of the affidavit*, and my absence at the "out-posts." Whence such great anxiety upon this sole point? Whence the eagerness to find grounds of accusation against Mr. Atkins, whom, *before* his endeavour to save the public money, it was never thought necessary to accuse? Can this anxiety, can it, in the mind of any man of common sense, be attributed to any but *one* motive?

And is it necessary that motive to describe? ——Mr. Atkins is an *example*, a *dreadful warning*, to those public officers who may, in future, be animated with the desire of saving the public money! And yet, oh, cruel disappointment and mortification! Mr. Fox, Mr. WINDHAM, Mr. GREY, and LORD HENRY PETTY are in power! The men I wished to see in power, are in power, and yet has this thing taken place; and yet is there no appearance of approaching redress either for the public or for the unfortunate man, who has ventured to endeavour to save its money!——Do the gentlemen, whom I have just named, think that this is the way to inspire the people with a devotion to their country and its government? Do they think, that we are blind and deaf to all facts such as are here brought to light and as are bringing to light every day and every hour, while, at the same time, we are told that, cost what sacrifice and what suffering it will, "taxes *must* be raised?" Do they think we are dead to all sense of right and of wrong; that we can no longer distinguish between justice and injustice; between ease and oppression; between freedom and slavery? No: such is not *their* opinion yet; and, in the confident hope that it never will, I beseech them to betake themselves, while time is at their command, to a line of conduct that shall convince us, that they yet intend to save us from the last stage of misery and degradation; and, I do earnestly hope, that, as a proof of this their intention, they will enter upon a general, a full, and an *open* inquiry into the abuses in the Barrack Department; that they will, 'ere they suffer the House of Commons to separate, take measures for an *immediate* reform; that they will proclaim *great encouragement* to all those who shall therein be willing to assist them; and that, as a beginning in the good work, they will re-instate the oppressed man, whose discoveries have led to the public discussion of the subject. *They* are not yet deeply implicated in the injuries inflicted upon this man. There is yet time for them to save him and his distressed family. In stretching out their powerful hand to preserve him, they will do an act worthy of great minds; and I conjure them not to be therefrom deterred by that false pride, which would suggest the idea of their acting under the impression of fear; for, to fear to do wrong, to fear not to do right, is a mark of a great and not of a little mind. By some hand or other this man and his sinking family ought to be raised and protected: if the *government* do it not, the *public*, in whose behalf he has suffered, ought to do it; but, my hope is, that this distinction of feeling in the government and in the public will never exist, and that the appearance of it will, upon this occasion, be rendered impossible by the conduct of the government itself. As to the fact of his distress, they will not, I am sure, affect ignorance. They will read what I have here written, and when I tell them that I speak from my own knowledge, I know they will believe me. That he *may* have committed faults, I am by no means disposed to deny; but, to say nothing of the liability of us all to commit faults, what, let me ask, would be the fate of public officers in general, were they, for offences such as have been *alledged* against Mr. Atkins, to be punished as Mr. Atkins has been? What would be, nay, what *must* be, the consequence, if we take, as we are justified in taking, the decision against Mr. Atkins as a *precedent* for deciding with respect to the conduct of all other persons in places of public trust?

The length of the foregoing article, together with my desire to draw towards it the undivided attention of the public, prevent me from entering at present, upon any other subject. I therefore postpone some remarks, that were prepared, upon the situation of the Continent; upon the American Intercourse Bill; upon the progress of Mr. Windham's Military Plans; upon the Brewing Tax; upon the Somersetshire Election; upon the Honiton Election, and the excellent example given in the declaration of Lord Cochrane; and finally, upon the proceedings relative to Lord Wellesley, an impartial account of which proceedings it is my intention to place upon record, continuing on from the Oude Charge (which is concluded in the subsequent sheet), and embracing every thing material which shall occur *for* his Lordship as well as *against* him, this being the only way to promote a just and useful decision in the mind of the public.——To all these topics, though every one of them is highly important, I have preferred that of the Barrack Abuses; and my reason is this, that I am fully persuaded, that the fate of the government of England, and of England herself, as an independent nation, turns solely upon what shall be done with regard to *taxation*, and that this turns upon what shall be done with regard to the *saving* of public money; for, as to further great impositions, without the use of a force that would not leave us even the semblance of freedom, they appear to me utterly impracticable.

In the subsequent pages of this Number will be found the XIth letter from my cor-

respondent upon the Reform of Financial Abuses; also a letter upon the proposed Commission of Accounts; another upon the principle of the Assessed Taxes; one upon the National Defence; one upon the Income Tax; one upon the Brewing Tax; and one upon the Non-Residence of the Clergy, my reasons for not agreeing, as to all points, with the writer of which, I shall state upon a future occasion, for, indeed, this is one of the most important subjects that ever engaged public attention

The next Number (owing to an omission of a sheet last week) will also contain *two sheets*; and, being the last of the Volume, will carry to the readers the Tables of Contents, Indexes, &c. but, it will be observed, that the volume will, as usual, contain only 33 sheets.

Imitated from the Greek Epigram,

Ανδρο φονῳ σαθρον παρα τειχιον οπνωοντι
Νυκλος επιστησα. φασι Σαραπιν οναρ, κ.τ.λ.

A cut-throat sleeping near a wall
Beheld Serapis in his dream,
Who cried, Get hence! 'tis going to fall—
He rose, he fled, and down it came.

Proud of th'escape, Why sure, quoth he,
I'm after all an honest fellow:
The gods take wond'rous care of me;
Ay, they forgive a peccadillo.

Next night the God return'd and said,
You did not take my warning right;
Rogue, shall I see you knock'd o'the head?
No, no, you won't come off so light.

So ——— 'scapes, and we allow,
That Heav'n this weak assault has baffled,
Who saves him from the Pillory now,
To go hereafter on the Scaffold.

ARTHUR YOUNG ON NATIONAL DEFENCE.

Sir;——When political enemies, holding opposite principles of government, coalesce and possess themselves of the power and emoluments of the state, the propriety of such conduct, to say the least, must be matter of doubt; but when opponent writers, whose warfare has been vehement, arrive in the discussion of any fundamental part of the constitution at precisely the same result, our grounds of belief and conviction must be uncommonly strong. In politics, Major Cartwright and Mr. Arthur Young, were, as political writers, particularly hostile, and we cannot suppose, if we now find them agree, that such agreement can have any other cause than a full conviction on the point in question common to both. As you, Mr. Cobbett, have very much contributed towards diffusing the opinions of the Major on the subject of our national defence, I have thought you would be pleased to find the same opinions now maintained, and forcibly expressed, by the warmest of his former adversaries. I, therefore, send you the Monthly Magazine of this present June, in which you will find a well written letter of Mr. Young, on the subject alluded to, by the republication of which, in your excellent paper, I think you will render an essential service to the public.——Saxe.—*June* 21, 1806.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

Sir;——The present state of Europe offers a spectacle that cannot be considered without horror. The unparalleled successes of the French have conquered, stunned, or disarmed, the whole Continent, and established thereby so predominant an influence, that no power, or coalition of powers, by land, has much chance, according to the obvious tendency of the late events, of opposing an effectual shield against the most enormous encroachments and tyranny of the conqueror. These effects have not been the consequence of the efforts of a regular and established government, that promises peace or security to its conquered or terrified neighbours, but the events have been effected by the powers of anarchy and confusion, concentrated by the talents of one man, who, were he to fall, might be succeeded by universal ruin and devastation, flowing from similar changes and horrors to those which led him to the supremity of power, and which has laid in the dust every enemy but one that has opposed him. Not the smallest security, and not much probability, exists, that the Continent may not see the soil of every territory bathed in the best blood of its inhabitants, the guillotine permanent, and the reign of assassination, terror, and blood, restored, from Gibraltar to Petersburgh, from Copenhagen to Constantinople. Suppose the government of Buonaparté should be a regular one, (and its regularity has hitherto depended, in conquered countries, on the tyranny of his lieutenants) yet who can foretel what will succeed him? Jacobinism, in all its horrors, may spring up, and deluge all the Continent with devastation; while the powers that might have opposed it are in universal debility and ruin. Without looking, however, so far, what a spectacle is it to see so many countries conquered, or croaching with Spanish imbecility, under the foot of a tyrant; and the people of the West, except one, the beasts of burthen to the French!—Such are the consequences of

the events we have seen; and, as far as they have been effected, there can be no doubt but it has been the will of the Almighty that they should come to pass. He certainly "rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm;" but this does not in the smallest degree lessen the duty of every power resisting, to the uttermost, the attacks that are made upon their liberty and independence. No country has so much reason, as this happy one, to be jealous, in the extreme, of so dreadful a neighbour, and whose peculiar vengeance is whetted against it. It is our manifest duty to hope that the providence of God will be in our favour, and enable us to resist a torrent that has overwhelmed every thing else, and left this island the last refuge of liberty, property, and religion. It is the duty of every subject of this realm to exert whatever power, influence, or talent, he may possess, in the service of the public, at the most fearful moment Europe has seen for many ages. *He that can grasp a weapon, should wield one;* and, he that can only reflect on the means of resistance, should well consider them, and give his thoughts to those whose stations may make them useful. I wish I could say that all can pray; but, all that know what prayer is, should pray fervently for their King, their country, their altars, their liberty, and the safety of their families. Well would it be with us were this means of safety more relied on and better practised. But thanks to the gracious mercy of the Supreme Ruler of Events, true Christians do abound in this kingdom; and they furnish no inconsiderable reason to hope that we shall still be preserved.——Of all the political evils that can befal a nation, that of foreign conquest is, beyond comparison, the worst; and of all the classes of a state to whom this misery comes, to none is it so ruinous as to the landed interest. Merchants, manufacturers, monied men, and professions, can convey their property and their skill to other countries; but *those who depend on land* lose all if they fly, and are ruined if they stay. In the present state of things between France and England, a conquest would transfer the soil of the kingdom to French landlords: Buonaparté would portion it out gradually with more than Norman rapacity; and the farmers would be the slaves, the *villains*, of the new possessors. The consequences of such a revolution cannot be foreseen with too clear an eye, nor make too deep an impression on every heart. Whatever measures of prevention are adopted, should be obeyed and promoted with an unsleeping vigilance; for the evil of final defeat would be such as this country never yet experienced.——In reflecting upon the result of all the wars that have taken place since the French revolution, the fact most prominent is, *the miserable insufficiency of a regular army to defend a country:* not one in Europe has trusted to it, that has not been ruined. [*Hear! hear! Mr. Windham!*] The expense of supporting an army in a marching state, and actually ready for a campaign is so great, that one or two hundred thousand men swallow up the public revenue of twenty millions of people; and if this army is defeated, a kingdom is conquered. Five millions capable of bearing arms, are as so many sheep driven to slaughter: if it be the will of the victor they lick the dust.——There wants no military knowledge to enable us to see that there must be something radically rotten in such a species of defence. [Hear! hear! ye advocates for standing armies!]—If it be said that the *attack* is by a regular army, I reply, that it must be so; it is of necessity. No general can march a whole people out of their country; but the question is, whether a whole people cannot be brought to act at home.——But the regular troops, of the necessity of which in this country we have heard so much in parliament, have little more dependence placed in them, in the hour of need, than if they were armed peasantry. The Emperor of Germany laid down his neck to be trodden on, while the Archduke Charles was at the head of ninety thousand men, and the Archduke Ferdinand had forty or fifty thousand more. He had more troops in the field than fought for him at Austerlitz. And, if the King of Prussia, with two hundred and fifty-thousand men, were, at the head of eighty or ninety thousand, to be defeated, there is not a man in this country but would say, 'There is an end of Prussia!' *What, then, is the efficiency of that defence which is annihilated by a single battle?* But, whatever our reasoning may be, the fact remains great and glaring: Europe has trusted her defence to *troops of the line*, and Europe *is conquered.* Forty millions of men, TEN MILLIONS of whom are able to bear arms, are now trampled on, as if they were sheep and pigs, by two hundred thousand Frenchmen!—Are we to trust the tremendous adventure of the lives, liberty, and property, of this country, on the same broken reed that has deceived every neighbour we have upon earth? In conversation on the late events, it has rarely been omitted to notice the treachery or imbecility of some of those who served the Emperor. The remark is nearly related to the dependence placed on *a standing army.*

Whatever the evil might have been, the whole amount was *the loss of an army*; a loss great enough, without doubt; but the defence of a country rests on a foundation of straw, *if the loss of an army is the loss of a kingdom.* The men able to bear arms in England alone would form *five-and-twenty armies*, each of one hundred thousand men. The same proportion would have given the Emperor *fifty armies* equally numerous. He rested his hope on *two*, and kept eight-and-forty in the state of cattle and sheep: like cattle and sheep they are now eaten up.——I say nothing of our navy, the glorious and never to be too much commended defence of this kingdom, for an evident reason. The four hundred thousand volunteers, (on paper at least) and the fortifications I have seen in Essex, prove that *our government is convinced that an invasion is possible:* if so, the possibility should be guarded against.——In the battles of Buonaparté, I believe he has invariably fought with [against] inferior numbers; and this accounts for his having won so many victories, by turning the ranks of his adversaries. This circumstance shews that the command of numbers is a matter of immense consequence. *Here* it is absolutely our own fault and presumption, if we do not oppose him with very superior numbers in every engagement that could take place. He ought not to land any army without having three upon it, as soon as might be; one in front, and one hanging on each of his wings. With troops of the line this may be impossible to effect; but not so with a general levy.——There is one observation which ought to be very obvious; exactly in proportion to the *talents, skill,* and *experience* in command, of those who are to lead an *invading* army, will be the necessity of supplying an inferiority in those respects, by *numbers, preparation,* intrenchments, or some counterbalance; the idea of a lost battle or two deciding the fate of the kingdom, is the last that is to be admitted for a single moment. And the same remark is applicable to the system of keeping troops in barracks or quarters till the moment they are wanted. To have armies collected in camps, and exercised in large bodies, previous to actual service, appears to be an advantage which is lost in the contrary plan.——The idea which I would most humbly propose for consideration is, to pass an act for a general militia of all men able to bear arms, that is to say, one-fourth of the gross population of the kingdom, and to arm them immediately with pikes; to admit no exemptions but the most absolutely necessary ones, and not admit of a substitute: when all are enrolled that could serve, where are substitutes to be found?

Population returned by the Act of the 41st of the King.

No. 1.	Kent	307,624
	Sussex	159,311
		466,935
	Fighting men	116,733
No. 2.	Surrey	269,043
	Hants	219,656
		488,699
	Fighting men	122,177
No. 3.	Norfolk	273,371
	Suffolk	210,431
		483,802
	Fighting men	120,950
No. 4.	Essex	226,437
	Herts	97,577
	Cambridge	89,346
		413,360
	Fighting men	103,340

This is sufficient to explain the idea. Each maritime district should have another behind it to call out as a reserve. Were the kingdom thus armed, and for such a purpose, as soon as the counties in the vicinity of the invasion were called into the field, all the rest would be alert, in exercise every evening without pay, and ready to obey the call expected by themselves.—In the General Defence Bill the enrolment was by classes, respecting single men, and married with children; and there were reasons for it: but in the measure now proposed, this would not be practicable. To call men from Northumberland to Kent, because they are single, would never do: they must be called out by counties, in the immediate vicinity of the one invaded. In regard to the expense of such a measure, the system should be executed in the cheapest manner possible. Two millions of men exercised one day in a month, and allowed one shilling per diem each, would amount to no more than 1,200,000 per annum. The officers should receive no more pay for such days of exercise than the men; a circumstance which would render the measure more popular than

making the common distinction. In regard to dress, regimentals, &c. if it can be contended that the use is equal to the expense, it may be indulged; but this can hardly be urged: and when the number of men to be raised is so great, and the duration of the war in every respect so threatening, which makes every species of economy so necessary, to reduce the expense as low as possible, would be a point of essential consequence. It is strength of body, and vigour of arm, that do execution in a close battle, and not the *dress* of a soldier. "Every occasion that can pre-"sent itself of using the bayonet, will be "eagerly and spiritedly siezed on; it is the "weapon of true courage, and most pecu-"liarly fitted for the nervous arm of a Bri-"ton." *Circular paper, signed H. M. Gordon, Lieutenant Colonel, and Assistant Adjutant General.* The remark is as applicable to the *pike* as to the bayonet. Dressing 2,000,000 of men at 30l. each, 3,000,000l. besides officers, &c. It would be an idle expense. But for the first month of exercising it might be thought necessary to have this militia trained for one hour every evening, or twenty-four times in the month, in companies of 100 men, which would be assembled in a few minutes; for this, if each received 3 pence, it would amount to 25,000l. per diem, and for 24 days 600,000l.; after that, once a week might suffice. Two millions of pikes would cost, at 6d. each 600,000l. The difference of expense between musquets and pikes is considerable. Musquet 1l. 12s. accoutrements 10s. 6d. 2l. 2s. 6d. Pike 6d. Difference 1l. 16s. 6d. which, for 2,000,000 men, is a difference of 3,650,000l.; besides, powder, ball, &c.; and, what is still more, one day's exercise with the pike would equal ten with the musquet.—In exercising and disciplining troops, there seems to be some rule of conduct adopted in various countries, which may be a partial cause of such ill success as we have seen remarkable instances of. When I view a volunteer corps of one hundred men on parade, going through their exercise with uncommon precision, I cannot help wishing to know how they would behave when formed into battallions or regiments, and these again into numerous bodies. A day's exercise of 10,000 of these troops, drawn up on rough, broken, or ploughed ground, intersected with numerous hedges, would afford a much clearer idea of what they are fit for, than a month's regular routine without difficulties, and uncombined with other troops. And with generals and commanders the same remark is applicable: those who never were at the head of 5000 men, how can it be known what they would do with 50 o 100,000? All analogy is against them. It would be extremely beneficial to exercise the pike or bayonet men in large bodies, and once a year in still larger, that they might have an opportunity of learning more than it is possible to learn in small masses only. This would be an easy matter if all fighting men were enrolled and exercised: a short walk would assemble three or four thousand of them at one spot.——To many persons of no mean understanding, nothing in modern warfare appears so astonishing as the disuse of the pike in favour of the bayonet, through a long period of time, in which the inefficacy of the fire of musquetry seems to have been gradually established. Of all the battles fought through the last century, nine in ten were gained either by artillery, by the rapid and skilful movement of divisions, by turning or flanking, or by the bayonet: it hardly appears that any general was indebted for his success to the fire of musquetry. Marshal *Saxe*, in his Reveries, holds it in utter contempt. "Had the last war continued (says Count "Saxe) some time longer, the close fight "would certainly have become the com-"mon method of engaging; for the insig-"nificancy of small arms began to be disco-"vered, which make more noise than they "do execution, and which must always oc-"casion the defeat of those who depend too "much upon them. I have seen even whole "vollies without killing four men; and "shall appeal to the experience of all man-"kind, if any single discharge was ever so "violent, as to disable an enemy from ad-"vancing afterwards to take ample revenge, "by pouring in his fire, and at the same in-"stant rushing in with fixed bayonets: it "is by this method only that numbers are "to be destroyed, and victories obtained. "At the battle of Belgrade I saw two bat-"talions cut to pieces in an instant: they "gave a general fire upon a large body of "Turkish horse, at the distance of about "30 paces; instantly after which the Turks "rushed forward through the smoke, and "with their sabres cut the whole to pieces "on the spot. I was on the ground a few "minutes after, and had the curiosity to "count the number of Turks destroyed by "the general discharge of two battalions and "found it only amount to 32; a circum-"stance which has by no means increased "my regard for fire-arms." *Reveries*, 4to. p. 19.——If small arms are thus inefficacious, the question between the pike and the bayonet ought to be decided for close fighting; for surely a regiment of pikes opposed to a regiment of bayonets would be decidedly victorious, through the most multiplied experiments. The authority just quoted, is

as much in favour of the pike as it is against musquet firing.——"My opinion," says Saxe again, "in regard to the importance of "pikes is supported by the general concur- "rence of men of reflection and experience; "and the only reasons to be assigned for the "disuse of it, are such as have also occasion- "ed the abolition of many other excellent "customs of the ancients, by which I "mean neglect and indolence" If firing, which is the only apparent motive for preferring the musquet to the pike, be thus inefficacious, and if the pike be superior to the bayonet, as nobody can doubt, what possible reason can be produced for arming *all* our troops with musquets, at the expence of 2 or 3 guineas, instead of with pikes, at that of 6 shillings? But with 200,000 of soldiers this would be insanity. —A measure very requisite before the landing of an invading army, would be, to pass an act of parliament, declaring it to be high treason to receive a flag of truce, or any proposition whatever, from any person mongst the hostile troops. Who can read the details of the late campaign without seeing the immense mischief which resulted from these insidious and most ruinous negociations? But whatever may be the result of comparing weapons, the case of a general levy seems to preclude any mode of arming except with pikes: the expence and the time necessary to discipline troops armed with musquets, must render pikes essential to the plan, at least for the greater part of the forces thus levied. And if the vast importance of having such numbers in the field as may enable our generals not only to out flank, but absolutely to surround the foe, be well considered, it will surely appear, that to have army behind army, so posted as to be called readily into action, ought speedily to decide the result of the contest.—If it be supposed that a French army landed on our coast, it is difficult to conceive that the campaign would be of any long duration. Defended by a regular army, two battles, perhaps one, would decide the fate of London; for the vicinity of the coast, approached either from Boulogne or Holland, is such to that capital, that the struggle must be a very short one. But with as many armies of pikemen as you please to call out, nothing would prevent the action being uninterrmitted from the shore to the Thames, with the great advantage of being able absolutely to surround the enemy at every point; and it would not be very good policy to let him close his eyes from the very instant he forced a landing. If three or four of the best generals of France were in the invading army, perhaps any plan of manœuvering would prove a very bad snare, and finish with our being out-generaled; but if the issue be put on close fighting, he must gain his advantages, whatever they were, at a very dear price, so that his victories might prove his ruin.—How many men, when they read a proposition of this sort, will be sure to cry out, "all this is very wild." If wildness be an entire departure from that system which has hitherto been depended on for the defence of Europe, I hope it is exceeding wild: it cannot in this respect be too wild. *Troops of the line have lost Europe; in the name of common sense let us not trust to them alone.* —If it was within the verge of possibility to bring into the field five or ten armies of troops of the line, it might be very well: to rely upon them; but we have not 100,000 such, if the debates in parliament are to be relied on; that is, *we have a sufficient number for one battle.*—Lose it—and the kingdom is gone.—But the great principle for which I contend does not depend on the arms, or on the description of troops to be raised: *let every man be armed and exercised*; if with musquets, well; if not, with pikes. Permit not the nation to be in a state of Austrian imbecility; *a regular army defeated, and the foot of the conqueror on the neck of the nation.*—The fortification system has been so much ridiculed, that it is not likely to be effected to the extent that might be of real consequence; but to plain men it should seem, that if such intrenchments as have been thrown up for some miles near Chelmsford are considered as an important defence, (and that they are so considered is evident, or they would not have been made), such, or more effective ones, on the coast, the artillery bearing directly on the scene of landing, would be much more formidable to an approaching foe. The expense might be very moderate. There are 1760 yards in a mile; a ditch 6 yards deep, and 10 yards wide, and 1760 yards long, at 1s a cubic yard, amounts to 5280l. which sum would dig a mile of such intrenchment, and consequently, 100 miles of it would cost only 528,000l. A broad road for the rapid advance of troops and artillery, and kept for that purpose only, should run parallel to the entrenchment; and the expense of this at 100l. per mile, would add only 10,000l. for the 100 miles: double or treble it, the object as to the expense is small. If a four-and-twenty pounder were mounted at every 6 yards, there would be 293, say 300 in a mile; at 50l. each, these would cost 15,000l. or for a 100 miles 1,500,000l. Evident enough it is, that for less than 2,000,000l. sterling a most formidable entrenchment, lined with artillery, might be executed

through the extent of 100 miles; and the coasts of Sussex, Kent, Essex, and Suffolk, secured for 6,000,000l. Cases are very numerous of raw and undisciplined troops standing to their arms steadily behind even a common breast-work.—"I have frequently, says Saxe, p. 117, seen brick towers, hollow, and weakly constructed, that have sustained the fire of 20 pieces of large cannon for 3 or 4 entire days together, at the distance of only 400 paces, without having been destroyed."—Such cases seem to prove that every species of fortification is valuable when properly applied; and in cases of employing raw troops, of the first consequence. No conclusions against fortifications are to be drawn from the successes of Buonaparté. Had General Mack's army been employed in garrisoning strong and well provided fortified posts, the event of the campaign would probably, have been very different; but great and straggling towns, that demand an army to man the works, and these, probably, unprovided with a single article requisite for standing a siege, can be nothing more than snares in which to find your troops captured. A regular siege is a tedious business for an invading army; and it is one, besides, in which the assailants must lose more men than the defenders. We have had no small experience of the efficacy of batteries extended for many miles on the coast of France, near which we have rarely approached but to be torn in pieces by their fire. If our enemy has made these exertions for collecting troops to attack us, surely we ought not to hesitate at the expense of any measures of defence! Two millions sterling converting 100 miles of coast into a formidable intrenchment, lined with artillery, seems to allow the very practicable plan of rendering a descent from Boulogne absolutely impossible. If 100 miles will not give security treble the extent, what are six millions, when the security of the kingdom is the question?—I am not enough in the world to know what is practising in it; nor whether the movements of vanity, and extravagance, and pleasure, and what is commonly called luxury, flow in the same tide at present which they have done in former periods. I hope not; and that there is not such an unfeeling inattention to the tremendous events taking place on the Continent, every one of which is fraught with motives of alarm to those who have hitherto escaped these fearful judgments of the Almighty. If grand dinners, brilliant balls and masquerades, elegant entertainments, private and public theatricals, and all the channels in which fortunes can be dissipated or misapplied, flourish as if Europe were in safety, the spectacle would be lamentable indeed, and we should truly have reason to exclaim, this is not the conduct that can avert the thunder which yet rolls at a distance. All pleasure and dissipation that absorb the money and divert the energy wanting for the defence of the country, is high treason against the independency of the kingdom. Nothing can save this country but a long, steady, and patient perseverance in supporting the necessary burthens of such a war as shall be necessary to keep insidious and mischievous truces, armistices, and all preliminaries, at a distance. If the moment arrives in which we *must* make peace, that moment closes the career of Britain; but at all events, let it be peace or war, and not negociation. Our enemy has made as much by these treacherous steps as by victories in the field. No suspension of hostilities for a single moment. *This is what I will grant, this is what I will accept*, peace or war. England is 3 years preparing for war: Buonaparté not 3 hours. We know our danger in war, and it is possible to guard against it. With such a foe we know little of our danger in peace, and if it be guarded against, peace becomes as expensive as war. But all such language is vanity and folly, if it rest not on the basis of an ability to continue the war. If money be wanted and cannot be had, if the navy demand supplies that cannnot be procured, then must peace be made, or *England fought for on English ground.* The first may for a moment postpone the latter, and it would be only for a moment. Where then would our trust be? In a hundred thousand troops of the line, or in five-and-twenty times as many pikemen?—In such an inquiry it is not easy to sink entirely, as I could have wished, all references to the Volunteers; but experience has given us a lesson to which I hope the new ministry will not be inattentive. Voluntary exertions are admirable for a certain period, and they do, for such a period, much honour to individuals: at the long run, if I may use the expression, they are not to be depended on. The spirit tires and evaporates; the attendance on days of exercise has so fallen off in many corps that they remain troops upon paper only in the present situation of the kingdom; its defence is *the first business of every man that can carry arms*, and the necessity of exertion is such that every man should be forced to bear his share in the burthen, and those whose years exceed or fall short of the limited age, should pay a personal tax, that the burthen may fall universally. Give protection, or enable the public to pay those that can with their arm protect. Whatever the

force is that shall be had recourse to, they should be under martial law while under arms. The clauses of the act may *secure* attendance; and the moment the word "*attention*" is pronounced, let martial law commence.—ARTHUR YOUNG.—*Bradfield, March*, 1806.

ASSESSED TAXES.

SIR,——Though I differ from you (as honest men must sometimes do), upon some points, I admire your talents, respect your principles, and trust that your country may long continue to enjoy the benefit of your exertions, which I verily believe to be as disinterested and patriotic as they certainly are able and impartial. You have offered yourself a candidate for the borough of Honiton, and addressed the electors in language so explicitly and unreservedly pure (and therefore so uncommon), that I sincerely hope they may "sanction the great principle upon which *you* stand, and by which the *country* must stand or fall." I sincerely hope that your exertions in the senate may be even more powerful and impressive than your exertions in the press, but I should be sorry to risk the loss, or even relaxation of the latter, for the chance of any benefit that can reasonably be expected from the former, under "existing circumstances." Mr. Paull can attest how vain it is to "kick against the pricks," and of how little avail are the best intentions, even with ability to back them, unless there be also a competent knowledge of parliamentary *usage*, which it is almost the labour of a man's life to learn, yet which every *member* is peculiarly required to observe. Have you duly reflected how far the spirit of your Political Register, if written *by a member*, and discussing pretty freely, political measures and men, *out of* parliament, will be deemed compatible with its privileges? This is a point on which the public are as deeply interested as yourself; I am but one of a great many, who, neither hoping nor wishing for a seat in parliament, are yet desirous sometimes of unburdening themselves through the medium of your Register. There are, at this moment, several subjects on which I should wish to make a few desultory observations, and particularly on that inexhaustible, and (perhaps our new financier might admit) *unfathomable* subject of *taxation*, upon which he has, already more than once, got out of his depth, and in truth (if I have not also got out of mine), his latest, though possibly not his last, resource of 10 per cent. on the Assessed Taxes is very little less exceptionable than either of the other two, in place of which this is offered as a substitute. My first objection is the *injustice* of imposing this tax so long after the 5th of April, from which day the annual assessment is calculated, as relating to those persons, who may have been induced to enlarge their establishments *since that day*, in the persuasion that the assessed taxes would *not* be increased (the Chancellor of the Exchequer having turned a deaf ear to hints on this subject), such a tax must now, as to these persons, operate as an *ex post facto* law, unless there should be either a special exemption in their favour, or a permission to draw in their horns again. But I object also to the *policy* of augmenting this class of taxes, which already bears unconscionably hard upon—the best description of people—*the middle class of moderate fortunes in the country*, whether occupying their own estates, or as resident clergy, in both which cases the establishment of one carriage, servant, and horses to draw it *occasionally*, but much *more frequently* to be employed about the farm, cannot be considered, and ought not to be taxed as a mere luxury. This tends to drive such people into towns, to narrow the sphere of hospitality, and to break down the distinctions between ranks, which in the mixed and *conical* form of our constitution, ought to be most anxiously preserved; the practical tyranny now exercised in France is the lineal descendant of theoretic equality. Allow me to illustrate my view of the impolicy of stretching the assessed taxes (which are unquestionably *sumptuary* laws, and surely sumptuary laws are little suitable to a manufacturing, commercial, monarchical country), beyond their staple, by instancing the case of a man of (what I should conceive to be a medium) 1,000*l.* per annum occupying his own estate, valued at 200*l.* per annum, and his house rated at 50*l.*, with the ordinary establishment of such persons. His *direct* taxes are:

Property tax on 750*l.* per annum income, at 10 per cent.	£75	0	0
Ditto on 200*l.*, landlord and tenant's tax	35	0	0
Ditto on 50*l.*, house tax	3	15	0
Land tax, suppose	10	0	0
House tax on 50*l.*, at 2*s.* 6*d.*	6	5	0
Window tax on 40 windows	25	15	0
Armorial bearings	2	2	0
One four-wheeled carriage	10	0	0
Three men servants, viz. footman; coachman, who also holds plough and drives teams; gardener, who milks, suckles, mows, &c. &c.	9	0	0
Four horses, one for going to post and market; one to carry master over his parish or round his			

farm; two to put out dung and make out the team - -	18	4	0
Hair powder - - -	1	1	0
A watch dog and a spaniel -	1	0	0
Two farming horses - -	1	5	0
Game licence - - -	3	3	0
Poor, church, and highway rates, at 8s. per pound, on 250l. -	100	0	0
Tythe, on suppose 200 acres, at 5s. per acre - - -	50	0	0
	£351	10	0

Thus, you see, that more than one-third of the income of the persons I have described is swallowed up in *direct* taxes; but it is further to be considered, that the taxes upon every article used or consumed by such persons fall *indirectly*, and therefore the more heavily upon them. These latter, however, I admit to fall in common and more lightly upon them than upon the residents in *towns*, who are, to a great degree, exempted from most of the other taxes, and are also less accessible to be checqued if indisposed to contribute fairly. But, Sir, independent of the injustice and impolicy of thus overloading the overloaded, surely he must be a feeble financier who cannot find many less exceptionable resources. Why not impose a tax upon musical instruments, which are certainly a luxury? why not upon the *quack medicines for the mind*, such as novels and romances, and those vitiated and vitiating exhibitions we now see upon the stage, superseding the best productions of our best dramatic poets? Nothing will go down now-a-days but the travestred translations of German Immoralists; the ephemeral Gessanur of our own would-be-authors, or the tinsel spectacle of a toy-shop! while the opera exhibits nothing but demi-rude attitudinarians, and squalling signors and signoras, "sliding their smooth semi-breves and garbling glib divisions in their outlandish throats!!!" and at what an expense, too, both of morals and of money!—Yet, truly we are told, that if these foreigners should invest their London profits in the British funds, and exhibit their persons, when they would not trust their purses, before the House of Napoleon the Great, when they got tired of a London audience, this property so acquired in England, and so invested in our funds, from an idea of its being more secure, is to contribute nothing towards that security!! You have touched delicately upon the *King's* funds being exempted from the Property Tax; if his Majesty were to lay up no treasure but in the hearts of his people, I should hope he would for ever *be*, and *deserve* to be inexhaustibly rich. The Property Tax is capable of being made most productive and unexceptionable; but calling it by *this* name is a palpable solicism, while under its present provisions no distinction is made between the different *durations* of that property; between a fee simple estate worth *thirty* to *thirty-five* years purchase, and a life interest not worth *one*. The widow or clergyman with one foot in the grave, and a helpless family around them must, out of the *last* years income of 200l., contribute as much as the young heir to a fee simple estate of the same rental, and on the eve of a new letting the insurance offices know how to calculate the different values of those interests; but it should seem the minister does not! As further resources, pray why not sell the *Crown Lands* (as a correspondent of yours suggests), making ample compensation, and encouraging the agriculture of the country, which a general Bill of Inclosure would still further promote? Why not employ the men and horses of the *waggon train* in *posting*, which would be both exercise and drill to them and an emolument to the country? Why not impose a tax on *man milliners*, and all that description of males so shamefully employed in different branches which females are perfectly competent, and who are thus driven to prostitution, less from vicious propensity than from vicious proscription? It is but the other day the laudable attempt to employ women raised "the devil among the taylors" in London. But, above all, why not upon every agreement for the sale of *stock*, whether for money or time, impose a tax (which there could be no difficulty in collecting), of 2s. 6d. for each 100l., equal to the brokerage now paid? If I sell my house, my land, my horse, by auction or appraiseemnt; nay, if I give them away by deed in my life-time, or if I devise or bequeath them after my decease in the collateral line, in none of those shapes can they be *transferred* without being subject to a tax. But though every thing deserving the name of property is thus subject to taxation upon the transfer, that thing called "stock" still forms the single exception, and may be transferred, either between natives or foreigners, to any indefinite amount, and through 1000 hands within as many hours, without producing to the exigencies of the state, on the credit of which it lives and moves, and has its being, one single sixpence! My opinion most decidedly is, that the thing which is morally wrong, can never be politically right under any circumstances: "Honesty is the best policy" amongst nations as well as individuals; therefore I wish for the abolition of

the slave trade; and therefore also I wish for the annihilation of the funds (without which it is nonesense to talk of the Bank resuming cash payments, indeed, not much less than nonsense to talk of the physical energies of the country, which this vapour must continue to paralize); but the shape in which I foresee "that consummation so devoutly to be wished" is, by the simple, gradual, cancerous operation of the tax eating up the whole of the *interest*, and then let "Nature's fools" look for the *principal* wherever they can find it. Though I have suggested some sources of taxation, I am thoroughly convinced that a proper economy in *expenditure* will supersede the necessity of resorting to them. But I much fear that

"Æconomy is young ambition's ladder,
"Whereto the climber upwards turns his face
"Until he has attained the topmost round,
"And then he turns his back. ——"

Our present ministry were prodigal in promises, but the best of them remain yet to be performed. I shall be slow to censure, well knowing that the successors to Mr. Pitt could not have any thing like "a bed of roses" to repose on; he had planted there but too many thorns, ever, I fear, to be plucked out, but they have not hitherto *gained* ground in the good opinion of——PROBUS.—10*th June*, 1806.——P. S. That the provision made for the collateral branches of the Nelson family is excessive, many people think, but, pray, sir, has *any* provision (unless by their High Mightinesses of Lloyd's) been made for the widows and families of the two Captains, Duff and Cooke, who fell at Trafalgar?

ON THE REFORM OF FINANCIAL ABUSES.

LETTER XI.

Sir;—In your Register of the 17th ult. you have been pleased to refer your readers to a series of letters written by me on the subject of the public expenditure (Vol. 7. Index p. 1006. and Vol 8. Index. p. 1083.) and to give it as your opinion, that if the mode I have pointed out of keeping and stating the public accounts was adopted, it would be perfectly easy for a very few public spirited members of Parliament to bring to light every material abuse. A reference and an opinion of this kind coming from your discriminating judgment, connected with a very anxious wish on my part to contribute towards an efficient reform in the present abused and ruinous system of conducting the expenditure of the public money induced me again to come forward, and endeavour through your Register to press upon the attention of the public and the ministers the absolute necessity of altering the method of keeping and stating the public accounts, in order that any good result may flow from the measures proposed to parliament for preventing the accumulation of arrears of unaudited accounts in future.—I believe, Sir, it may be stated with great safety, that the true cause of the failure of the late method of auditing the public accounts arose entirely out of the difficulties that occurred in consequence of the variety of methods, that the variety of accountantants followed, in keeping accounts of their receipts and payments. That these accounts instead of being produced before the imprest commissioners ready for examination, were brought before them in such forms, as to make it utterly impossible that any examination could be had of them, until they were put in other forms, either by the parties themselves, or by the clerks belonging to the Imprest Office. I believe, Sir, that no man will deny, that, if Mr. Pitt, when he established the board of commissioners for auditing public accounts, had procured an act of Parliament, for making every public accountant of every description keep a debtor and creditor account of all receipts and payments according to the mercantile system of book-keeping, and enacting that each principal accountant should, on the last day of every year, balance his books, and return to the commissioners a balance sheet, and that each such accountant should do the same to his principal. I say, Sir, that I believe no man will deny that such a measure would have prevented such an occurrence, as that of 450 millions of the public money being at this moment unaccounted for. And if so, will it not be next to downright madness to multiply the number of boards of commissioners, and to omit the removal of the cause of the failure of the last board. It certainly will be so, and therefore I feel particularly anxious to hear that Lord Henry Petty will immediately proceed to carry into effect that part of his plan which goes to provide for the introduction of the mercantile system of stating the proceedings of public accountants. I must confess, however, I have my apprehensions that this will not be the case. I do not think his Lordship has dwelt so much upon this part of his reform, as he would have done had he been fully aware of the gre

importance of it. I cannot find in any of the reports of his speech, that his plan went farther than to oblige all public accountants to return their balances to the imprest commissioners. This will fall very far short of what ought to be done; for how can these balances be correctly returned, and their correctness quickly ascertained, unless the previous necessity is established, and imposed upon every accountant of keeping his books literatim et verbatim as the mercantile system of book-keeping directs. The superiority of this system does not merely consist in the rules it lays down, that balances shall be periodically struck; but in this, that when a balance is struck, it may be ascertained instantly and by bare inspection without any calculation, whether it is, or is not, correct; that is, the system is such that it exposes all incorrectness, as it were mechanically, and without any faculty of memory or calculation being wanted to assist it. I say then that to control the public accountants effectually, they must be compelled by act of Parliament to keep their books of accounts in a regular prescribed form; namely, that in use with merchants and tradesmen; and in order that Parliament may control them who are to control the accountants, that is, the imprest commissioners, the act should provide that the public accounts should be stated annually in the same form, and so as to be printed and prepared fit for the use of the members of the House of Commons, before the Chancellor of the Exchequer should bring in his Budget. If such provisions are enacted by law, one committe of the House of Commons will be fully adequate to make a report in a few days, in each session, upon the state of the funds of the public; they will be competent to detect all abuses; and the practice of a few years in examining the public expenditure, will afford to those who may serve on these committees, so great a facility of ascertaining the correctness or incorrectness of the statements laid before Parliament, that the trouble of examining them would be so very trifling, and the certainty of all abuses being detected would be so well established, and so generally known, that as much system would be found to prevail on the part of the public accountants to do their duty correctly, as prevails even amongst them in robbing the public upon any transaction wherein public money is to be paid or received.—I shall conclude this letter with an extract from Sir John Sinclair's work on the Public Revenue, as containing much valuable information, and highly creditable to the late House of Commons of Ireland.

"It has often been remarked that the laws "and regulations established in small states, "are in general wiser, and better calculated "to obtain the ends in view, than those of an "extensive empire; and, as one proof among "many others which might be adduced to "support the justness of that observation, it "may be remarked, that the system adopted "in Ireland, prior to the union, for passing "the public accounts, seems to be infinitely "preferable to the one which took place in "the British parliament. In the latter case, "a supply was voted, without any previous "inquiry regarding the necessity thereof, and "a number of accounts were called for, which "were detailed by the Chancellor of the "Exchequer, in what was called his budget; "whereas, in Ireland, the following more "regular system was pursued.—In the first "place, certain accounts, properly arranged, "of the expenses of government, and the "produce of every branch of the revenue, "were annually laid before the house of "commons. As soon as these were pro-"duced, a committee was appointed to "inspect them, and to report their opinion "thereon, with power to appoint sub-com-"mittees, that the accounts, if necessary, "might be more minutely examined. When "the report of the committee, accompanied "with the accounts therein referred to, was "presented, it was ordered to lie upon the "table for the perusal of the members, soon "after it was referred to the committee of "supply; and then the house resolved, "after evidence of the necessity thereof, "" that a supply be granted to his Majesty."" "—This plan is certainly preferable to the "one adopted in the British parliament, "which has been already explained. Its "superiority appeared so evident to the "Irish house of commons, that it became a "standing order of the house; "" that no "" money bill be read until the report from "" the committee of accounts be first made." "This previous examination was a great "check upon improvident expenses, and "with such authentic documents to refer "to, the members could reason with more "advantage on the financial circumstances of "the nation, than could be done from loose "and undigested documents, or the harangue "of any minister however distinctly stated.—"This excellent plan was first adopted in "1692, when the ordinary revenue of the "crown being found inadequate to the "public expenditure, a supply was neces-"sarily applied for. It was then resolved, "" that the state of the revenue of the "" nation, and also the establishments "" civil and military, should be laid before "" the house, in order that it may the better

" " be known, what supplies were necessary " " to be given." " The system has ever " since been observed, with hardly any " omission, even in the earliest stages of " its progress ; and latterly it has been ad- " hered to with the strictest possible atten- " tion."—I have the honour to be &c. VERAX, *June* 1, 1806.

COMMISSIONERS OF ACCOUNTS.

SIR;——The following remarks were written for insertion in your Register, immediately upon the official disclosure of the state of irregularities in the Public Accounts. From the hurry of business they were thrown by, till your own observations appeared; which might seem to supersede the necessity of the following. The writer could not have received a more convincing proof of the correctness of his ideas. On one point, however, he had gone one step farther; viz. in the proposing the only possible effectual mode of preventing such dreadful abuses in future, and of rescuing the public from the hands of depredators. He hopes, therefore, they will still be inserted, as soon as it can be done. They come from one totally unconnected with any public *party* or set of men whatever.

" Sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes?"

SIR;——It is an observation too trite almost for repetition, (were it not that like almost all trite and common maxims it is also strictly true), that there are few men of such disinterested dispositions, and such inflexible integrity, that they can withstand temptations to private emolument, when unrestrained by fear, and uncontroled by the scrutinizing eye of inquiry. That there have occurred in public stations in this country, many and lamentable proofs of the truth of this maxim, is now a fact well known, and much observed upon, by all who have eyes to read, or ears to hear. The amount to which frauds and irregularities have attained is so enormous, as to have astonished even those who were before not ignorant of the existence of grievous abuses, and who were not unused to scenes of fraud and peculation. It is also, now, not only allowed, but *proclaimed*, that they who under whatever name, have hitherto been appointed to examine into accounts, and to correct abuses, have failed in that, for which *alone* they were appointed by parliament.—In considering what checks, may with a probability of success be applied to this alarming evil, of peculation and mismanagement, the idea of commissioners has been suggested. But, before we flatter ourselves with the hopes of redress from the appointment of such officers (under whatever name) let us take a lesson from experience. Do we not know, that long, long ago, there were officers appointed for this very purpose? Men, high in reputation, and distinguished for rank? For the vast benefits which the nation has derived from their *disinterested* and *honest* exertions, it is only necessary to refer to the awful disclosure lately made; a disclosure which (in whatever motives it may have originated, concerning which a considerable degree of speculation may without impropriety be entertained) will be felt in its effects in this country, as long as it exists as an independent nation, or a trace remains of its original constitution. It requires nothing more than inquiry into the mode of appointing these officers in the *civil*, *military*, and *naval* departments, and to consider what they must be, and actually are to be convinced that the appointment is, and always must be totally nugatory, as to the ends of public justice; that it is and always must be not only useless, but prejudicial to the interests of the nation. That they truly may be denominated a Committee of Secrecy, inasmuch as they would keep back that which it might be thought inexpedient for the public eye to see; and which you and I, Sir, as contributing to the public purse our mite (*almost our last*) have a *right* to look into. That this prediction will be verified, and that shortly too, I will venture to assert.—The members of the House of Commons are styled the guardians of the public purse. How the public purse has hitherto been guarded, let the foregoing remarks; let the conviction of every one; let the exhausted finances of the country; let the exhausted pockets of the individual testify. What the prospect is, which we now have before us, unless the public purse is in future guarded against depredation, it is most awful to consider. It becomes necessary, therefore, to inquire by what mode these guardians may be induced ; nay, rather, may be obliged to do their duty, by attending to the interests of the nation. Let us revert to the short sentence which I have chosen for my motto. " *Sed quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*" As I hope and trust *many* read this Register who, perhaps, may not read Latin, I shall insert a translation, viz. " But who shall watch " those Guardians of the Public Purse?" To this I answer, that unless the nation itself have the necessary control over them, no other power or mode can be devised. If instead of being *nominally* they were *really* the representatives of the nation, we should find that controling power in full force; to prevent abuse, *i. e. to redress itself.* Is it

because the members of the House of Commons *are*, or because they are *not* the representatives of the people; because they *are* or because they are *not* returned by independent electors, that they have suffered the public money to be thus shamefully squandered and misapplied? *Misapplied*, I add; because we may reasonably be allowed to doubt whether some considerable part has not been applied *directly and indirectly* to the purposes of corruption, and the purchase of secrecy and indemnity.—Looking, then, to the enormous evils which have arisen from the want of control, let us ask, is there any possible mode but that one which has been suggested; viz. the freedom of election? Is it not *indispensible* that the representative should feel a consciousness that he is sent to act as the honest agent of his constituents; and that on their good opinion of his conduct, he must entirely depend? of what, then, is the opposite principle, viz. To indifference to the good opinion of the constituent to be attributed? Is it owing to the idea prevailing, that a very great majority of the nation have no power of control whatever over those who are styled the representatives of the nation? Is it owing to the *knowledge* that by far the greater part of those who pay their money in the shape of taxes of every denomination which the ingenuity of man can devise, have no more power of inquiring into the management of it, than a subject of the Grand Seignior, or a native of Otaheite? When a Political Inquirer * seeks the awfully majestic representative body of this great nation, emphatically stiled "*The Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled*," "*presumed* to emanate from and to be identified with the great mass of the people; "touched by their every grievance, and "sympathising in all their natural and honourable feelings; does he find such a "representative body to exist? Does he not "find" *from the most indisputable authority* "that a decided majority are returned, not "by the collected voice of those whom they "appear to represent, but under the private "patronage, or by the immediate authority "of 154 individuals?"—Does then the representative believe (or rather does he *know*) himself to be totally independent of the great majority of the nation? And, does he, therefore, ridicule the idea of responsibility, *except to those by whom he is really returned.* These, Sir, are questions to which it behoves the British public to obtain a satisfactory answer. At this time the necessity for that answer is daily becoming more urgent; inasmuch, as the burthens which they are told are necessary and unavoidable. The privations to which they are obliged to submit; and the prospects to which they must now look forward, are such that the stoutest heart may well be appalled. The statement of accounts now brought officially before the public eye; as it *cannot* be disproved, so it is in itself the most convincing, the most irrefragable argument in favour of that measure which the real friends of the constitution have long seen, to be *indispensible* to the safety of the country; of that measure which *all* our most able statesmen have at *some time* of their political life supported, recommended, and enforced. Their subsequent deliberation of that principle is *itself the strongest proof* of the absolute necessity of the measure. It is needless to add, that I allude to a reform in the representation of the country; that *one only measure*, which (I assert it fearlessly, and in defiance of sophistry and misrepresentation) would secure the public from future malversations, and *eventually* save it from total ruin and destruction. It is the *only* effectual, *constitutional* preventative of abuse of every kind, and of every degree, in the management of the public affairs. Without this *other hundreds of millions* will be squandered, (if, indeed, they can any longer be raised from the exhausted pockets of the country) other defaulters will blaze forth in insulting splendour.——Burthens, such as human nature can scarcely support, will be heaped upon a sinking nation, to furnish forth the *ostentatious profusion* of public depredators. Frequently, Sir, have we been told in the high-flown language of oratory, that "we must look "our dangers manfully in the face." We do, Sir. It has never yet occurred that Britons could fear a foreign foe. But, were I to allow myself to enlarge a little on that expression, (so frequently trumpeted forth, on every proposition of a new tax) I should say that there *are* dangers, to which we must look forward, more frightful and alarming, than myriads of foreign invaders, and hosts of open foes. We must encounter; nay, we *must overcome* (or inevitably perish as an independent nation) that countless multitude of frauds, abuses, and peculations, (under whatever form or name disguised) which must otherwise bring speedy destruction on the land. No nation governing itself by fair and free representation can ever be lost. No nation ever yet recorded in the annals of the world, has been able long to bear up under the debilitating consequences of corrup-

* Second letter to the high sheriff of the county of Lincoln, by I. Cartwright, Esq.

tion. The page of history presents us a picture, awful in the extreme. Let but the contributors to the enormous sums now raised upon the nation, be identified with the electors. Let, by this means *responsibility* be established. Then (but not *till* then) economy shall succeed to profusion; honest management to fraudulent peculation. —Then, Sir, having baffled at home this hydra which would destroy us, shall we be enabled to defend our native land, and our constitution. (the best existing in the world when well administered.) Then may we bid defiance to hosts of armies, led on by *tyrants*, and *themselves slaves!*—I remain, Sir, &c.——CUSTOS.

CLERGY NON-RESIDENCE.

SIR;——To say that I esteem your Register as far superior to every periodical publication of the day, would be but faintly to express my admiration of it: nor would you, I believe, consider such an assertion, as any very flattering compliment. I shall, however, venture to congratulate you on the success that has attended its publication; and to say, that I feel an honest pride in reflecting that it has placed you in so independent a situation. Pursue, Sir, the same course of undeviating rectitude, in your political conduct, and a grateful country will ever remember you with that esteem, which you so justly "prize, beyond all the riches, and "all the honors of this world!" I entertain so high an opinion of your liberality, that I believe you will not value my esteem the less, although I confess that I differ from you on two subjects of very considerable importance: I mean the Slave Trade, and the Residence of the Clergy. If a few observations, on the residence and pluralities of the clergy, shall be deemed worthy of a place in your Register, I shall be much obliged by your inserting them. When you proposed a tax of 20 or £30 a year on every clergyman that did not reside on his benefice, I am suspicious, that you had not given the subject, so full a consideration, as it merits. Was residence insisted upon with the severity that you seem to wish, I think that it would be productive of many evil consequences? I am certain that you cannot desire to see the clergy *less learned* or *worse educated*, than they are at present: but a severe prohibition of pluralities and non-residence, would, necessarily, have this effect. That, living is added to living; and prebend to prebend; and, that the most illiterate, and useless of the profession, are selected as the objects of such munificent new aids, is undoubtedly, a serious and crying sin; but, by bestowing preferment in this manner, the patrons abuse a trust, vested in them, for far different purposes. Are you acquainted, Sir, with the amount of the sum necessarily expended in the regular education of a clergyman? He must exercise the most rigid economy, (and, at a time of life, when economy is but little thought of), to compleat his education for less than £1000! And this large expenditure arises from the state of society; as, the habits of the clergy, will necessarily alter, with the habits of those around them. There are some exhibitions and scholarships at the Universities, but of very small value, as most of them have never been raised since their institution, by the original founders, and benefactors of the colleges. Let us, by way of elucidating my intended argument, suppose the case of a clergyman, who has expended £1000 (probably all that he is worth in the world) preparatory to his entering the church; this enables him to undertake the cure of a parish in the neighbourhood of his birth place: perhaps he also opens a school; and, by every exertion of his industry, contrives to support his family in some degree of respectability; yet, he cannot save, out of his little income, a pittance, even sufficient, to place out his children in any trade or profession. Much less, can he indulge the most distant hope, of leaving any thing behind him, when he dies! He has now a small living given him, at a great distance from his place of abode. He can, therefore, lay by, let us say, £50 a year, for the benefit of his family: he now no longer sighs at the sprightly sallies of his children: he does not, in solitude, brood over the inevitable misery of their destiny: hope brightens his prospects: he now fulfils his duty with pleasure and alacrity: he lives contented in his humble sphere; and dies in peace with man, and full of expectation from his God! Would you, Mr. Cobbett, take 20 or 30l. a year, from such a man as this?—or compel him to reside? And yet I have drawn no uncommon case; there are many, even in the narrow circle of my acquaintance, who exactly answer to this description! A person, possessed of two small livings, is often in the same predicament. But, you ask, how is the church of the Non-Resident Clergyman to be supplied with regular duty? To this I reply, that there are a great number of young men, who come to our Universities *absolutely and literally from the plough:* they come to Cambridge, chiefly from the northern counties; and they are enabled to live there by the refuse of the fellows

table, and by the exhibitions and scholarships, that I mentioned above: their rusticity of manner never wears off, nor receives the slightest polish; and, a stipend of 70l. a year in a country village, will procure luxuries for them, to which they have never been accustomed. But, I will ask any unprejudiced man, if he imagines that the church would be improved, a religion benefited, if all the clergy were composed of such men? And of such only would the church consist, were the system you propose adopted. Now permit me to offer a remark, on the propriety of a resident curate, and two services, in every parish. I certainly wish that some regulations were made respecting this; but to insist upon it invariably, would not be productive of any good. In country villages, there are many of the people, (wives of labourers particularly and female servants of families), *who can never attend the church in the morning:* if you insisted in this double duty they would never hear a sermon; whereas, when the service is alternately in the morning and afternoon, they have the same opportunities of hearing sermons with others. It must be remembered, that no clergyman is compellable by the statute, to preach more than one sermon in a day, and that in the morning. If you would make an innovation in this ordinance, you should reflect on the injury, that small vicarages, in large towns, would sustain; where the afternoon, or evening lectureship is often an emolument of very serious consequence to the clergyman. I shall not dilate on the necessity of holding out superior rewards, as a stimulus to talent; nor on many other arguments, that present themselves to my mind. I am fearful, that I have already trespassed too long, upon your time and patience.——I am, Sir, &c.—PHILECCLESIAS.——*June* 11, 1806.

BREWING TAX.

SIR;——I was much pleased to observe, you had not left unnoticed, in your last Register, the intended tax upon private brewing; the many evils of which you justly appreciate, and, independent of that, I am of opinion, the end of this tax will be completely defeated with respect to revenue, the great object in view. In the first place, private brewing will in a great measure be done away, which will put an end to those malsters serving private families, and the consumption of malt thereby greatly diminished; for, I must take leave to observe, that the private brewer uses from 8 to 12 bushels to the hogshead, whereas the common brewer does not make use of more than from 4 to 5 bushels to the same quantity of beer: in this instance alone there is a loss to the revenue of from 4 to 8 bushels; the same in proportion will be the loss in duty upon hops; the private brewer using no *other* article in his beer than malt and hops, and a much larger quantity of the latter in proportion, than the common brewer; the injury done to the hop-growers will also be severely felt, particularly in Surrey, that country's growth being finer, and in much greater demand by the private brewer than any other. It may perhaps be answered, that the common brewer will make up this deficiency to the revenue, by the increase of quantity he will sell in consequence of this act: upon which a strong doubt arises. The tax may be productive for one year, as those persons who have already their home-brewed beer, must commute for drinking it, or what is worse, suffer an exciseman to enter their houses; but it will not be so a second year; their stock being exhausted, they will not replenish it, but give up their last proud boast of regaling themselves, and friends, with home-brewed old English strong beer. Indeed I have no doubt but thousands of families in the kingdom, will endeavour to adopt some beverage or other in lieu of the beer they will otherwise be compelled to take of the common brewer, who, having no competition to mind, will deal out any article he pleases to his customers. It is matter of astonishment that the enormous duty upon malt has been paid with little or no grumbling; it being now very little short of 4s. 6d. a bushel, and has been sold in the last year at 13s. 6d.; yet has the private brewer strained a point not to relinquish this almost only pride left to an Englishman, which, if the present bill should pass into a law will totally exclude him from.—In fact, every person that I have heard speak upon the subject is indignant at it. The comforts of the peasant, and the various description of labourers will be entirely done away; for be assured, those masters who were in the habit of allowing this little comfort to the exhausted and almost famished frames of their labourers, will for the greater part relinquish the practice; and, instead of seeing the poor peasant going cheerfully to his labour at sun-rise with his wooden bottle of home-brewed beer to refresh him in his arduous toil till sun-set, water must be the substitute; and in many places a difficulty to procure even that; this alone ought to have some weight to prevent such an act passing. As it respects the revenue, I have been informed by a malster of this place,

whose whole concern is serving private families, that the duty he pays in the malting season, is from 1,000 to 1,200l.; and I know several others who pay nearly the same sum, and serving the same description of persons. Such immense duties from persons apparently in a small line of business, is, as I before observed, owing to the much greater consumption in proportion of the private brewer, to that of the common brewer, together with a much larger proportion of hops: depend on it, this will be severely felt by the revenue even in the next malting season; but carry the idea farther; when the present private stock is out and no more replenished; when families will have no reason to commute and will endeavour to find out some other beverage; when either from disgust, or necessity, they will have disposed of their brewing utensils, and rely on it, that once done, they will never be enabled to replace them, from the very great advanced price of copper, cooper's work, &c. I say, to carry the idea on to these things, and the mischief to the revenue is incalculable; to say nothing of the very great injury to the landed interest. Barley will be a mere drug; at present, the common brewer (I may almost say) is the barometer of the market, and will be entirely so when the competition ceases that now exists; my information upon this head, I am confident may be depended on. Another description of persons ought not to be forgotten, I mean the cooper; whose bread will be taken from him. In a word, there never was perhaps a tax involving in its train so much mischief, not only to the comforts of the people in general, but defeating the very end it was meant to answer, and when once effected, it will be too late by any alterations or repealing, ever to restore that branch of the revenue to its present great and beneficial standing. Indeed, sir, as you justly observe, it will go nearly to the breaking up of housekeeping; completely destroying the hospitality of the higher classes of society, and excluding the middling from their real and necessary comforts.—Since my writing the above, I see my Lord Henry Petty intends abandoning the excise, and making the whole liable to assesment; that alternative would have been otherwise generally resorted to had the former not been given up; I sincerely hope, when his lordship reconsiders the many difficulties that will attend the enforcing this act; the almost certainty of its ultimately decreasing, instead of increasing the revenue, added to which its extreme unpopularity and the injury it will do to the middle class of the people, and still more to the lower orders, that he will altogether abandon it.—I am, Sir, most respectfully, your very obedient humble Servant, W. D.—Close, Salisbury, *June* 4, 1806.

ASSESSED TAXES.

SIR;——I am sensible of the financial embarrassment of the times; times in which the arrogant and insolent pertinacity of our late minister was driven from one proposed object of taxation, in which our present Chancellor of the Exchequer has been already induced to abandon two; in which, as Mr. Fox says of the numerous taxes imposed during the last twelve years, not one has been unexceptionable; in which to adopt a vulgar expression it is evident that we have got pretty nearly to the end of our financial tether, and I am equally sensible that in such times, and under such circumstances, it behoves every well wisher to his country, not on slight grounds to object to any proposed plan of raising revenue. I should not, therefore, send you this expression of my extreme dislike to the projected augmentation of the Assessed Taxes, if I were not in my conscience persuaded that it carried into effect, it will produce the most mischievous effects to the country. When the triple assessment was abandoned for the Income Tax, Dr. Beeke in his "Observations on the Produce of the Income Tax," p. 149, published the following very sensible reflections. "If the clear income of "a land owner, who has neither enlarged "or diminished the possessions of his ances- "tors, is compared with those of his te- "nants, or still more with those of the la- "bourers on his farms, it will be seen that "the difference is very much less at present "than it was at the close of the last cen- "tury; for though the money price of his "rents is greater, yet it will not purchase so "much now as the smaller income did a "hundred years ago. If only the value "and income of labour in husbandry were "compared with the value and income of "lands, the disproportion between them "would be much *less* than the natural pro- "gression that I have stated. But the im- "mense influx of wealth from foreign "sources, for many years past; and the al- "most exclusive possession of that wealth "by those who rank high in the scale of "property, not only balances the effect of "those laws which charge the rich with "national burdens in an increasing propor- "tion; but causes the difference between "the successive ranks of society to be in "this respect *greater* than it would other-

" wise be.——I have stated this a little " more at large than I should otherwise have " done, for the sake of a short digression " on the different pressure of the Income " Tax, and by that of increased assessment. " —From necessary circumstances, *direct* " taxes in general will be levied on the ex- " penses which are visible; or, to use a " modern metaphor, most tangible. It has " also been a part of the recent policy of " this country (and, within prudent limits, " it is a very good policy) to assess several " of our direct taxes in a ratio progressively " increasing.——But it is also true, that the " greater part of our *direct* taxes are levied " on objects more conducive to the accom- " modations of a country life, than to those " of inhabitants of towns. A country " life requires many domestic conveniences, " which in towns are either not at all want- " ed, or may be easily obtained, and with " less expense from persons distinct from " the family. It consequently, upon the " same scale of expenditure, requires *more* " *servants, larger habitations, more win-* " *dows, more horses, &c. &c. &c.*——It " follows, that at present the burden of as- " sessed taxes is not really borne in a simply " increasing proportion to the means of sup- " porting them, as it is alleged; but in a " complicated proportion depending on the " place of *residence;* bearing far more hea- " vily on the inhabitants of the country " than those of towns; and, consequently, " on land-owners than other men of pro- " perty; and taking most from incomes, " which though nominally increasing by an " augmentation of rent, yet really bear a " decreasing proportion to the whole na- " tional wealth; and that from circum- " stances which ought not to be controuled, " even if it could be done.—In this view of " the question, the good policy of many of " our direct taxes is very disputable. They " have a tendency to discourage the resi- " dence in the country of those who must " pay them; and to diminish the invaluable " benefit of a general diffusion of men of " respectability throughout the kingdom. " They fall with double force on diminish- " ing incomes, and scarcely affect in any " thing near an equitable proportion those " which, from various causes, are increasing " with unparalleled rapidity.——With how " much greater pressure then must the " triple assessment have fallen on the inha- " bitants of the country, than on those of " towns? And, consequently, on landed " and agricultural, than on monied and " trading incomes? In this way I consider- " ed that measure when first it was pro- " posed; the same data, and the same train " of reasoning on which I rely in the pre- " sent instance, convinced me that the for- " mer description of persons pay assessed " taxes on equal incomes, in, at least, a tri- " plicate proportion to the latter; that the " increased assessment would, on an ave- " rage, amount to *much more* than one- " tenth of the incomes of the former, and " not one thirtieth of those of the latter; " and, consequently, that the produce of " the tax being reduced by both these " causes, would fall greatly below the ge- " neral expectation. This is already con- " firmed in many instances by comparisons " of the local produce of that tax, and of " the present ten per cent. on income; and " I have little doubt, but that the general " event will verify my conjecture; and " that on a comparison of all towns on the " one part, and of the country on the other, " many of the towns will pay more than " last year in very nearly a triplicate pro- " portion, while the country will scarcely " pay more than it did by the former as- " sessment; reduced as that was in a great " many cases by deficiency of income.——I " am not combating the propriety of the " measure adopted last year, if considered " merely as preparatory and experimental; " but I wish to show that any long con- " tinued perseverance in the principle of it, " even upon a much less extensive scale, " would ultimately be productive of indis- " cribable injury to the whole community." —It is easy, but perfectly needless, to prove more at large, and to exhibit with variety of illustration the three propositions thus compressedly stated by Dr. Beeke.* 1st. That it is of the highest importance that respectable residents should be diffused over the country. 2d. That the assessed taxes press much more severely on residents in the country, than on those in towns. And, 3d. That the assessed taxes have a strong tendency to drive from the country all inhabitants of property but mere farmers. To these three propositions may be added a 4th; that this disproportionate pressure and expulsive tendency is greatest in the case of those persons who possessing moderate incomes, are (agreeably to the reasons of Agar's wise prayer) the most valuable, and the most important to be retained in the country.——I speak of the clergy as well as of the laity. And how lit-

* Much excellent matter on this subject is to be found in the Survey of the County of Salop, (published by the Board of Agriculture) by that most meritorious character Mr. Archdeacon Plymley, now Corbett.

tle occasion there is to devise new motives or excuses for the absence of the former, from the rural abodes in which their lots are cast, the voluminous and disgraceful catalogue of ecclesiastical non-residents lately placed upon the table of the House of Commons, most lamentably declares. So much as to the nature itself of the Assessed Taxes. Their injustice and cruelty is aggravated and exasperated by two practices in the application of them, which notable expedients of fiscal extortion were introduced by Mr. Pitt, and devised I trow by Old Rose. In all cases of taxes upon articles of use or enjoyment, the first principles of justice require that every person within the scope of such taxes should have the option of escaping payment of the tax, by relinquishing the article upon which the tax is imposed, in case he shall be disabled or disinclined to continue the use or enjoyment of it, after its cost is enhanced by the imposition of the tax, but in the case of the assessed taxes this principle is completely violated, the assessment is not made upon the number of carriages, of horses, servants, &c. &c. which a person actually has, but upon those which he had a year ago, so that the party pays duty not upon the enjoyments in which he may now be able and disposed to indulge himself with his diminished means, but for those in which he indulged himself last year. Of such a mode of assessment the *injustice* is always the same, but if it be continued in the collection of Lord Henry Petty's additional 10 per cent. the *cruelty* of it will be much greater than heretofore, since in our present circumstances, when an addition of more than 7,130,000l. is at one stroke made to the annual burdens of the country, almost the whole class of persons deriving their income from landed property, (and many others) must of necessity contract their expenditure, or, as Mr. Fox expressed it, he who lives in the first floor must remove to the second, and he who lives in the second must remove to the garret. The most notable device for augmentation of the Assessed Taxes, is the interpretation of the words. *Horses and servants not kept for the purposes of husbandry,* which I cannot more plainly exhibit to you than by relating the Questions and Answers which, with very little variation, occurred between the commissioners of taxes, and each of a very large number of farmers, at a meeting of commissioners of taxes at which I was present.——*Commissioner.* "Farmer you are surcharged for a horse and man servant kept by you, which you have omitted to return. ——*Farmer.* Please your honour, I keep no servant but my farming labourers, and I keep no horse but for the use of my farm, and to ride to church and market.——*C.* But will you venture to swear that you have never within the last year, on any single occasion, ridden your horse except upon your farm or to church or market.——*F.* No; I cannot swear that. I believe I rode it once to the christening of my eldest daughter's child, but I do not keep it for such purposes, nor should not think of doing so. I keep it honestly and fairly for the purposes of my farm and no other. My farm it is that makes a horse necessary to me, and but for my farm I should never think of keeping one.——*C.* Well, that may be, but now the law is, that a horse used by his owner once in a year for pleasure, is a horse kept for pleasure, and we must allow the surcharge accordingly.—Now for your servant.——*F.* I do assure your honour that I keep no servant but my husbandry men. What should I keep a servant for?——*C.* Stay a moment, who saddles the horse that you ride?——*F.* Most an end I saddle it myself, sometimes the plough-boy, or one of my labourers!——*C.* Very well, very well, you know we have already decided that your horse is a horse kept for pleasure, and a man who attends upon a horse kept for pleasure cannot be called a farming servant, so we must allow this surcharge also."——The Chancellor of the Exchequer has mentioned an additional duty upon malt, a much less exceptionable alternative than 10 per cent. on the assessed taxes, which latter, therefore, should unquestionably be abandoned. If, however, unfortunately, it is to be persisted in, still at least it will be the strictest duty of government, to provide that the assessments be made upon the enjoyments actually left to each individual, and not upon those in which he indulged a year ago.——Before I lay down my pen, I must say a few words on the encouragement held out to harsh and oppressive surcharges, and the informations by the pecuniary rewards given not only to surveyors, inspectors, and the other inquisitors of government, but also to common informers, in case the party surcharged or informed against, cannot give strict proof of the illegality of the surcharge or information, while on the other hand, no compensation can be made to him as the law now stands, for any loss of time, trouble, and expense which he may have incurred by reason of such information or surcharge, even though he shall prove it to have been illegal, and also thoroughly groundless and vexatious. Mr. Tyrwhitt Jones deserves the cordial thanks of every man who wishes that the great mass of taxes, which it is our doom to

bear, should not be unnecessarily oppressive and destructive of civil liberty, for the clause which he lately moved empowering the commissioners under the property tax, to award reasonable costs to persons aggrieved by groundless and vexatious surcharges, in respect of that duty. And though his specific remedy was not adopted, government is bound to turn its attention to the providing some general relief against oppressions of that kind. Volumes might be filled by reports of such cases, and as the finance secretary to the treasury expressed a desire to be furnished with instances of this kind, I will submit to his inquiry the truth of two communications made to me on the subject; one is, that last year a great proportion of the occasional resorters to Bath, were, without any particle of evidence or pretence of just suspicion, that they had withheld the payment of any tax, or making any return required by law, compelled by the revenue inquisitor to send to the respective places of their ordinary abode for evidence, or by other testimony to prove that they had not violated the law. The other is, that about the same time, a fellow of the same description in Gloucestershire, actually compelled the attendance before the commissioners (at a considerable distance) of almost every individual housekeeper of a market town. (Newnham or Newent, I think was the name of it) upon surcharges, as to nearly the whole of which it appeared that the only ground which he had for making them, was his advantageous chance of considerable profit if he succeeded, and of no loss if he failed. Taxes must be paid, and the due payment of them should be legally enforced, but the time, the money, and the comfort of respectable and conscientious persons, should not be subjected to be violated without remedy by the wantonness, insolence, spite, or rapacity of these interested harpies.—X. X.

ARTICLES OF CHARGE OF HIGH CRIMES AND MISDEMEANORS COMMITTED BY RICHARD COLLEY MARQUIS WELLESLEY, IN HIS TRANSACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE NABOB VIZIER OF OUDE.

(*Concluded from p.* 896.)

" Be it therefore further enacted, " by the authority aforesaid, that it shall " not be lawful for the governor gene- " ral and council of Fort William afore- " said, without the express command and " authority of the said Court of Directors, " or of the secret committee of the said " Court of Directors, in any case (except " where hostilities have actually been com- " menced, or preparations actually made " for the commencement of hostilities " against the British nation in India, or " against some of the princes or states de- " pendent thereon, or whose territories the " said United Company shall be at such " time engaged by any subsisting treaty to " defend or guarantee) either to declare " war or commence hostilities, or enter into " any treaty for making war against any of " the country princes or states in India, or " any treaty for guaranteeing the possessions " of any country princes or states, and that " in such case it shall not be lawful for the " said governor general and council to de- " clare war or commence hostilities, or en- " ter into treaty for making war against any " other prince or state than such as shall be " actually committing hostilities or making " preparations as aforesaid, or to make such " treaty for guaranteeing the possessions of " any prince or state, but upon the consi- " deration of such prince or state actually " engaging to assist the Company against " such hostilities commenced, or prepara- " tions made as aforesaid; and in all cases " where hostilities shall be commenced or " treaty made, the said governor general " and council shall, by the most expeditious " means they can devise, communicate the " same unto the said Court of Directors, " together with a full state of the informa- " tion and intelligence upon which they " shall have commenced such hostilities, or " made such treaties, and their motives and " reasons for the same at large." That, by an act passed in the year 1773, being the 13th year of the reign of his present Majesty, it was enacted, that " for the better manage- " ment of the said United Company's af- " fairs in India, be it further enacted, by " the authority aforesaid, that for the go- " vernment of the Presidency of Fort Wil- " liam in Bengal, there shall be appointed " a governor general, and four counsellors, " and that the whole civil and military go- " vernment of the said Presidency, and also " the ordering, management, and govern- " ment of all the territorial acquisitions and " revenues in the kingdoms of Bengal, Ba- " har, and Orissa, shall during such time as " the territorial acquisitions and revenues " shall remain in the possession of the said " United Company, be, and are hereby " vested in the said governor general and " council of the said Presidency of Fort " William, in Bengal, in like manner, to " all intents and purposes whatsoever, as " the same now are, or at any time hereto- " fore might have been exercised by the " president and council, or select committee " in the said kingdoms." That, neverthe-

less, the said Marquis Wellesley, in defiance and contempt of the laws, to the strict observance of which he was bound by engagements the most solemn, did, from the time of his arrival in India, conceive and entertain the intention, an intention which he finally executed, to encroach upon the power and rights of the said Nabob Vizier, to interfere in the internal affairs of his government, to undermine and to destroy his authority over his household affairs, his troops, and his subjects, and, under pretences the most false, to extort from him, the said Nabob Vizier, his hereditary dominions, so solemnly guaranteed to him by the Company in the treaty of 1798; and that all this he the said Marquis Wellesley did without the concurrence, approbation, or consent, and even without the knowledge of the council of Bengal, and without communicating to the said council, or to his employers, the said East India Company, any information whatever of such his intention or proceedings.—That the means by him the said Marquis Wellesley employed for the effecting of his designs of encroachment, extortion, and usurpation aforesaid, were, first, the making and reiterating of unfounded complaints and affected apprehensions with respect to the Nabob Vizier's due payment of the monthly kist (or instalment): secondly, the making of continual applications to the Nabob Vizier for the disbanding of his troops; the purport of which applications, together with the persecuting and insulting manner in which they were made, being evidently calculated and intended to disgust the Nabob Vizier with his government, and to induce him to abdicate his throne: third, the immediately interfering in the internal government of the Nabob Vizier, the encouraging of his subjects to resist his authority, and even the fomenting amongst them a spirit of hostility to the person, as well as to the government, of their sovereign; and, fourth, the pouring into the country of the Nabob Vizier troops in such numbers, and of expense so enormous, and the adding thereunto the amount of new and unfounded claims, together with charges for troops, which troops had no existence in fact; thus heaping demand upon demand, until the revenues of the Nabob Vizier became inadequate to the payment; and having at last compelled him to make an avowal of such inadequacy, seizing upon that avowal as the ground for demanding from him a cession, in perpetuity, of one-half of his territory, as a compensation for the nonpayment of the sums so unjustly, and in such direct violation of treaty, of good faith, of honour, and of honesty, demanded.—That, as preliminary to the employment of means so foul, so wicked, so unworthy of a soldier and a Briton, the said Marquis Wellesley did recall from Lucknow the then resident, John Lumsden, Esquire, who had assisted in the negociating of the treaty of 1798, and, in the room of him, did, in the month of June, 1799, appoint, as resident at that court, Lieutenant Colonel William Scott, with whom the said Marquis Wellesley had previously held secret consultations as to his ultimate designs with regard to Oude, and who, as it hereinafter will appear, was a representative entirely worthy of the person whom he was chosen to represent, and of the designs with the accomplishment of which he was charged.—That, with respect to the alledged nonpayment of the monthly kist (or instalment) as provided in the treaty of 1798, it doth appear from a retrospective view of the several treaties and compacts between the English Company and the Nabob Viziers of Oude successively, that the annually subsidy, paid by that country to the Company, had, in the space of twenty-five years, been augmented by degrees from 315,000l. to 950,000l. That, from a letter of Sir John Shore, Baronet, to the secret committee of the Court of Directors, dated on the 5th of March, 1798, immediately after the conclusion of the treaty last-mentioned, and also from a letter of the said secret committee to the governor general in council, dated on the 15th of May, 1799, it doth further appear, that it was reasonable to expect, and that it actually was expected, that "the Nabob Vizier would find considerable difficulty in fulfilling his pecuniary engagements with the Company during the first year, or perhaps longer;" and that, by the stipulations of the treaty of 1798, a burthen full as great, if not greater, than he could possibly bear, had, in the opinion of Sir John Shore, Baronet, and also of the East India Company, been imposed upon him the said Nabob Vizier. That, nevertheless, the said Nabob Vizier did, in a manner the most punctual, begin and continue to make payment of the kists (or instalments) as aforesaid fixed and agreed upon; that in one single instance only did he suffer to fall in arrear a monthly kist, which he immediately afterwards paid up. That from the day of the conclusion of the treaty to the day of its final abrogation by the treaty of cession from him extorted by the said Marquis Wellesley, he the said Nabob Vizier did, with the most perfect sincerity and the most scrupulous good faith, adhere, in word and in deed, to all and singular its stipulations

ted provisions, and that, therefore, the pretences of the said Marquis Wellesley, of apprehensions as to the punctual payment of the kists, were insincere, unfounded, and false, and were intended to mask the unjust, dishonourable, and perfidious designs, which he had previously formed for interfering in and encroaching upon the government of the Nabob Vizier, for disbanding his troops, and finally for seizing upon his territories, in defiance of the positive compact with the said Nabob Vizier, as well as in defiance of the law before cited, which he the said Marquis Wellesley was solemnly bound to observe, adhere to, and obey.——That, with respect to the disbanding of the troops of the Nabob Vizier, it was, in the treaty of 1798 afore-mentioned, settled and agreed, that "the said Nabob Vizier should possess "full authority over his household affairs, "hereditary dominions, his troops, and his "subjects;" and that, in another part of the said treaty, it was settled and agreed, that, "Whereas by the engagements now "entered into between the Nabob Vizier "and the Company, the amount of the subsidy is considerably increased, and many "other permanent charges upon his excellency are incurred; upon a comparison of "his disbursements with the assets (or pecuniary means) of his country, it becomes "necessary to make such reductions in the "superfluous charges, servants, &c. as may "be requisite and are consistent with his "excellency's dignity and convenience, and "to that end the said Nabob agrees to consult with the Company's government, "and, in concert with them, devise the "proper objects of such reductions, and the "best means of effecting them." That, in a letter from the secret committee of the Court of Directors aforesaid to the governor general and council, dated on the 15th of May, 1799, it is stated, that, seeing the difficulties which the Nabob Vizier had to encounter, as afore-mentioned in the letter of Sir John Shore, Baronet, they, the said secret committee are "not surprised to find, "by the last accounts, that an arrear had accumulated in the payments of the kists to "the amount of eighteen lacs of rupees; "that Lord Mornington having represented, however, that he believes the Nabob "Vizier is sincerely disposed to make every "possible effort for the liquidation of this "arrear, as well as for introducing such a "system of order and economy into the "management of his finances, as will enable "him to be more punctual in his future "payments, they, the said secret committee, "entertain a well-grounded expectation that "every cause of complaint upon this head "will speedily terminate; observing at the "same time, that the large, useless, and expensive military establishment within the "Oude dominions, appears to them to be "one of the principal objects of economical reform." That hence it doth manifestly appear, that, even agreeably to the hard terms of the treaty of 1798, and to the subsequent instructions of the secret committee, the disbanding of the troops of the said Nabob Vizier had in view no object beyond that of leaving him the means punctually to discharge the stipulated kists; that, in the extent of disbanding, reduction, or reform, due attention was to be paid to the dignity and convenience of the Nabob Vizier; and, in the execution of the measure, the Nabob Vizier was to be the principal, he having agreed merely to consult upon the subject with the company's government, and having, in the express terms of the treaty aforesaid, retained "full authority over his "household affairs, hereditary dominions, "his troops, and his subjects." But that, notwithstanding the obvious meaning of the stipulations and instructions aforesaid; notwithstanding the arrear before-mentioned had been fully paid up, and all the subsequent kists had been paid to the day, and even the day before due; notwithstanding the Nabob Vizier had, in strict conformity to the treaty, not only shewn a willingness to make a reform in his military establishment, but had urgently besought the Company's government with him thereon to consult, and in concert to devise proper objects of reduction, and proper means in such reduction to be employed; all this notwithstanding, the said Marquis Wellesley, in furtherance of his iniquitous designs of territorial aggrandizement, extortion, and plunder afore-mentioned, did, between the month of July and the twelfth of November, 1799, as well himself as by and through the means of the said William Scott, by him thereunto moved and instigated, directly interfere in the internal government, in the household affairs, and in the appointment of councillors and ministers of the Nabob Vizier, and, in terms the most peremptory and arrogant, dictate unto him the said Nabob Vizier such a reduction of his military establishment as would have left him no troops over whom to exercise authority, and as would, according to the remonstrance made by the said Nabob Vizier, have left him "no authority what-"ever over his dominions or his subjects;" and, finally, did threaten to march, and actually made preparations for marching, large bodies of the Company's troops into the ter-

ritories of Oude, to be maintained at the expense of the Nabob Vizier, avowing at the same time that the Nabob Vizier would be unable to make good such expense, without disbanding his own troops; insomuch, that, at the epoch last-mentioned, namely, on the twelfth of November, 1799, wearied with unceasing importunities and threats; thwarted by the frowardness of his Aumils, and others thereunto stirred up and encouraged by the said Marquis Wellesley; disgusted with a system of interferences, of dictation, of reproof, and of insult, by which he was exhibited as a slave in his own capital; the said Nabob Vizier did make unto the said Marquis Wellesley a proposition for the abdication of his throne, for the placing his son thereon, and for retiring himself to a distance from his capital; his intention, as it afterwards appeared, being to make in person an appeal to the justice of the King and the Parliament in England. Whereupon the said Marquis Wellesley, in pursuance of his unjust and unlawful designs as before described, eagerly seizing upon the proposition so made by the Nabob Vizier, and, falsely ascribing the said proposition to a sense of incapacity and inability to govern in the said Nabob Vizier, did unto him the said Nabob Vizier, through the means of the said William Scott, propose the executing of a treaty, whereby to assign over, in perpetuity, to the East India Company, "the sole administration of the civil and "military government of all the territories "and dependencies of the state of Oude, "together with the full and entire right and "title to the revenues thereof," to the utter exclusion of his sons and of every branch of his family, to agree to quit the territories of Oude for ever, to remove unto and reside in some place within the Company's territories, to be fixed by the governor general in council, there to reside, and the said place of residence not thereafter to change, without the leave of the governor general in council, and thus to renounce his dominions and his subjects, to disinherit his sons and his family for ever, and, in return, to become, in fact, a prisoner in some one or other of the Company's fortresses in the province of Bengal or of Behar. That the Nabob Vizier, astounded at a proposition so unjust in itself, and so insulting to his feelings, yet so characteristic of the mind and of the views of the proposer, and strenuously remonstrating against the terms of the said treaty, which he finally rejected, the said Marquis Wellesley, while, on one hand, he renewed with increased arrogance his menaces of interference, encroachment, extortion, and usurpation, did, on the other hand, resort to the use of persuasions the most insincere, insidious, and crafty, he, the said Marquis Wellesley, having to the said William Scott stated, that "the proposition of the Nabob "Vizier was pregnant with such immense "benefit, that it could not be too much en-"couraged; and that there were no cir-"cumstances which should be allowed to "impede the grand object to which it led, "that object being the acquisition by the "Company of the exclusive authority, civil "and military, over the dominions of "Oude," while at the same time he the said Marquis Wellesley did instruct the said William Scott to declare to the Nabob Vizier, that "his abdication of the govern-"ment of Oude was neither wished for nor "approved of by him" the said Marquis Wellesley; thus evincing the profoundest hypocrisy, united with views the most tyrannical, violent, and cruel.——That, with respect to the fomenting, amongst the subjects of the Nabob Vizier, of discontents against his government, and hostility to his person, the said Marquis Wellesley, through the means of, and in concert with the said William Scott, besides the divers acts of the kind here mentioned and before referred to, did, after the rejection of the aforesaid insulting and cruel proposition, together with other propositions nearly thereunto resembling, and with the view and the intention of driving the Nabob Vizier, his rights and revenues and territories to renounce, intrigue with, stir up, and, as well by threats as by promises, did move and instigate the subjects of the said Nabob Vizier the due authority of their sovereign to contemn, his lawful commands to set at nought, his just claims to refuse, and his person to abhor. That, in the month of May, 1801, a cession of territory having been demanded of the Nabob Vizier by the said Marquis Wellesley, and the demand having been backed by the marching of large bodies of the Company's troops into the territories and near the capital of Oude; the Nabob Vizier seeing resistance to be in vain, yet hoping to obtain some small degree of security for his person, his revenues, and his authority, in the territories which should remain in his hands, did draw up a paper of requests, communicating the same in a manner expressly unofficial to the said William Scott, from whom, in a very short time afterwards, he the said Nabob Vizier did receive back the said paper, together with an urgent recommendation, accompanied with professions of the warmest friendship, that the Nabob Vizier would not insist upon his the said William Scott's

transmitting any such paper to the said Marquis Wellesley; but that the said William Scott, during the short time that the said paper remained in his hands, did surreptitiously take a copy thereof, and the said copy did immediately transmit to the said Marquis Wellesley, together with an account of all circumstances under which, and all the means whereby, the said copy had been obtained; and that, between the month of May last-mentioned, and the month of July, 1801, the said Marquis Wellesley, through the means of and in concert with the said William Scott, did make preparations for obtaining an attested copy of the said paper from the Nabob Vizier, which copy they at last obtained. That, in the said paper of requests, the Nabob Vizier having expressed his wish, that "should any person have obtained, or should thereafter obtain, by breach of trust or other means, possession of specie or property belonging to the Sircar of Oude, no one should obstruct his taking back such property;" and the said Marquis Wellesley intending to strip him of all authority, and all means of self-protection, seized upon the wish, so expressed by the Nabob Vizier, as a means of rendering him odious and detestable in the eyes of the most wealthy of his subjects, whose riches and jewels to be able to confiscate at pleasure, he the said Marquis Wellesley pretended to regard as the object of the wish so expressed by the Nabob Vizier. That the said Marquis Wellesley, thus falsely pretending, did, on the 2d of June, 1801, thus write to the Nabob Vizier: "The publication of the articles tendered by his excellency to the governor general, and still more any attempt to carry them into effect, would inevitably occasion the most dreadful convulsions in the province of Oude, and would for ever alienate from his excellency's person and government every sentiment of affection, obedience, or respect; and the governor general, therefore, not only expresses his anxious hope that the Nabob Vizier will never revive the project contained in the proposed articles, but his lordship most earnestly recommends it to his excellency to exert every possible precaution to prevent the tenor of those propositions from transpiring in his excellency's court, or among any description of his excellency's subjects." That the said Marquis Wellesley, while he was thus writing to the Nabob Vizier, while he was thus expressing his apprehensions lest the Nabob Vizier should suffer the knowledge of his wish so expressed to transpire amongst any description of his subjects, was actually conveying to the said William Scott the instructions here following; to wit, "I conclude, that you have retained an attested copy of the paper of requests, of which you have sent me the original. If it should become necessary to assume the districts without his excellency's consent, I desire you to consider, whether it may not be expedient to furnish the Begum, Almas Ali Cawn, Hussein Reza Cawn, and the principal personages in Oude, with attested copies of such parts of that paper as tend to disclose the comprehensive project of confiscation, proscription, and tyrannical violence, entertained by his excellency against his own family, nobility, and people. If you should concur with me in opinion, that such a communication to the persons named and described in the preceding paragraph might be useful, I authorise you to make it at the period of time, and to the extent which you may judge advisable." That the said William Scott, having before made use of numerous means to seduce the Nabob Vizier's subjects from their allegiance, did, in the month of July, 1801, make to certain amongst them a communication of the contents of the said paper of requests, accompanied with the false, malicious, and wicked construction thereon put by the said Marquis Wellesley, and for the foul and treacherous purposes afore-mentioned; and that, after all the transactions aforesaid, the said Marquis Wellesley did, in a public and official manner, express his entire satisfaction at the conduct of the said William Scott, and did, as a mark of such his satisfaction, appoint the said William Scott to be one of his honorary aides de camp, or legion of honour, a distinction which, agreeably to the express words of the said Marquis Wellesley, he had "reserved for such officers as had proved highly meritorious in the field, or in the conduct of negociations with foreign states."——That, with respect to the pouring of troops into the territories of the said Nabob Vizier, the loading him with accumulated expenses, and the final seizure of one half of his territory, as a commutation for the sums so unjustly demanded, the said Marquis Wellesley having disbanded the troops of the said Nabob Vizier without his consent, which disbanding he had represented as sufficient to enable the said Nabob Vizier to meet all the demands that would ever come against him for the support of the Company's troops to be in lieu thereof introduced into the dominions of Oude; having introduced into the said dominions, corps upon corps, adding expense to expense,

making, upon exaggerated and fraudulent estimates and returns, demand after demand on the treasury of the Nabob Vizier, while at the same time he undermined the authority of the said Nabob Vizier over the persons from whom his revenues were immediately received; having in fact seized upon great part of the territories from which the Nabob Vizier's revenues were derived, insomuch, that on the 18th of July, 1801, in answer to reproaches to him by the said William Scott made, relative to the non-payment of the kist, the said Nabob Vizier, in the bitterness of his heart, thus represented the tyranny over him by the said Marquis Wellesley exercised: "In respect "to the kist, you well know, that, in oppo- "sition to and in defiance of me, you have "called before you the Aumils and their "Vakeels, (or messengers) and, without "my acquiescence, or any participation on "my part, you have told them that such and "such countries belonged to the Company, "and have forbidden them giving me the "peishgee, or advance; and further, you "have directed the officers in command of "the troops to establish themselves in the "countries alluded to; judge then, what "confusion these circumstances must have "given rise to in the country, what con- "fidence the Aumils can now repose in me; "having first deprived me of the means of "collecting the revenues, you then call "upon me to make payments." Having, by means so unjust, and tyrannical, reduced the said Nabob Vizier to the situation here described, the said Marquis Wellesley, under the false pretence of being so authorised to act by the treaty of 1798, did demand, and by and through the means of his brother the honourable Henry Wellesley, by him unlawfully appointed to the mission at Lucknow, did, from the said Nabob Vizier force and extort the cession in perpetuity to the East India Company, of the one-half of the whole of the territories of Oude. That, in the month of November, 1801, a treaty, in which the said cession was stipulated for, was concluded with the Nabob Vizier; that the said Henry Wellesley, in order to compel the said Nabob Vizier thereunto to consent, did renew the alarming threats so frequently resorted to by the said Marquis Wellesley, by the means of, and in concert with the said William Scott; that he, the said Henry Wellesley, was instructed to declare, and to the said Nabob Vizier did declare, the settled determination of his brother, the said Marquis Wellesley, to seize upon the whole of the dominions of Oude, unless the cession proposed was assented to; and that the said Marquis Wellesley, resorting again to his false, malicious, and wicked construction of the paper of requests, did instruct the said Henry Wellesley to present and to publish a declaration, containing the parts of the said paper referred to, together with the said Marquis Wellesley's construction thereof, to the end that the most opulent and powerful subjects of the said Nabob Vizier might thereby be induced to abandon their sovereign, and to join in the views of the said Marquis Wellesley; which said instructions were expressed in the following words; to wit: "You will communicate to "the Begum, to the other members of his "excellency's family, and to the principal "persons of rank at the Vizier's court, the "nature and extent of those acts of arbitrary "power to which the Vizier required the "sanction of the British name, as the con- "dition of his consent to a territorial ces- "sion. And his lordship directs that this "unparallelled instance of rapacity and in- "justice, form a leading article in the de- "claration to be preferred by you, and "transmitted for his lordship's approbation. "You will also communicate to the Begum, "and to the other personages in question, a "copy of his lordship's reply to that part of "the Vizier's propositions. His lordship "has no doubt, that the knowledge of this "transaction will fully explain the neces- "sity of the Company's assumption of the "civil and military government of Oude to "those persons who are the objects of his "excellency's proscription. His lordship is "also of opinion, that his Excellency the "Vizier, either sensible of the disgrace, or "apprehensive of the consequences of a "public exposure of his tyrannical views, "may be ultimately induced to accede to "an equitable arrangement by a seasonable "notification of this part of your instruc- "tions, and of its result. His lordship "deems it not improbable, that the prin- "cipal persons to whom the foregoing com- "munication is to be made, may come for- "ward with declarations expressive of their "indignation of his excellency's unwarrant "able views, and soliciting the protection "of the British government; in this event, "his lordship directs that you will receive "such representations, and transmit them "immediately to his lordship. But the most "noble the governor general desires that "you will not solicit or express any wish to "receive any such representations. His "lordship deems it of essential importance "that the receipt and substance of such re- "presentations should be particularly no- "ticed in the proposed declaration. The

" communication above directed to the fa-
" mily of the Vizier, and the principal per-
" sons of his court will consequently pre-
" cede the delivery of that document to his
" Excellency the Vizier." That, notwith-standing the embarrassment and danger arising from intrigues so perfidious, notwith-standing the alarming threats and the personal insults from the said Henry Wellesley daily received; notwithstanding the great numbers and the menacing attitude of the Company's troops; notwithstanding the orders for a seizure, by hostile means, of the whole of the dominions of Oude, had actually been issued by the said Marquis Wellesley; all this notwithstanding, the said Nabob Vizier did, until he had exhausted every means of remonstrance, until resistance could no longer be continued without imminent danger to his life, and to the lives of his family, withhold his assent from, and decidedly reject, the treaty of cession as aforesaid, under the mask of which treaty, but in fact by force of arms, the said Marquis Wellesley did wrest from the said Nabob Vizier a territory yielding an annual revenue of one croare and thirty-five lacs of rupees (or £1,682,500.) That though the said Nabob Vizier, thus persecuted and plundered, dreading further acts of injustice and violence, and anxiously wishing for the future to be free from the interference of British amity and advice, most earnestly besought the said Marquis Wellesley to leave him the sole management of the territory unto him the said Nabob Vizier now remaining, the said Marquis Wellesley by the means of, and in concert with his brother aforesaid, did, in manner and in terms the most haughty and insulting, reject the said request; guaranteeing unto the said Nabob Vizier and his heirs the sovereignty of the said remaining territory, solely upon the condition, that they should hold it under such a system of administration as might be recommended by the officers of the said East India Company: and, that this injurious and degrading condition was by the said Marquis Wellesley imposed under the impudent pretext of its being necessary, in order to secure the fulfilment of the treaty, of 1798; according to the letter, as well as to the spirit of which treaty the whole of the dominions of Oude were guaranteed to the Nabob Vizier and his heirs for ever, with " full " authority over his said dominions, his " household affairs, his troops, and his sub-" jects." That, proceeding in the completing of a triumph so inglorious, the said Marquis Wellesley, by the means of, and in concert with his said brother Henry Wellesley, did, at the moment of his taking possession of the territories to the Company ceded as aforesaid, impose new and unprecedented burthens upon the people, augmenting, in a proportion of nearly one-half, the revenues from them before collected, and employing in the collection of those revenues, in extorting from the husbandman the very means of existence, those troops, those British regiments, which, with his wonted insincerity, he had introduced under the specious guise of a desire to defend the country against its external enemies, and to relieve the people from internal oppression. " That, having by means of these his extor-" tions, and other acts of oppression and of " tyranny, excited the resistance of certain amongst the Zemindars and Rajahs before described, the said Marquis Wellesley did, by the means of, and in concert with his brother aforesaid, cause the mansions and retreats of the said Rajahs to be surrounded, attacked, and plundered, and the said Rajahs, their faithful adherents, their relations, vassals and servants, to be barbarously slain; thus finishing in violence and murder that which in fraud and perfidy he had begun: And that, in order to stifle the groans of complaint, to extinguish all hope of redress, and his fraudulently acquired and tyrannical power the more securely to preserve and to exercise, he the said Marquis Wellesley, as well by himself as by his brother aforesaid, did declare, and unto the princes and people of India did, through the means of such declaration, proclaim, that no change of administration in Britain could stay the course of his proceedings as aforesaid; falsely and audaciously thereunto adding, that the said course, a course of fraudulent pretences, of pecuniary extortion, of political encroachment, and of territorial invasion and usurpation, had " already received the approba-" tion of his Sovereign, of Parliament, and " of the Company."——That in all and singular the above recited acts and proceedings, the said Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley has been wholly unmindful of the solemn engagements of duty to the said East India Company, to his Sovereign, and to his Country, by him entered into; has daringly contemned the Parliament, the King, and the Laws, and dishonoured the British nation and name; and has therein been guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanors.

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" What difference, therefore, is there between the conduct of Mr. Pitt and that of Lord Melville? And " yet, to the memory of the one we are granting all the honours due to the untarnished and meritorious " dead, while we are pursuing the peace, the fortune, and the fame of the other!"——POLITICAL REGISTER, 1st Feb. 1806.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

ACQUITTAL OF LORD MELVILLE.—— The *history* of the Impeachment of Lord Melville will, of course, be given, and in a very short time, in the Parliamentary Debates and Proceedings. An Analysis of the trial is given in another part of this sheet. It is, however, the peculiar office of a work like this, to *observe* upon the transaction; and, if all observation thereon has been abstained from for the two weeks, since the acquittal was pronounced, it has not been owing to any *doubts* respecting either the decision itself or the *motives* whence it proceeded; and, which decision and motives will, I trust, never be forgotten by the people of England, though, at present, they appear, in general, to be dumb-stricken by the force of their feelings upon the occasion.—— In *Scotland*, indeed, the feelings of the people have broken out into action; and, at Edinburgh in particular, the magistrates have found it necessary to advise the people not to illuminate their houses for joy. At Berwick public rejoicings have taken place; and, it is stated, that, in order to render the manner of those rejoicings " more peculiar- " ly appropriate, and more expressive of " the sentiments of the people, the bon- " fires were made, in great part at least, of " empty and cast-off *beer-barrels!*"—— This may be rather grating to the souls of some persons; but, whatever other folks may think of it, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Windham, Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Whitbread, and the rest of that party of politicians, have, assuredly, no reason to complain; for, as it has been frequently observed, they have, in their language and in their measures with regard to Mr. Pitt, made, and put upon record, a complete answer to every thing that *they* can say with regard to Lord Melville.——Lord Melville was accused of a gross violation of the law, and a high breach of duty, in having permitted the naval money to be withdrawn from the Bank of England, to be lodged elsewhere, and to be, in some cases, employed for the private advantage of individuals. In the course of the inquiries, made with a view of establishing this accusation, it was discovered, that Mr. Pitt, who had been during the whole of the time, first Lord of the Treasury, and, indeed, the prime minister and ruler of the country, but particularly as to all matters of money; it was discovered that this Mr. Pitt, who had himself introduced into parliament and had minutely explained the intention of the law which had been, as was alleged, so grossly violated by Lord Melville; it was discovered that this very Mr. Pitt had himself participated in all that was alleged against Lord Melville, for that, though duly informed, by a Bank of England director, that the naval money was withdrawn and misapplied as afore-mentioned; though this fact was confirmed to him by the confession of Lord Melville himself, he took no measures to put a stop to the abuse; he never desired even that the abuse should cease; and, that, therefore, as to *conniving* at the misapplication of the naval money, he was a full participator with Lord Melville. But, in one respect he went much farther; for, it was discovered, during the aforesaid inquiries, that Mr. Pitt, not only participated in the connivance, but, that he participated in the acts of misapplication, and that he was, moreover, an *instigator* to such acts, he having, in the instance that came to light, received 40,000l. of the naval money from Lord Melville, which money *he lent without interest, to two of his political supporters, who were members of the House of Commons*; and, of this transaction, he did, observe, make no mention to his colleagues of the cabinet; he made no minute or other record of it any where; and the fact was found out; it was detected, in just the same way that all the facts relative to Lord Melville were.——That this statement is correct, will not, I am persuaded, be denied; and, let me ask any honest man, whether Mr. Pitt's offence, especially when we take into view the station he filled, was not greater, legally as well as morally considered, than that of Lord Melville? I am sure the answer will be, that it *was* greater; and, it is hardly necessary to add, that, the moment a report was made to the House of

Commons upon Mr. Pitt's conduct; upon the conduct of the cousin of Lord Grenville with whom the Foxes had coalesced; the moment a report was made upon his conduct, a *bill of indemity* was proposed, and that, too, by the prosecutors, by the *impeachers* of my Lord Melville! These impeachers *eulogized* Mr. Pitt. There was scarcely any good which they did not say of him upon the occasion. Nay, will any one of them now deny, that there was, at that moment, actually on foot a scheme, if not a negociation, for *coalescing* with him? The scheme then failed; but, was it entirely abandoned, until after the total failure of the Third Coalition upon the Continent? And, when, in January, Mr. Pitt died, though the Foxes declined voting him a monument, they were amongst the foremost to vote for the payment of his debts by the public, and this they did expressly upon the ground of his PUBLIC MERITS. As if all this were not enough to enable the world to draw an inference in favour of Lord Melville, Mr. Whitbread, the zealous, the able, and the *theretofore* praiseworthy prosecutor of Lord Melville, did, even upon the trial, extol the public virtues, and particularly the PURITY of Mr. Pitt, and this in the very speech wherein he was making the last of his great efforts for obtaining against Lord Melville a sentence which should brand him with CORRUPTION for having acted with the connivance of that Mr. Pitt, for having participated an action with that Mr. Pitt, for having yielded to the instigations of that Mr. Pitt!——Mr. Whitbread has made a motion, in the House of Commons, for appointing a committee to examine the Journals of the House of Lords relative to the decision in the case of Lord Melville. I know not the object of this proposed examination; nor do I feel much interest about it; and, I believe, the public in general feel, in this respect, much about as I do. They have paid the debts of Mr. Pitt. I have borne my share of the burthen thus imposed upon us by the consent and even with the decided approbation of the Foxes; and, I solemnly declare, that I shall pay much more willingly, or rather, much less unwillingly, my share of the sum necessary to defray the expenses, to which Lord Melville has been put by his trial. Here are two men, who, whether the acts they have committed be criminal or not, have committed the *same* acts; are, to all intents and purposes, associates and accomplices. One of them is indemnified before-hand; he dies, and his debts are discharged by the House of Commons, upon the score of his public merits. The other is, by that House of Commons, pursued and brought to trial, and, at the end of that trial, is acquitted upon every charge preferred against him; but, is, by such trial, put to an enormous expense. Now, whatever may be the opinion of those who have all along viewed these men with an impartial eye, and have, of course, wished to see the same fate attend them both; whatever may be the opinion of such men to the paying of Lord Melville's expenses, there, surely, can, with the indemnifiers of Pitt; the eulogizers of Pitt; the voters for the paying of Pitt's debts; with these men there surely can be no objection, or, at least, no objection that will bear urging openly, to the payment of Lord Melville's expenses, which would, besides, be an excellent *finisher* to this patriotic undertaking.——Shall I be told, that this would operate as an insurmountable discouragement to impeachment in future? My answer is, that Mr. Fox, who was so eager for impeaching Lord Melville, has, for months past; indeed, *ever since he came into office*, been endeavouring to persuade the House of Commons and the public, that impeachments are, to say the best of them, quite useless things! He has, it is true, been speaking about a proposition to impeach a friend of his principal associate in power; but, we must understand him in a general sense; and, if impeachments be quite useless, I know of no better way to make the people dislike them than the one now talked of.——But, it would be "an insult to Mr. "Whitbread." I should be sorry to see Mr. Whitbread insulted, and I highly disapprove of the beer-barrel bon-fires; but, I must confess, that it is beyond my capacity to discover any cause of offence to Mr. Whitbread in the House of Commons putting Lord Melville upon the same footing as he, Mr. Whitbread, was so willing and so anxious to put Mr. Pitt, whom I have *proved*, over and over again proved, to have been a complete associate and accomplice with Lord Melville.——The point I aim at, and which, I trust, I shall have accomplished before I take my final leave of the subject is this, that *both parties;* that the INS as well as the OUTS; that the Fox party and that all *parties* in the House of Commons, and in the House of Lords, have, *in one way or another*, justified the acquittal of Lord Melville; and that they have, in this respect at least, given equal proof of the justice of their claim to the confidence of the people. The motion for an examination into the Lord's journals, together with certain expressions that have been dropped, here and there, would seem to insinuate that there is

a *difference of opinion* in the parliament, as to this acquittal. That there may be an individual or two whose opinions are different from the rest I shall not deny; but, I do deny that there is, that there can be, or that there ought to be, any difference of opinion amongst the great sets of politicians in either House. Some few of the members of them may possibly feel a little personal pique; but, with these trifling exceptions, I am pretty sure, that the decision of the Lords has given great satisfaction; that it has been received as a healing balm, as a potent and general comforter, through the whole extent of the troubled political region.——What will, or what ought to be, the *final* effect of this decision, I shall not pretend to say; and having, as I think, clearly shown, that there is no ground for making any *distinction* between the political *parties* as to the producing of the decision, I shall, for the present, take leave of the subject, not, however, without beseeching the reader, be he who he may, to keep it treasured up in his mind.

PEACE.——It was easy to foresee, that to make a peace, under our present circumstances, would be attempted. Whether any progress have actually been made in a negociation, I have not the least knowledge, and, indeed, I have not thought it worth while to make a single inquiry upon the subject; but, if peace should take place, I do not think it difficult to predict what will be the outline of it, and what will be its no very remote consequences The positive assertion in his Majesty's Declaration against Prussia, joined to Mr. Fox's speech upon the subject, will render it very difficult for the ministers to make any peace which shall not provide for the restoration of Hanover to the King, as Elector thereof; and, indeed, there were some persons who, at the time, hesitated not to pronounce, that this declaration was advised by the ministers with a view of providing themselves with something, to which they thought Buonaparté would be induced to consent, and which, at whatever expense purchased, would furnish them with the grounds whereon to say: "see here; we "have carried our point! We said we "would have Hanover back, and we have "got it." Nay, upon perceiving that the *Moniteur* kept a cautious silence upon this part of Mr. Fox's declaration, there were not wanting certain refiners in politics to assert, that the French *foresaw* this declaration some time before it was made in England, and that, so far from being displeased at it, it was the very thing that they wished to hear from our ministry. Be this as it might, my opinion is, that, if peace should take place now, every thing will be sacrificed to this object. Upon the state of the Continent of Europe, except as far as regards Hanover, we shall not, in my opinion, be allowed to say one single word; and, if we are allowed to have a footing there, it will be because the French are convinced, that by leaving Hanover in the hands of our Sovereign, they shall always have a bridle in our mouths. They have, at all times, been ready to restore Hanover, and this upon the maxim of Madame de Pompadour, who, in one of her letters, observes, that "this Electorate seems "to have been intended by Providence as "the means of checking the insolence of "those haughty Islanders, who, being by "nature secure from all danger except that "which may approach them from the sky, "have been, luckily for France, seized with "the mad vanity of having an appendage "within six days march of the frontier of "their only formidable enemy." .... "This "Hanover," says she in another place, "this dear little spot in the North of Ger-"many, will yield us, at the peace, an "abundance of sugar and of coffee."——So will it be now, if Hanover be re-obtained. Not only shall we give up all the islands we have taken since the commencement of this war; but, I shall be greatly deceived, if the *Cape of Good Hope*, and *Malta*, or either of them, be retained by us. Mr. Fox says he will not give up a particle of *our honour*. But, not to observe upon the latitude of this phrase; not to observe upon the great variation which its sense will admit of when applied to different circumstances; I must be allowed to fear, that, if peace be now made, Mr. Fox will not be able to keep his word. The thing to be attended to is, however, our *safety*; and, where is the man who believes, that, *the power of France remaining what it is*, our safety can be provided for without maintaining a force equal in expense to that of the force which we *now* maintain? Without having such a force always in existence, does any man think that a peace with France would last a year? And, if a force so expensive is to be maintained, what relief will the nation derive from peace?—"What, "then, would *you* do," some one will say, "would you keep on war for ever, and "that, too, because you declare that we "are *unable* to keep on war?" No. I am not for keeping on war for ever. I am for peace as soon as it can be obtained with *safety*; and I never have declared that we are unable to keep on war; but, I have declared, and now repeat the declaration, that, it is my fixed opinion, that, *without a great*

reduction of expense, it is impossible for this country to carry on the war for only a very few years longer. And, if this be the case, the only question that remains to be determined, is, *how* is this reduction to be effected? I believe, there is but one way, namely, by greatly reducing the amount of the dividends paid upon the national debt; but, *before* we come to this, let *all other means of reduction* be resorted to, and, if they be resorted to, there is a *possibility* of avoiding altogether the calamities which would arise from a great reduction of the dividends, and there is a certainty of postponing the date of these calamities.——We have lately seen numerous instances, in which the public money is wasted; we have had, and we now have, before us the causes of the heavy taxes that are imposed; the causes of that personal inconvenience and distress that vex and weigh down the nation, that disincline the people to exertion, and that, in various ways, really incapacitate them for it. Great *savings* may be made without any injury whatever to the strength either of the government, the navy, or the army; and, if this object were effected, who does not perceive, that it would produce more effect towards inclining the mind of our enemy towards real peace, than all the loud talking that our ministers can make use of? The French Emperor knows our situation as well as we do. The pig-iron tax has not given way to the brewery tax, and this latter to another without its being known at Paris. It is well known there, that our ministers are at their wits' end for the means of raising the necessary supplies. It is very well known there, that a paper-money, impossible to be redeemed by specie, pervades our country; and, it is equally well known that, in such a state of things, a trifling cause of alarm may prove fatal to us. Therefore, it is absurd to hope, that, during this state of things, the enemy will ever be inclined to such a peace as shall give us real tranquillity. Unless a great reduction of the public expenses take place, the paper-money must go on augmenting in quantity, and with it must go on augmenting the chances against such a peace as can alone be desired by any friend to our safety and to the permanence of the government. In short, there appears to me to be three things, one of which *must* take place; namely; unconditional submission to the enemy; taxes collected at the point of the bayonet; or, a great and speedy reduction in the national expenses. Of the two former many people would scarcely know which to prefer; for what, will they say, could the enemy do more than collect taxes from us at the point of the bayonet? The alternative would be a cruel one, indeed; but, we have it completely in our power to avoid both these, by adopting, and by rigidly adhering to, a plan of economy. This should be the great object of the ministers. They should bend all their talents this way. They should endeavour to find out, and they should never rest till they had actually found out, men to make a reform in every branch of the public expenditure. *Real* services should be well paid for; and, of all services none should be so well paid for as those which might enable the ministers to save the public money.

HONITON ELECTION.——This *contest*, the very existence of which has been justly considered as matter of wonder, has terminated in favour of MR. BRADSHAW, if any success obtained by such means can, with propriety, be called favourable. That he will not be *again* elected for Honiton is, I believe, pretty certain; but, of small consequence indeed is any thing of this sort compared with the facts that have come to my knowledge through the means of offering myself as a candidate for the borough, into which I entered with some hope, though no very great hope, that all notions of public virtue were not quite extinguished in the minds of the people, but out of which I came with the sad assurance of the truth of every thing, which from tongues the most censorious, I had heard.——But, before I proceed to give a description of the deplorable state of this borough, let me do away a misrepresentation relative to a supposed pre-concerted scheme between Lord Cochrane and myself, such a representation of the matter being highly unjust to us both, as it would clearly imply, that my professions of purity were intended solely to stay the progress of the usual means until those means could be brought into action against Mr. Bradshaw. It is well known that Mr. Cochrane Johnstone (Lord Cochrane's uncle) went down to Honiton with me; and this appears to have been the main circumstance, whence the above representation proceeded; but, a few words will explain this matter. Two days before I set off from London, having then fixed upon the hour of my departure on Friday morning the 6th instant, I met Mr. Johnstone, and, having asked him if he had any news from his nephew, of whose recent gallant conduct the newspapers had just informed us, he pulled out a letter, saying that he had just received it from him, that he was safe arrived at Plymouth, and that he, Mr. Johnstone, was then going to the Admiralty, in order to get him leave of ab-

sence to come part of the way to London to meet him upon some business between them: Whereupon I observed, that as I was going to Honiton, he might as well go with me, especially as there was plenty of room in the coach of Mr. Bosville, who (never having even *seen* me in his life before) had, with the greatest kindness, and, I may add, with as great a desire to promote the public good, come to me, and offered to carry me and my friends to Honiton and back again. Mr. Johnstone accepted of my offer, and we set off accordingly at three o'clock on the Friday. That night we stopped at Blandford in Dorsetshire; we arrived at Honiton on Saturday the 7th instant, and, on the same day Mr. Johnstone received a letter from Lord Cochrane informing him that his Lordship *could not leave Plymouth* just then. But, on the Sunday, while we were at dinner, there came an express from Lord Cochrane, bearing a letter for me, informing me, that his Lordship, having read my address to the people of Honiton in the London news-papers, and having perceived that I had resolved to stand myself *merely because I could find no other independent man to oppose Mr. Bradshaw*, he had determined to accept of my general invitation, and that he was actually on his way (dating his letter from Exeter) to put his purpose in execution. In an hour afterwards, having stopped at Exeter to provide lawyers, &c. his Lordship arrived. What passed after this until I declined proceeding to the poll, has been faithfully recorded in the Register of the 14th instant; and, it remains only to state, that the poll opened on Tuesday, the 10th instant, and that, on Wednesday morning, the 11th instant, I set off from Honiton on my return to London, never having been at the place of polling, and never having, in any one instance, made use of any means whatever to induce any man to vote, or to refrain from voting, one way or the other, and having, from the beginning to the end, strictly adhered to the principles, upon which I offered myself to the borough. Those principles led me anxiously to wish for Lord Cochrane's success; because he stood upon the ground of *self-denial*, the only ground that any man ought, in my opinion, to succeed upon; but, I never *interfered* otherwise than in my exhortation publicly delivered to the electors, and, of course, the whole that Lord Cochrane has done to thwart this dependant placeman, and to set an example of disinterestedness to candidates in future, has proceeded from his own mind and has been performed by his own zeal and public spirit.——Now, as to the *state of the borough*, who shall describe it? Who shall describe the gulph wherein have been swallowed the fortunes of so many ancient and once respectable families? There is, the electors will tell you, *no bribery*. They take a certain sum of money each according to their consequence, their degree of influence, and their services to their candidates respectively;" but this," say they," comes in the shape of a *reward* " after the election, and, therefore the oath " may be *safely* taken" Considered as a question of morality, how contemptible this subterfuge is need hardly be noticed; but, to say the truth, they do not deceive themselves, and I must do them the justice to say, that they are not very anxious to deceive any body else. They tell you, flatly and plainly, that the money, which they obtain for their votes, is absolutely necessary to enable them to live; that, without it, they could not *pay their rents*; and that, from election to election, the poor men run up scores at the shops, and are trusted by the shop-keepers, *expressly upon the credit of the proceeds of the ensuing election*; and that, thus, the whole of the inhabitants of the borough, the whole of the persons who return two of the members to every parliament, are bound together in an indissoluble chain of venality! There are in the borough about forty or fifty dissenters, who, we were told, never did take any money themselves; but, even these men, are so bound down in one way or another, as to retain hardly any portion of freedom; and, in short, the lection of members in this borough is made from motives precisely the opposite of those from which it ought to be made, it being quite impossible to imagine a perversion of the spirit and the end of the law and the constitution more complete then is in this deplorable scene openly exhibited. ——Far from me, however, be it to join in the contemptuous reproaches of those, who ascribe this shocking disgrace, this terrible evil, solely to the electors themselves; and, these reproaches are always the more unjust and the more disgusting when they come from the *corruptors*, which is not unfrequently the case. The greater fault is in those who expose the poor and miserable to the temptation of selling their votes. The people of Honiton are not, except as far as this cause has operated against their morals and their public-spirit, less moral and less public-spirited than other men. I found many amongst them duly impressed with the injury which conduct like theirs produced to their country; but, except in one solitary instance, I found the plea of hard necessity urged as their justification. As to

myself they treated me with the greatest respect; and, to use their own expression, "I "had their *hearts* and Bradshaw their "*voices!*" Two or three of them, with whom some of my friends remonstrated upon their selling their votes, observed, that "the *members* took care to get *well paid*, "and they had a right to do the same if "they could." The poorest of the people made a sort of pun upon my *name* as being descriptive of my non-bribing principles, and moulded their sentiment into a cry of: "Bread and Cheese, and *no empty Cup-*"*board*;" and some of them, in a very serious and mild manner, remonstrated with me upon my endeavour to deprive them of the profits of their vote, or, in their own phrase, "to *take the bread out of poor peo-*"*ple's mouths*," describing to me, at the same time, their wants and their misery. There was one man, whom I had observed amongst the most vociferous in the ranks of Mr. Bradshaw, came to me early on the Tuesday morning, told me that what I had said the day before, and what I circulated in print, had made a deep impression on the mind of himself and of his wife; that they had lived in the borough all their lives, and had never before heard a word of truth from a candidate; that they were convinced that if all members of parliament were such men as I, things would be managed much better and that the people would be much happier; that it was a shame for men to vote from motives such as those from which they voted; that he himself saw that he was a disgraced creature in giving his vote for a man like Mr. Bradshaw; "but, Sir," said he "*I have a numerous family of small* "*children, and I cannot bear to see them* "*crying for bread!*" What other feeling than that of pity could such a statement possibly excite? "My poverty, and not my "will, consents," was the language of their hearts, while their tongues pronounced the name of Bradshaw at the close of the awful protestation they made in the presence and in the name of their God! *One* man, and one man alone, as far as I know, did entertain the intention of accepting of my invitation to come forth and be distinguished from the rest. This man, whose name is WILLIAM PORTER, seeing me walking by his work-shop on the day before my departure, came out to me and said: "I am "sorry, Sir, you do not stand the poll; for "I wished to vote for you, because my "conscience tells me it would be my duty "so to do." He had all the appearance of a hard-working man; the sweat stood upon his forehead; he had not taken time to lay the tool out of his hand; and his manner joined with his declaration, excited in my mind a pleasure which alone would have been an ample compensation for all the trouble I had taken. Had I gone to the poll, there would, probably, have been found twenty or thirty such men as this; but, justice to William Porter bids me record, that, though there are residing several men by the name of Lot in the borough, he was the only man that openly and manfully declared his wish to be led forth from the sons of bribery and corruption.——In quitting this scene; in looking back from one of the many hills that surround the fertile and beautiful valley in which Honiton lies, with its houses spreading down the side of an inferior eminence crowned by its ancient and venerable church; in surveying the fields, the crops, the cattle, all the blessings that nature can bestow, all the sources of plenty and all the means of comfort and of happiness, it was impossible to divest oneself of a feeling of horror at reflecting upon the deeds which the then rising sun was about to witness, upon this one of his most favoured spots. And, is there, said I to myself; can there be a statesman, who can say that he has done his duty; who can quiet the calls of his conscience; who can calmly lay his head down upon his pillow; who can close his eyes without a dread as to where and how he shall awake; is there a statesman in England who can do these things, until he has formed a solemn resolution to endeavour to correct this shocking abuse; to remove this terrible curse from the land committed to his care?——As to the *manner* of prosecuting an endeavour of this sort, that shall be the subject of future inquiry; but, the more I reflect upon what I have now seen with my own eyes, the more firm does my conviction become, that this is the cause of all our calamities and our dangers, and that it is not, as Blackstone vainly imagines, to be removed by the laws *now in existence*.——With respect to my own views relative to the Honiton Election, they have been stated with great distinctness and with perfect sincerity. Self-interest, in offering myself as a candidate, either now or at any future time, I can have none. My declaration precludes the possibility of my having any; and, as to personal ambition, if I know my own heart, I have not a particle of it. I never desire to be higher in life than I now am. I have as much acquaintance with the

great and the rich as I want to have. I know that happiness is not to be procured by riches; and I have no desire to be thought better than others merely because I am resolved not to partake of the public money. That this resolution has not arisen from any *new thought* of mine many persons in public life, and particularly he, with whose acquaintance I have been most honoured, can testify. It was *always* my resolution; and, it is my opinion that it ought to be the resolution of every man that offers himself as a member of the House of Commons. This opinion can be maintained by argument irresistible, and so strongly is my mind impressed with the necessity of a declaration, such as I have made, from every candidate for a seat in the House of Commons; so firm is my conviction that this is the only means of bringing about the adoption of the measures that are wanted at this time, that, I shall, as often as a favourable opportunity offers, come forward myself, *if no one else will*, to put it in the power of the electors to sanction this great and saving principle. I repeat, that, for my *own sake*, I have no desire to be in the House of Commons; for, though it would be contemptible affectation to pretend to doubt of my ability to discharge the duties of a member of that House, yet my habits do not lead me that way, nor any way that takes me from my home. But, if I think that I can serve the country more effectually by becoming a member of parliament, a member of parliament I will, if I can in the constitutional way, certainly become; and, the present impression upon my mind is, that, if neither of the candidates *for the City of Westminster*, do, at the next election, make a declaration against accepting of the public money, I ought to afford the electors of that city an opportunity of choosing a man that will make that declaration. I do not hereby promise so to do; but my present opinion is, that I ought, in such case, to do it. If any other man will do it, I shall be glad, and shall be ready to lend him all the assistance in my power; for, again and again I repeat, that I have no desire to be in parliament, nor any desire ever to appear in public, if the good I wish to see done can be done by others, and others there are enough and more than enough if they will but bestir themselves.

"Delicate Investigation."——Under this affected title some very strange paragraphs have, within these few days, appeared in the daily papers. From amongst which I select the following one from the Morning Post of the 24th instant. I should not have noticed the matter at all, in this stage of the proceedings which are said to be going forward; but, there are certain passages in this article that it is impossible to suffer to pass over without animadversion. I request the reader to peruse it with attention; to notice particularly the parts marked by *Italicks;* to bear in mind that truth and justice are no respectors of persons; and, then, I think he will stand in no need of any observations from me to induce him to reprobate the conduct of the writer.

——"The *aspersion* on the conduct of an "Illustrious Personage, which we have alluded to in our three last numbers, engages the public attention to a degree "corresponding with the important and "unparalleled nature of the case. The "acts charged would, if proved, amount to "no less than *high treason* in the Illustrious "personage: if *not proved*, the infamous "calumny will amount to the *same high "crime* in a baronet, and his lady, but more "particularly the latter, by whom the information was given, with the most positive assurances of substantiating it by "proof. The baronet himself, and his lady still more, have long been honoured "with the particular intimacy of the Illustrious Personage. The nature of the accusation, amounting to what might eventually affect the succession of the crown; "and the great stake the accusers put to "hazard, (for *they perish if they do not "make good their charge;)* all these circumstances demanded a serious attention to "what has been preferred by the accusers; "and it was on these grounds alone, that "the information was attended to. But, it "the information should prove wholly "groundless, as *there is additional reason "to expect it will*, the intimacy with which "the accusers were honoured, renders their "*treason* the blacker. Their testimony *is "suspected* to be influenced by private pique, "and their denunciation to be instigated by "the same unworthy motives; and *when it "is considered, that they have set their lives "upon the hazard of the die, is not their "evidence to be received with the most suspicious caution?* We *are sure* the Commissioners appointed under the Privy "Seal, (who are the same we mentioned "yesterday, with the exception of Lord "Moira, in whose place Lord Grenville "should be read), will be *influenced by all "these considerations* in their proceedings "in the investigation, and that their report, "which will be made in a very few days,

"will bear the marks of this scrupulous "caution with respect to all the evidence "brought before them. Though the report "may not yet be made for some days, we "understand, *from the most respectable "quarters*, that the opinions of the Com- "missioners are *decidedly against the charge*, "for which, on the strictest investigation, "*not the slightest foundation can be dis- "covered.* We are rejoiced to find that the "Illustrious Personage accused, shrinks not "from the investigation, but courts it in "the strictest form. We rejoice that she "places herself continually before the eye "of the public, whose glance nothing short "of the consciousness of the most unsul- "lied purity could enable her to withstand, "and whose favour the consciousness of "that purity justly entitles her to claim. "Her R. H. has been more in public than "ever since this imputation was first set "afloat. The effect has been to augment "the *horror of the calumny*, and to increase "the love already felt for a Princess, more "amiable than fortunate. Her R. H. paid "a visit to Mrs. Windham (the Lady of "the Secretary of State) at her house in "Pall-Mall, about 8 o'clock yesterday "evening. This visit to the house of a "Cabinet Minister has excited much atten- "tion. It is *a proof* that not the slightest "distrust of the Cabinet is entertained up- "on the case, and that Her R. H. *is confi- "dent of having done nothing that can pos- "sibly call for any proceeding on the part "of government, further than the present "solemn inquiry*, which was highly desire- "able, and as highly desired by her, for "the purpose of shewing the *total false- "hood of the calumny*, and those subse- "quent proceedings for the *punishment of "the calumniators*, which will become an "*indispensable duty* upon the acquittal. It "may, perhaps, be a gratification to the "curiosity of some to state, that her R. H. "passed into the Park at the Horse-Guards, "and proceeded along by the rear of Carl- "ton-House and St. James's, out at the "Stable-yard, and down Pall-Mall, to Mrs. "Windham's, which is within a few doors "of Carlton-House." —— Now, I desire to be understood as neither giving nor entertaining *any opinion at all*, either one way or the other, upon the merits of the supposed case; but I have an opinion most decided upon this mode of prepossessing the public mind against one of the parties, and my disapprobation of it is not the less strong because it is the *weaker party* that is thus attempted to be injured.——The state of the case, as we gather from the above, is this: a Baronet and his Lady have made a representation with respect to the conduct of an *Illustrious Personage*, in consequence of which representation an inquiry has been begun, and is now going on, before a Secret Committee of the King's Privy Council. This is all that, at present, can, to the writer of the article above quoted be *known* to be true; or, it is, at least, next to impossible, that he should know any thing more of the matter, no part of the proceedings of the Secret Committee having yet been made known. Yet, he chooses to assume, and not only to assume in statement and in reasoning, but to advance as an undeniable and *admitted* fact, that the representation of the Baronet and his Lady is an "*aspersion*" and a "*calumny*." Not content with this, however, he proceeds on to condemnation. First he tells us, that a charge has been made by the Baronet and his Lady against an Illustrious Personnage; next he tells us, that the making of this charge, if it be not proved, amounts to high treason, and that the makers of it must die; and, then he tells us, that he understands, from the most respectable quarters, that, in the opinions of the Secret Committee, there is not the slightest foundation for the charge: the conclusion from all which, is, that the Baronet and his Lady are guilty of high treason, and ought to die! Call you this fair? Call you this just? Is this a specimen of English justice; and of the even-handed operation of English law?——That the Baronet and his Lady *may* have been guilty of a calumny is possible; I cannot tell whether they have or have not; but, shall we, without any proof, without any even the slightest semblance of *proof*, determine at once that two of our fellow subjets have been guilty of a calumny and that *they deserve to DIE*, merely because they have made a representation disadvantageous to the character of an *Illustrious* Personage? Base wretches indeed were we; worse than the King-worshipping slaves of Fez were we, if, upon such grounds, were to be our determination. I know nothing of the Boronet and his Lady; but, I know that it behoves us all to wish most anxiously, that the public may not be prepossessed against them, and that their representation should not be disbelieved, and they should not "perish," merely because the party whom they have accused is of exalted rank; for, if we fall into this way of deciding, who will dare move his pen or his tongue? Who, in a short time, will dare even to give evidence against the great even in a court of Justice.——But, this writer has given us *reasons* for disbelieving the representation of the Baronet and his Lady. "Their testi-

"mony," says he "*suspected* to be in-"fluenced by private pique; and their "denunciation to be instigated by the same "unworthy motive." I stop here; for I want some facts or agreements to show me that such a suspicion *is* entertained. It is easy to *say* that a thing *is suspected*; but, unless we are told *why*, we shall not be ready to believe it. I, for my part, have no such suspicion. Why should I? What should make me suspect that a Baronet and his Lady have preferred an accusation against an Illustrious Personage from motives of private pique; and especially when I am told that they have been for a long time great *favourites* of that Illustrious Personage? We are further told, that, "they "have set *their heads upon the hazard of* "*the die*, and *therefore*, their evidence is to "be received with *the most suspicious* "*caution*." In other words, we are to believe, that, *because* death hung over their heads, if they should fail in their proof, they were *likely to assert what they knew could not be proved!* If our belief can stretch thus far, it would be cruel indeed to call us unbelievers.——Another of this writer's arguments for regarding the charge as a groundless calumny, is, that the Illustrious Personage now "places herself *con-*"*tinually before the eye of the public*, "whose glance *nothing short of the con-*"*sciousness of the most unsullied purity* "*could enable her to withstand*." I hope, and I trust, that the conduct of the Illustrious Personage stands in no need of an argument like this; for, by those who have had any considerable experience in the ways of the world, I am sure it will not be regarded as conclusive; and, to say the truth some doubts of this sort seem to hang about the mind of the writer himself, for he has immediate recourse to another argument, accompanied with facts, which, if they fail in point of importance, make us ample amends on the score of minuteness. He tells us, that, about eight o'clock in the evening of the 23d instant the Illustrious Personage paid a visit to Mrs. Windham (the Wife of Mr. Secretary Windham) at her house in Pall-mall; that the Illustrious Personage came in to the Park at the Horse Guards, proceeded along in the rear of Carleton House and St. James's, went out at Stable Yard, and then along Pall-mall to Mr. Windham's, which is within a few doors of Carleton House, forgetting, I suppose, to tell us whether the Illustrious Personage put the right foot or the left foot first upon the pavement. But, whither does all this tend? What are we to gather from this visit paid to the lady of Mr. Secretary Windham? Why, "it "is," we are desired to believe, "a *proof* "that *not the slightest distrust of the Cabinet* "*is entertained* upon the case, and that the "Illustrious Personage is *confident of having* "*done nothing that can possibly call for* "*any proceeding on the part of government*, "further than the present solemn inquiry!" That the Illustrious Personage *is* confident of this, I hope, and I trust; but that any *proof* of such confidence is exhibited merely in the fact of her having paid a visit, at eight o'clock in the evening, to a lady of a cabinet minister, or to that minister himself; I must be allowed, not only to doubt, but particulaly to deny.——I repeat, that I give *no opinion at all*, one way or the other; and it is solely from a love of justice and an abhorrence of all combinations to crush the weak party that I have been induced to make these remarks. When the inquiry is completed, and the result known, which will probably, be before this sheet reaches the eye of the public, we shall know what opinion to form. Until then, it is impossible for us to be informed of the truth; and it is detestably base to condemn beforehand those who have brought the accusation, and that, too, merely because their condemnation may be pronounced with impunity.

Botley, June 26th

ANALYSIS
OF
LORD MELVILLE's TRIAL.

ACT OF IMPEACHMENT.

1. The charges in the impeachment are nine in number, and in substance, [*i. e.* divested of their legal formality] are as follows:—

1. That Lord Melville being Treasurer in 1786, did then take from his Majesty's Exchequer, and convert to his own use, the sum of 10,000*l*, and on the 11th June, 1805, in the House of Commons, did refuse to account for the application of the said sum,—that this was contrary to the Act of his Majesty, in the 25th year of his reign, by which it was enacted, that the Treasurer should draw no money from the Exchequer into his own hands, but that whatever money was required for his office, should be paid by his order from the Exchequer into the Bank, whence it was to be drawn as wanted, by drafts specifying the service.

2. That he permitted Mr. Trotter, under his authority, to deposit the public money at Coutt's and other of his private bankers, in his name, and subject to his own control, in violation of the said Act, by which it was to be deposited at the Bank, and subject to the

check of having the service specified for which it was drawn from the Bank.

3. That upon the passing of the Act of the 25th of his Majesty, Lord Melville opened an account at the Bank, called Lord Melville's Act of Parliament New Account, and that large sums of money were paid from the Exchequer, on that account, during the whole of the time of Lord Melville's treasurership. That during the whole of that period, Lord Melville fraudulently and illegally permitted Trotter to draw large sums of money from the Bank at pleasure, and transfer them into the hands of the private bankers of the said Mr. Trotter, Messrs. Coutts, in his own name, and at his own disposal; that the said Trotter with the permission of Lord Melville, applied such sums for the purpose of his private advantage, and that the said sums were mingled and undistinguished from the proper monies of the said Trotter.

4. That by an agreement between the said Trotter and the said Lord Melville, made upon the commencement of the sitting of the Commission of Inquiry, i. e. in February, 1803, *all books of accounts, memorandums, vouchers, &c. relative to the public monies in their hands, or expended by them, were burned or destroyed.*

5. That during the period of his treasurership, at various times, Lord Melville received advances of large sums of money from Mr. Trotter; which advances were made from the public money in the hands of Coutts, or in those of the Governor of the Bank of England.

6. That amongst these sums was an advance from Trotter to Lord Melville of 22,000l. without interest; this sum being exclusively advanced from public money.

7. (Repeats the 6th,—alledging the papers to have been burned, with a view, amongst other things, to conceal this transaction.)

8. That during the whole of Lord Melville's treasurership, Trotter was in advance to him from 10,000l. to 20,000l.—That he acted as agent to Lord Melville without any pecuniary compensation, and never appeared to have received any interest for any of the monies so advanced.

9. That Trotter was induced to make these advances, &c. in consideration of Lord Melville's connivance of his free use and uncontrolled application to his own emolument of the public money.

10. That between the years 1784 and 1786, Lord Melville had appropriated to his own use 27,000l. of the public money, being so much debtor to the public at that time.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE.

The following points appeared in evidence.

1. That Lord Melville was appointed Treasurer on the 19th of August, 1782, and that, on the 20th of August, the sum of 10,000l. was paid by Mr. Douglas, the paymaster appointed by him before Trotter, into a private banking-house, on Lord Melville's account.

2. That on the 6th of November, in the same year, 1782, Mr. Douglas, Lord Melville's paymaster before Trotter, received 45,000l. at the Exchequer, 5000l. of which, contrary to all former precedent, he took in Bank of England notes. That the proper deposit for this 5000l. being for small monies for the office, was the iron chest of the office, but that, instead of going into the iron chest, it appeared, that one of these notes was paid by the Treasurer of the Navy, on his own private account, to Messrs. Drummond. This note was No. 212, and was produced in Court. The clerk of the Exchequer swore, that he had paid this same note to Mr. Douglas, as part of the 5000l. public money; and the clerk of Messrs. Drummond swore, that he had received it of Lord Melville, as his own private money, his lordship taking 600l. out of it, and leaving a balance of 400l. in their hands, as his private bankers.

3. That in December, 1782, the same year Mr. Douglas drew several further sums from the Exchequer, and always took a part of them in notes, instead of Bank credit, as usual. The clerk of the Exchequer swore to having paid to Mr. Douglas another note of 1000l., which note was likewise produced in Court, as having been paid by Lord Melville to Messrs. Moffatt and Co. to discharge a private debt of his own. The clerk of the Exchequer swore to having paid the note as public money, and the clerks of Mr. Moffatt swore to having received it of Lord Melville in payment of a private debt.

4. That between August 1782, and April 1783, Mr. Douglas had drawn 16,000l. from the Exchequer for the iron chest of his navy-office; that by the returns from the proper clerks it appeared that no more than 3000l. had ever been employed, so that there was a deficiency of 13,000l.—That Lord Melville acknowledged this deficiency upon going out on the 10th of April in the same year, and that this deficiency was thus, by his own confession, his own deficiency.

5. That being indebted to the public 13,000l. on the 10th of April, 1783, he further drew out 10,000l. more on the 14th of April, four days after he had ceased to be treasurer; that his debts were thus augment-

ed to 23,000l. That the latter 10,000l. was lent by Lord Melville to Mr. Atkinson.

6. That the debt of Lord Melville, upon his ceasing to be treasurer, in April, 1789, was thus, 23,000l.; that a very serious difficulty occurred in the office a few weeks after, money being wanted, and there being no means of procuring it, 10,000l. being the sum wanted, and 3000l. being only in the office, Lord Melville's deficit at this period being 23,000l. that Lord Melville, thus pressed, payed by a series of instalments—1st 1000l., then another thousand, 3dly 6000l., and finally reduced the debt to 7600l. and that in this situation it stood in January, 1784, when Lord Melville again became treasurer.

7. That his very first act, in his second treasurership, was, not to liquidate, but to augment his debt from 7600l. to 11,600l. and that on the very day on which the Bill for regulating the Office of his Majesty's Treasury of the Navy passed, he took up a large sum of the public money, and passed it into the hands of his banker, that Mr. Douglas died in 1784, and that Lord Melville acknowledged to his executors, that he was indebted to the public 10,300l.

8. That by the reading of the Act, which was allowed, it appeared that the Treasurer of the Navy was henceforward ordered, *i. e.* from May, 1784, from time to time, to command the Exchequer to pay into the Bank the money required for his office, and the money being thus lodged in the Bank, was to be drawn for by the treasurer, or his deputies, by drafts, specifying the service, and the exact amount.

9. By the written documents, admitted as evidence, it appeared that this Act had been unfortunately violated by Trotter, during the period of Lord Melville's treasurership: that instead of paying money into the Bank, he took it from the Bank and transferred it into the hands of his private bankers, Messrs. Coutts; that the monthly amount of these sums thus transferred were at first 20,000l., then augmented to 50,000l., then to 75,000l., then to 101,000l., then to 271,000l., and lastly, to 490,000l., and half a million. The evidence of this was the Bank books, by which it appeared that the money had been so drawn from the Bank, and the books of Messrs. Coutts, by which it appeared, that the monies thus drawn had been paid, on the same day, to the same exact amount, into their hands. That Lord Melville being asked if he knew that Trotter thus violated a positive Act, had replied—"If it be meant to ask me, whether I ever gave my direct authority to the paymaster to use the money in the manner above-mentioned, I should certainly answer, no; but I have no hesitation in saying, that I believed and understood he did, and never prohibited him from so doing."—This was proved by the evidence of the members of the Commission of Inquiry.

10. That in one of the interviews of Mr. Trotter and Lord Melville, Lord Melville said to Trotter that India stock must rise, and that he wished to have some; to which Trotter replied, that he might purchase it to any amount from the public money then on hand; that Lord Melville expressed some indignation, and said he would not thus apply the public money. That Trotter afterwards told Lord Melville that he had a relation who would make such purchases of stock on his lordship's security. That Lord Melville consented. That Trotter went to a man of the name of Lend, advanced him a sum from the public money, and with this sum, thus advanced, was purchased 13,500l. for Lord Melville. That Lord Melville never appears to have given any security for it. That the dividends for this stock were realised by Trotter, first in Lend's name; 2dly in his own name; then in Messrs. Coutt's name; but from whomsoever received, they were invariably passed by Trotter to Lord Melville's account. This was all proved by the evidence of Trotter.

11. That Lord Melville, amongst other of the members of the administration, put down his name to a subscription of 10,000l. to the Loyalty Loan. That this 10,000l. was paid by Mr. Trotter out of the public money. This appeared from the same evidence of Mr. Trotter.

12. That Lord Melville paid no interest for 20,000l. advanced by Mr. Trotter, out of the public monies.

13. That Lord Melville could hardly be ignorant that the whole of these advances must have been made from the public monies, as he knew the fortune of Trotter to be utterly unequal to them; that when Mr. Trotter first came into office, he had a small salary of 50l. to 100l. per annum, and his private fortune was nothing; that within a very short period of this, Lord Melville having made him paymaster, borrowed most enormous sums of him. So far appeared in evidence. The managers endeavoured to infer from these circumstances, that Lord Melville must have known that such advances were made from the public money.

That upon Lord Melville going out of his second treasurership, his deficiencies were 220,000l. That Mr. Trotter paid up all his own deficiency, except the amount at that time due from Lord Melville. Lord Melville, to liquidate this account, procured the

loan of 56,000l. and all the stock of Lord Melville was sold; that 13,000l. was further advanced by Messrs. Coutts to make up the deficit. That these advances to discharge the debt proved that a debt existed, in other words, that Lord Melville had employed the public money. The advance of the 13,000l. was proved by Messrs. Coutts. The loan of 56,000l. and the date of it, was proved by the production of the documents.

APPLICATION OF THE SEVERAL POINTS PROVED IN EVIDENCE TO THE CHARGES.

1. The first charge was

That previous to January, 1780, *Lord Melville being Treasurer of the Navy, took from the Exchequer, and converted to his own use, the sum of* 10,000l., *and being asked to give an account of that sum, did refuse so to do in the House of Commons on the* 11*th day of June,* 1805.

This was confirmed by the following points of evidence:

1. It was proved, as above in evidence, that agreeably to the resolution of the House of Commons, in 1782, that the salary of the Treasurer of the Navy should be augmented to 4000l. per annum, in lieu of all profits or advantages to be made by the retention and application of public balances in his hand; that Lord Melville's salary was so augmented, upon his entering upon his office in the same year, 1782.

2. It was proved, as above, in evidence, that out of the three sums, 45,000l. 59,000l. and 93,000l. drawn by Lord Melville from the Exchequer, between the months of August and December, 1782, the sum of 11,000l as stated in the first charge, was directed from its due course, and converted into improper channels. Of the 45,000l. only 40,000l. was duly paid into the Bank, the remaining five being unaccounted for. Of the second sum of 50,000l. 47,000l. was only paid into the Bank, and of the third sum of 93,000l. only 90,000l. was paid into the Bank.

3. It was proved as above, that the 5000l. part of the first sum, was paid to the paymaster in five Bank notes of 1000l. each, and the number of each note was given in evidence. One of the notes, by the number of it, was traced to Mr. Drummond's bank, where it had been paid on the private account of Lord Melville.

4. It was proved, as above, in evidence, that a second of these notes was paid into the house of Moffatt and Kensington, on the private account of Lord Melville.

5. It was proved, as above, in evidence, that from all these transactions, when Lord Melville quitted his first treasurership, in April, 1785, having been scarcely nine months treasurer, there was a balance against him of 29,408l., and that there was only at the Bank 6408l., leaving his lordship indebted to the public to the amount of 23,000l. Before January, 1784, that deficiency was reduced, by various instalments, as well from Lord Melville as from those to whom he had lent the money, to 7,600l.

6. It was proved, as above, in evidence, that Lord Melville becoming treasurer a second time in January, 1784, transferred 6000l. of his old balance as a debt on account to his new treasurership. This debt of 6000l. on the new treasurership, was farther augmented to 10,000l., as stated in the charge, before the May following. This augmentation was made by two drafts of 2000l. each, drawn payable to Mr. Swaffield, but which it was in evidence that Mr. Swaffield had never received, and which Lord Melville acknowledged as due from him.

7. It was proved, as above, in evidence, that on the 11th day of June, 1805, Lord Melville being demanded how he had employed that sum, replied, that he would give no account.

Such were the points of evidence upon the first charge, viz. proving the existence of the deficit, tracing it in part home to Lord Melville, and proving his refusal to account for it.

2. The second charge was,

That an Act having passed in 1785, *enacting, that the treasurer should order all monies required for his office to be paid by the Exchequer into the Bank, and thence to be drawn according to the occasions of the office by drafts, specifying the precise service and exact amount—That Lord Melville did, notwithstanding, permit Alexander Trotter, his paymaster, to draw money from the Bank and transfer it to Messrs. Coutts and Co. the private bankers of the said A. Trotter, in his own name and under his own disposal.*

1. Under this charge it was proved as above, in evidence, that Trotter became paymaster in January, 1786.

2. It was proved, as above, in evidence, that Trotter being asked if he had made any advantage of the public money, replied, "That he had never intended to deny it."

3. It was proved, as above, in evidence, that Lord Melville being asked if he knew that Trotter had so employed the money, he answered, "That he had no hesitation to say, that he did know it."

4. It was proved, in evidence, as above, that the several sums thus drawn from the Bank, and transferred to Messrs. Coutts, were 20,000l. 59,000l. 75,000l. 100,000l. 271,000l. and 490,000l. monthly. These sums were all under the control of Trotter, at Messrs. Coutts.

3. The third charge repeats the second, stating the risque of the public from such practices. The evidence here bore equally upon all the articles, so that it is unnecessary to follow it more distinctly. The loyalty loan—the knowledge of Lord Melville of the impossibility of Mr. Trotter making such advances from his private fortune—the burning of all books, vouchers, &c. and the joint purchase of India stock, were all points of given evidence.

Such was the application of the evidence to the principal charges, *viz.* the *three first.* —Whether their lordships were of opinion that they bore rather upon Trotter than upon Lord Melville,—whether his lordship's participation was not made sufficiently evident, —however it might be, Lord Melville was acquitted.

ABSTRACT OF THE CHARGES, AND THE NUMBERS WHO VOTED.

On the 1st article, charging him with applying 10,000l. of the public money to his own use, previous to January, 1786:

Not Guilty, 121.—Guilty, 15.

On the 2d article, charging him with permitting Alexander Trotter to apply sums of the public money to his own use, and conniving at such fraudulent application:

Not Guilty, 83.—Guilty, 53.

On the 3d article, charging him with permitting Alexander Trotter to draw public money from the Bank, and place it in the hands of his bankers, Messrs. Coutts and Co. in his own name, and at his own disposal:

Not Guilty, 84.—Guilty, 52.

On the 4th article, charging him with similar connivance, in respect of public money placed by said Trotter, in the hands of Mark Sprott, for the purpose of private emolument:

Not Guilty unanimously.

On the 5th article, charging him the same as in the 1st article, only laying the act subsequent to January, 1786:

Not Guilty, 133.—Guilty, 3.

On the 6th article, charging him with receiving public money from Alexander Trotter, and applying it to his own use, and in participating with said Trotter in the profit made of the public money:

Not Guilty, 89.—Guilty, 47.

On the 7th article, charging him with receiving 22,000l. of the public money, without interest, from Alexander Trotter:

Not Guilty, 85.—Guilty, 51.

On the 8th article, charging him with receiving from Alexander Trotter, 22,000l. of the public money, for which the defendant was to pay interest:

Not Guilty, 122.—Guilty, 14.

On the 9th article, charging that while the said Alexander Trotter transacted the business of the defendant as his agent, he, the said Trotter, was from time to time in advance, to the said Viscount Melville, in that respect, to the amount of from 10,000l. to 20,000l., which sums were partly taken from the public money, and partly from a mixed fund of public and private money.

Not Guilty, 123.—Guilty, 13.

On the 10th and last article, charging him with taking, at divers times, between 1782 and 1784, and between 1784 and 1786, 27,000l. of the public money, and converting the same to his private use:

Not Guilty, 124.—Guilty, 12.

An interval of near an hour now took place, occupied in casting up the votes; after which the Lord Chancellor rose, and addressing himself to Lord Melville, who stood uncovered at the bar, spoke to him nearly as follows:

"You, Henry Lord Viscount Melville, "have been ACQUITTED by your Peers "of all the articles of impeachment exhi- "bited against you by the Honourable the "Commons of the United Kingdom, and "of all matters and things therewith con- "nected, and your lordship is dismissed "accordingly."

As soon as the judgment was pronounced, Lord Melville's friends flocked around him, eager to congratulate him on the issue of his cause. His counsel too were congratulated on their success, and the faces of his lordship's friends all wore a holiday aspect.

The Peers returned to the House of Lords, and at half past three the Court was finally adjourned.

The Prince was not present, but the rest of the Royal Dukes were in their places, three of whom voted "Guilty" upon several of the charges.

The guards were stationed outside the hall, to keep the multitude in order, who were not very respectful in their remarks concerning the High Court of Parliament.

The following List has been given of the Names of the Peers voting, and of the Manner in which they voted.

GUILTY ON THE FOLLOWING CHARGES.

Lord Chancellor, 2, 3, 6, 7	Donoughmore, 2, 3, 6, 7
Dukes—Clarence, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10	Rosslyn, 2, 3, 6, 7
Kent, 2, 3, 6, 7	Charleville, 7
Sussex, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10	Viscount—Hereford, 2, 3, 6, 7
Gloucester, 1, 3, 6, 7, 9	Bishop—St. Asaph, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9
Lord President, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10	Barons—Clifford, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
Lord Privy Seal, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8	St. John, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10

Dukes—Norfolk, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Somerset, 2, 3
St. Albans, 2, 3, 6, 7
Marquisses—Winchester, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
Headford, 2, 3, 6, 7
Earls—Derby, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
Suffolk, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
Winchelsea, 2, 3
Carlisle, 2, 3, 7
Oxford, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
Cowper, 2, 6, 7, 8
Stanhope, 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Buckinghamshire, 2
Egremont, 2
Radnor, 2, 3, 6
Mansfield, 2, 3, 6, 7
Grosvenor, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
Fortescue, 2
Carnarvon, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Earls—Breadalbane, 2, 3, 6, 7
Stair, 2, 3, 6
Enniskillen, 7
Clifton, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7
King, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9
Ponsonby, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9
Grantham, 1
Dynevor, 7
Holland, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10
Grantley, 2, 3, 6, 7
Rawdon, 2, 3, 6, 7
Bulkeley, 6, 7
Somers, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Fife, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8
Grimston, 2, 3, 6, 7
Gage, 2, 3, 7
Auckland, 2, 3, 6, 7
Ossory, 2
Dundas, 2, 3, 6, 7
Yarborough, 2, 3, 6, 7
Dawnay, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10
Dunstanville, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9
Minto, 2, 3, 6, 7
Lilford, 2, 3
Carysfort, 2, 3, 6, 7
Ellenborough, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8
Lauderdale, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10
Crewe, 2, 3, 5, 7

NOT GUILTY UPON ALL THE CHARGES.

Dukes—York
Cumberland
Cambridge
Beaufort
Rutland
Marquisses—Salisbury
Abercorn
Cornwallis
Hertford
Earls—Aylesford (Lord Steward)
Dartmouth (Lord Chamberlain)
Bridgewater
Westmorland
Essex
Doncaster (Buccleugh)
Bristol
Macclesfield
Graham (Montrose)
Hardwicke
Chatham
Bathurst
Uxbridge
Camden
Strange (Athol)
Mount Edgecumbe
Digby
Cawdor
Chichester
Viscounts—Wentworth
Hampden
Lowther
Bishops—Bath and Wells
Chichester
Barons—Spencer (Blandford)
Hay
Bolton
Irby
Cathcart
Rodney
Elliot
Borringdon
Berwick
Montague
Hawkesbury
Kenyon
Brabrook
Amherst
Douglas
Douglas (Morton)
Mulgrave
Bradford
Stuart (Moray)
Powis
Strathmore
Rothes
Aboyne
Balcarras (went away after the 1st charge)
Glasgow
Westmeath
Longford
Lucan
Limerick
Caledon
Harewood
Rolle
Carrington
Bayning
Bolton
Northwick
Eldon
St. Helens
Thomond
Arden
Sheffield
Ashburnham

PUBLIC PAPERS.

NEW DUTCH CONSTITUTION.

From the French official Paper, the Moniteur, of the 5th June, 1806.

Paris, June, 5. This day at half-past 12, their Excellencies the Extraordinary Ambassadors of their High Mightinesses of the States of Holland, were admitted to an audience of His Majesty the Emperor and King. A Master and an assistant of the Ceremonies went to fetch them from their Hotel at 11 o'clock, in three Imperial carriages, with six horses. The Extraordinary Ambassadors were conducted to an audience of His Majesty by the Grand Master, the Master and Assistant of the Ceremonies, and received at the door of the first Hall by His Excellency, the Marshal, Col-Gen. of the Guard. On arriving at the hall of the Throne, they made three profound reverences, and vice-admiral Verhuel, President of the Deputation, pronounced the following discouse:

"SIRE—The representatives of a people known for its courageous patience in difficult times, celebrated, we venture to say, by the solidity of its judgment, and by its fidelity in fulfilling engagements which it has contracted, having given us the honourable mission to present ourselves before your Majesty's throne. This people have long suffered from the agitations of Europe, and from its own. A witness of the catastrophes which have overthrown some states, a victim to the disorders which have shaken all, it is sensible that the interests and relations which now unite or divide the great powers, imposed on it the duty of placing itself under the first of political safe-guards in Europe, and that its very imbecility required that it should place its institutions in harmony with those of the state, whose protection alone can preserve it from the danger of slavery or of destruction.—These representatives have maturely and solemnly deliberated on the circumstances of the present times, and on the alarming probabilities of the future; they beheld even in the term of the calamities with which Europe has long been afflicted, both the causes of their own

misfortunes, and the remedy to which they ought to recur.—We are charged, Sire, to express to your Majesty the wishes of the representatives of our people: we intreat you to grant us, as the Supreme Chief of our Republic, as King of Holland, the Prince Louis Napoleon, brother of your Majesty, to whom we deliver, with entire and respectful confidence, the administration of our laws, the defence of our political rights, and all the interests of our beloved country.—Under the sacred auspices of Providence under the glorious protection of your Imperial and Royal Majesty; finally, under the authority of the paternal government, which we demand of you, we venture to hope, Sire, that Holland, assured for ever of the affection of the greatest of monarchs, and closely united, by her very destiny, to that of your immense and immortal empire, will behold the restoration of its ancient glory, of its repose, of which it has long been deprived, and of its prosperity; which losses, that will no longer be considered as irreparable, will have impaired only for a time."

His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon answered in these terms:

"Messieurs, representatives of the Batavian people, I have always considered it the first interest of my crown, to protect your country. Whenever I have been obliged to interfere in your internal affairs, I have been struck with the inconveniencies attached to the uncertain form of your government. If you were governed by a popular Assembly, it would be influenced by intrigues, and agitated by the neighbouring powers; if by an elective Magistracy, every renewal of this Magistracy, would be a critical Moment for Europe, and the signal of new maritime wars. All these inconveniences could not be obviated but by an hereditary government. I called it into your country by my counsels, at the time of the establishment of your last constitution; and the offer you make of the crown of Holland to Prince Louis, is conformable to the true interests of your country, to mine, and capable of insuring the general tranquillity of Europe. France has been generous enough to renounce the claims upon you which the events of war had conferred; but I could not entrust the strong places which cover my northern frontier, to an unfaithful, or even a suspected hand.—Messieurs, Representatives of the Batavian people, I coincide in the desire of their High Mightinesses. I proclaim Prince Louis, King of Holland. Reign, Prince, over these people; their fathers acquired independence, only by the constant assistance of France. Holland was afterwards the ally of England, and was conquered; she was again indebted for her existence to France. Let her, then, be indebted to you for Kings who shall protect her liberties, her laws, and her religion; but never cease to be a Frenchman. The dignity of Constable of the empire shall be possessed by you and your descendants: it will remind you of the duties you have to fulfil towards me, and the importance which I attach to the keeping of the strong places that secure the north of my dominions, and with which I entrust you. Keep up, Prince, among your troops, that spirit with which I have seen them animated in the field of battle. Encourage, in your new subjects, sentiments of union and love towards France. Be the terror of the wicked, and the father of the good: such is the character of great kings."

His Imperial Highness, Prince Louis, then advanced to the foot of the throne, and said:

"Sire, I had placed all my ambition in sacrificing my life in the service of your Majesty. All my happiness consisted in a near admiration of those qualities which render you so dear to those, who, like me, have frequently witnessed the power and the effects of your genius. You will therefore, permit me to feel some regret at parting from you; but my life and my will are yours, I will go and reign in Holland, since those people desire it, and I am ordered by your Majesty.—Sire, when your Majesty left France to go to conquer Europe, which had conspired against you, you were pleased to appoint me to protect Holland from the Invasion with which it was threatened: on this occasion I learned to appretiate the character of those people, and the qualities by which they are distinguished.—Yes Sire I shall be proud of reigning over them; but however glorious may be the career which is opened to me, the assurance of the constant protection of your Majesty, the love and patriotism of my new subjects, are capable of exciting the hope of healing the wounds occasioned by so many wars, and by events accumulated in so few years.—Sire, when your Majesty shall affix the last seal to your glory, by giving peace to the world, the places which you shall confide to my care, to that of my children, to the Dutch soldiers who fought at Austerlitz, in your sight—those places, I say will be well guarded. United by interest, my people will likewise be united by the sentiments of love and gratitude of their King, to your Majesty, and to France,"

After this speech, the Extraordinary Ambassadors retired, making three profound reverences. The Emperor then proceeded to his apartments to give au-

dience to the persons there assembled, He was preceded by his august brother, who was announced by the door-keeper as the King of Holland.—The Extraordinary Ambassadors of Holland were conducted to an audience of her Majesty the Empress, in which the forms already described were observed.—They then returned to their hotel with the same retinue as attended them to their palace.

This day, at 12 o'clock, the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire repaired to the Senate, which had been convoked, and which assembled under his Presidentship.—His Serene Highness, after he had opened the sitting, made the following speech and communications :

" Gentlemen, I come by the command of his Majesty the Emperor and King, to acquaint you with various regulations, which will be, to the Senate, both a new subject for applauding the great and generous views with which our sovereign is animated, and an authentic testimony of the respectful confidence which all our neighbours have placed in the Imperial House.—After many successive changes in its government, the Dutch nation, so deliberate in its measures, so steady in its resolutions, seeks to fix its destinies under the ægis of a throne, and chuses for its first monarch, His Imperial Highness Prince Louis Napoleon. — His Maj. the Emperor and King, consents that his august brother shall comply with the wishes of the Dutch nation; and when he sacrifices his dearest affections to the public weal, his Maj. thinks it his duty to indemnify himself and the French people, by securing to his Highness the dignity of Constable, and confiding to his keeping the northern frontier of the empire.—His Maj. likewise consents that his Eminence Cardinal Fesch shall comply, by his acceptance, with the choice made by his Electoral Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Germanic Empire, in appointing him his coadjutor and successor.—Lastly, his Maj. has conferred the principality of Benevento on M. de Talleyrand, Minister of Exterior Relations, and that of Ponte Corvo on the Marechal Bernadotte. — Holland, whose relations with France have never been impaired, but in consequence of false conceptions, is now re-attached to her by this great alliance, which becomes a pledge so much the more sure of the establishment of peace, as it deprives ambitious and turbulent neighbours of the hope of deriving advantage from the troubles inseparable from an uncertain government, and an elective magistracy.—The assiduity of Monseigneur Prince Louis; his military talents; incessant labours, which, at an early period multiplied for him the means of instruction; a perfect morality, which makes him discover duties to be fulfilled, where others would perceive only prerogatives to be exercised; such, gentlemen, are the omens of the success of the new monarch, in the career to which Providence calls him, as well as the guarantees that he will render his authority useful and dear to the people who are desirous to live under his laws.—Cardinal Fesch, gentlemen, is so intimately connected with you, that you cannot behold with indifference the reward conferred on his virtues. The elevation of that prelate to the electoral dignity, will multiply for him the means of doing good, as well as the opportunities of giving his Maj. new proofs of his fidelity and of his attachment. —When the Emperor determined to establish great hereditary fiefs, he told you, gentlemen, that he found in this institution the means of conciliating the interests of the dignity of his throne, and the sentiment of his gratitude for services renderd him in the civil and in the military career. Such are the motives of the distinction conferred on Messrs. Talleyrand and Bernadotte. The first has long been the depository of the confidence of his Maj. in the direction of foreign affairs; the second has more than once, and on recent occasions, powerfully maintained the glory of our arms.—I deliver to the Senate, with the message of his Maj. various documents relative to the events which occasioned them. These papers will be deposited in your archives, and transcribed on your registers, destined to become in future the records of the nation, from the multiplied communications which the Emperor and King is pleased to make to you, concerning all that relates to the great interests of the state."

MESSAGE OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR AND KING.

" Senators—We charge our cousin, the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, to inform you, that in compliance with the wishes of their High Mightinesses, we have proclaimed our dearly beloved brother, Prince Louis Napoleon, King of Holland, that the said crown may be hereditary, in full sovereignty, in order of primogeniture, in the legitimate male descendants of his body; our intention being, at the same time, that the King of Holland, and his descendants, retain the dignity of Constable of the Empire. Our determination, on this subject, has appeared to us to coincide with the interests of our subjects. In a military point of view, as Holland possesses all the strong places which defend our northern frontier, it was of im-

portance to the security of our dominions, that the keeping of them should be entrusted to persons, of whose attachment we could not entertain any doubt. In a commercial point of view, Holland being situated at the mouth of the great rivers that water a considerable portion of our territory, it was necessary that we should have a guarantee for the faithful execution of the treaty of commerce we shall conclude with her, in order to reconcile the interests of our manufactures and of our commerce, with those of the commerce of that people. Finally, Holland is the first political interest of France. An elective magistracy would have been attended with the inconvenience of frequently subjecting that country to the intrigues of our enemies, and each election would have been the signal for a new war.—Prince Louis, being animated by no personal ambition, has given us a proof of the love he bears us, and of his esteem for the people of Holland, by accepting a throne which imposes on him such great obligations.——The Arch-Chancellor of the Empire of Germany, Elector of Ratisbon, and Primate of Germany, having made known to us that it was his intention to take a coadjutor, and that, in conjunction with his ministers, and the principal members of his chapter, he had thought it for the good of religion, and of the Germanic empire, to nominate to that post our uncle and cousin, Cardinal Fesch, our Grand Almoner and Archbishop of Lyons, we have accepted that nomination in the name of the said Cardinal. If this determination of the Elector Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, is useful to Germany, it is not less conformable to the politics of France.——Thus the service of the country calls away from us our brothers and our children; but our dearest affections centre in the happiness and prosperity of our people ——In our Palace of St. Cloud, June 5, 1806. (Signed) NAPOLEON. By the Emperor.—The Minister Secretary of State. (Signed) H. B. MARET

TREATY.

His Imperial and Royal Majesty Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and the Assembly of their High Mightinesses, representing the Batavian republic, under the presidency of his Excellency the Grand Pensionary, accompanied by the council of state, and by the ministers and secretary of state, considering—1. That in consequence of the general state of mind, and the present organization of Europe, a government without consistency, and without certain duration, cannot fulfil the object of its institution:—2. That the periodical changes of the chief of the state will always be in Holland a source of dissension, and externally a constant subject of agitation and discord between the powers friendly or inimical to Holland:—3. That an hereditary government alone can ensure the tranquil possession of all that is dear to the Dutch people, the free exercise of their religion, the preservation of their laws, their political and civil independence:—4. That the most important of its interest is to secure for itself a powerful protection, under the shelter of which it may freely exercise its industry, and maintain itself in the possession of its territory, its commerce and its colonies:—5. That France is essentially interested in the welfare of the Dutch people, in the prosperity of the state, and the stability of its institutions, as well in consideration of the Northern Frontiers of the Empire, laid open and distitute of strong places, as with regard to the principles and interests of general politics: As ministers Plenipotentiary have been named, by his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy; M. C. M. Talleyrand, Grand Chamberlain, Minister of Exterior Relations, Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Orders of the Red and Black Eagle of Prussia, and of the Order of St. Hubert, &c. &c.—By his Excellency the Grand Pensionary:—Charles Henry Ver-

DIRECTIONS TO THE BOOK-BINDER.

It is to be observed, that this sheet which is the last of Volume IX, should *not be cut open* by the Reader, but should be left to the Book-binder, who will perceive, that the first half sheet, of which this page makes a part, comes at the *end*, and that the other half sheet containing the Title Page, Advertisement, and Table of Contents, is to be cut off, and placed at the *beginning* of the Volume.

huet, Vice Admiral, and Minister of the Marine of the Batavian Republic, decorated with the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honour; Isaac John Alexander Gogel, Minister of the Finances; John Van Styrum, Member of the Assembly of their High Mightiness; William Six, Member of the Council of State; and Gerard de Brantzen, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Batavian Republic to his Imperial and Royal Maj., decorated with the Grand Eagle of the Legion of Honours; who, after exchanging their full powers, agreed to the following articles:—Art. I. His Maj. the Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, both for himself and his heirs and successors for ever, guarantees to Holland the maintenance of her constitutional rights, her independence, the integrity of her possessions in the two worlds, her political, civil, and religious liberty, as sanctioned by the laws at present established, and the [illegible] of every privilege in the way of [illegible].—II. On the formal demand made by their High Mightinesses, representing the Batavian Republic, that Prince Louis Napoleon be nominated and crowned hereditary and constitutional King of Holland, his Maj. complies with this wish, and authorises Prince Louis Napoleon to accept the crown of Holland, to be possessed by him and his legitimate and male descendants, in order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females and their descendants.—In consequence of this authorisation, the Prince Louis Napoleon will possess that crown by the title of King, and with all the power and all the authority that shall be determined by the constitutional laws, which the Emperor Napoleon has guaranteed in the preceding article. It is, nevertheless, decreed, that the Crowns of France and Holland shall never be united on the same head.—III. The domains of the Crown shall comprize: 1. A palace at the Hague, which shall be allotted for the residence of the Royal Family; 2. The house in the wood; 3. The domain of Soestdick; 4. A revenue in funded property of 500,000 florins. The law of the State assigns to the King a farther annual sum of 1,500,000 florins sterling money of Holland, payable one twelfth monthly.—IV. In case of minority, the regency belongs by right to the Queen, and if there be none the Emperor of the French, in his quality of perpetual Chief of the Imperial Family, shall nominate the regent of the kingdom, who shall be chosen from among the Princes of the Royal Family, or, in failure of them, from among natives of the country. The minority of Kings shall terminate on the completion of their 18th year.—V. The Queen's dowry shall be determined by her marriage contract. For this time it is agreed, that this dowry be fixed at the annual sum of 250,000 florins, which shall be taken from the domains of the Crown. After the deduction of this sum, half the remainder of the revenues of the Crown shall be expended in the maintenance of the household of the minor King; the other half shall defray the expenses of the regency.—VI. The King of Holland shall be in perpetuity a Grand Dignitary of the Empire, by the title of Constable. The functions of this high dignity may, nevertheless, be fulfilled, at the pleasure of the Emperor of the French, by a Prince Vice-Constable, when he shall think proper to create that dignity.—VII. The members of the reigning House in Holland shall remain personally subject to the dispositions of the constitutional statute of the 30th of March last, forming the law of the Imperial Family of France.—VIII. The offices and employments of the state, other than those connected with the personal service of the King's household, shall be conferred only on natives.—IX. The arms of the King shall be the ancient arms of Holland, quartered with the Imperial Eagle of France, and surmounted with the Royal Crown.—X. A treaty of commerce shall be immediately concluded between the contracting powers, by virtue of which the subjects of Holland shall at all times be treated, in the ports and in the territory of the French Empire, as the most high favoured nation. His Majesty, the Emperor, moreover engages to employ his interference with the Barbary Powers, that the Dutch flag may be respected by them, as well as that of his Majesty the Emperor of the French.—The ratification of the present treaty shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of ten days.—Paris, May 24, 1806. Signed Ch. M. Talleyrand, Ch. Henry Verhuel, J. J. A. Gogel, John Van Styrum, W. Six, Brantsen. (A correct copy.) The Minister of Exterior Relations, Signed Ch. M. Talleyrand.

Proclamation given at Paris, June 5, 1806 being the 1st Year of Our Reign.

Louis Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitutional laws of the state, King of Holland, to all those who shall see and read this, greeting! Make known to all and every one, that we, with the approbation of his Majesty the Emperor and King Napoleon, our illustrious brother, have accepted and do accept the Royal Dignity of Holland, in conformity to the wish of the country, with the constitutional laws, and the treaty presented us to-day, and the reciprocal ratifications, by the deputies of the Dutch nation. On our

accession to the throne, it shall be our most sacred care to be alive to the interests of our people. It shall be our constant wish to give them incessant and manifold instances of our love and of our solicitude; to that end maintaining the liberties of all our subjects, and their rights, and continually employing ourselves to their welfare. The independence of the kingdom is guaranteed by his Majesty the Emperor and King. The constitutional laws, with our firm will, serve no less for every one as a pledge to the creditors of the state, to personal security, and to liberty of conscience. Conformably to this declaration, &c. &c. (Signed) Louis. On behalf of the King, Verheul.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.

General dispositions.—Art. I. The constitutional laws actually in force, especially the constitution of 1805, as the civil, political, and religious laws, the exercise of which is conformable to the regulations of the treaty concluded May 24 of this year, shall be preserved inviolate, with the exception of those only which shall be abolished by the present constitutional laws. 2. The administration of the Dutch colonies is regulated by particular laws, and the expenses of the colonies shall be estimated as a part of the revenues of the state. 3. The public debt is guaranteed by the present laws. 4. The Dutch language shall continue to be employed exclusively in the laws, the publications, ordonnances, urdgments, and all public acts, without distinction. 5. There shall be no changes made in the name or the value of the current coin, unless it shall be authorised by a particular law. 6. The ancient colours of the state shall be preserved. 7. The council of state shall be composed of thirteen members. The ministers shall hold their rank, their sitting, and their votes of deliberation, in the said council.

Of religion.]—1. The King and the law grant equal protection to all religions which are professed in the state. By their authority every thing necessary for the organization, the protection, and the exercise of every kind of worship is to be confined to the interior of the churches belonging to the different communions. 2. The King shall enjoy the public exercise of his religion in his Palace, and in every other place where he shall reside.

Of the king.—1. The King shall have, exclusively and without restriction, the complete exercise of the government, and all the power necessary to secure the execution of the laws, and to cause them to be respected. He has the nomination to all the charges and offices, civil and military, which, according to anterior laws, were vested in the Grand Pensionary. He likewise enjoys the pre-eminence and the prerogatives hitherto attached to that dignity. The coin of the state shall bear his name. Justice shall be administered in his name. He has the right of granting pardon, abolition, or the mitigation of the pains pronounced by judiciary awards; nevertheless, he shall not be authorised to exercise this right, but after having heard the members of the national court in his privy council. 2. Upon the death of the King, the office of guardian to the Minor King shall be vested in the Queen Dowager; and, in case of her death, in that person who shall be nominated for the purpose by the Emperor of the French, &c. &c.

Of the law. 1. The law is established in Holland by the concurrence of the legislative body, formed of the assembly of their high mightinesses, and by the King. The legislative corps is composed of 38 members, elected for five years, and nominated as follows: for the Department of Holland, 17 members; Guelderland, 4; Brabant, 4; Friesland, 4; Overyssel, 3; Zealand, 2; Groningen, 2; Utrecht, 2; Drenthe, 1. But the number of their high mightinesses may be augmented by a law, in case of aggrandizement of territory. 2. To complete the number of members authorised by the foregoing article, their high mightinesses shall present to his Majesty a list of two candidates for each of the vacant places. The King shall make the election out of the candidates proposed. 3. The present Grand Pensionary shall take the title of President of their High Mightinesses, and exercise his function in this quality during life. The choice of his successor shall take place in the manner determined by the constitution of 1805. 4. The legislative body shall chuse a recorder out of its own body, by a plurality of votes. 5. The legislative corps shall assemble in ordinary twice in the year, viz. from the 15th of April to the 1st of June, and from the 15th of Nov. to the 15th of Jan. On the 15th of Nov. a fifth of the oldest members shall go out from the body. The first members shall go out on the 15th of Nov. 1807. Such members, notwithstanding, may be re-elected.

Of judiciary power.—1. The judiciary institutions shall be preserved in the mode they have been established by the constitution of 1805. 2. Relative to the judiciary power, the King shall exercise all the rights and all the authority vested in the Grand Pensionary by virtue of the constitution of 1805. 3. Every thing that relates to the exercise of military criminal justice, shall be separately regulated by an ulterior law.

Table of the Number of *Christenings* and *Burials* within the Bills of Mortality, from December, 1805 to May, 1806, inclusive.

Epochs.	Christened.		Buried.													
	Male.	Female	Under 2 Years.	2 to 5.	5 to 10.	10 to 20.	20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	60 to 70.	70 to 80.	80 to 90.	90 to 100, &c.	Total Buried Males.	Total Buried Female
December....	989	898	676	295	122	80	169	209	230	198	174	120	70	19	1189	1174
January.....	931	906	419	197	78	50	132	163	139	131	114	68	39	12	785	777
February	776	606	367	149	59	47	100	140	132	115	91	67	30	12	633	652
March	734	729	370	145	69	39	92	144	139	128	95	72	37	10	667	686
April.....	943	841	390	166	65	39	98	131	128	114	94	69	37	10	696	645
May	1028	952	493	188	84	52	131	169	167	139	106	63	34	6	832	895
	5401	4932	2715	1140	477	307	722	956	935	825	674	464	247	69	4832	4820

Total Christenings 10333 — Total Burials 9601

Table of the Prices of the *Quartern Loaf*, in London, from Dec. 1805 to May, 1806, inclusive.

Dec.		Jan.		Feb.		March		April		May	
Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.	Day.	Price.
	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.				s. d.		s. d.
	11¾	4	11¾	1	11¾	5	11¾	3	11½	7	1. 1¼
6	11	11	11¼	8	11¼	12	11¼	10	11½	14	1. 1½
13	11¼	18	11½	15	1. 0	19	11½	17	1. 0½	21	1. 1½
20	1 0¼	25	11¼	22	11¼	26	11½	24	1. 1¼	28	1. 1¼
27											

Table of the Prices of *Meat*, *Sugar*, *Salt*, and *Coals*, in London, from Dec. 1805 to May, 1806, inclusive.

	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	per Stone of 8lb. to sink the Offal.
Beef ..	4 8	5 6	5 6	5 8	5 8	6 0	
Mutton	5 0	5 8	5 8	6 0	5 8	6 0	
Pork..	5 4	5 8	6 0	6 8	5 8	6 0	
Sugar	49 5¾	47 11½	46 5½	47 5½	45 5½	45 4½	Cwt.
Salt ..	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	1 0 0	Bushel
Coals..	52 3	53 6	48 9	54 0	51 6	50 9	Chald.

Table of the Prices of the English *Three per Cent. Consols*, from December, 1805 to May, 1806, inclusive.

Day.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May
1	61⅛	60⅜	60⅞	59⅞	60⅝	60
2	60¾	60½	—	—	61	60⅛
3	61	59⅝	61⅛	59⅞	61⅛	59⅞
4	61	59¾	60¾	60¼	—	—
5	—	—	61½	59⅞	59⅞	60⅝
6	61⅛	59¾	60⅝	59¾	—	60⅞
7	61¼	60⅛	61	59¼	—	60¼
8	—	60⅛	61	59⅜	60¼	60¼
9	60⅞	—	—	—	60⅛	60¾
10	61⅛	59⅞	60⅞	59⅝	60⅛	60
11	61⅛	60⅛	61	59¼	60⅜	—
12	61½	—	61⅞	60⅜	60⅛	60¼
13	61⅛	60	61	60¼	—	60¼
14	61	60⅛	61	60½	60⅛	60¼
15	61	60¼	61	6 ¼	60¼	60⅛
16	—	60¼	—	—	60⅜	60⅜
17	61⅞	60¼	61½	60⅜	60⅜	—
18	62½	—	61¼	59⅞	60⅜	—
19	61⅞	—	—	59⅞	60¼	60⅛
20	62⅛	60¼	60⅞	60½	—	60⅛
21	62¼	60⅞	60⅜	60¼	59⅞	60¼
22	61⅛	60¼	—	60½	59⅞	59⅝
23	—	60⅞	60⅞	—	59¼	60⅞
24	62⅛	59¼	60¼	60⅛	60	60⅛
25	—	60	60⅛	60⅞	59⅞	—
26	—	—	—	60⅜	59¼	—
27	62	60½	60⅛	60¼	—	—
28	61⅞	60¼	59½	60⅜	59⅞	60¼
29	—	61	—	59¼	60¼	60¼
30	60⅝	60⅞	—	—	60⅞	60¼
31	60¼	60⅜	—	60¼	—	—

Table of the Prices of the French *Five per Cent. Consolidés*, from Dec. 1805 to May, 1806, inclusive.

Day.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May
1	—	—	—	62.50	—	—
2	—	—	62. 0	—	62. 0	—
3	59. 0	—	—	—	—	—
4	—	—	62.10	—	—	—
5	—	—	—	62.75	—	—
6	—	—	—	—	62.10	62.60
7	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	59.25	60.75	62.10	63. 0	—	—
9	—	—	—	63.45	—	—
10	—	—	—	—	62.20	—
11	—	—	—	—	—	61.90
12	—	—	—	—	—	—
13	60	—	—	—	—	—
14	—	61. 0	—	—	—	61.86
15	—	—	62.15	—	—	—
16	—	—	—	62. 0	—	—
17	59.75	—	—	—	—	—
18	—	61	—	—	—	61.70
19	—	—	62	—	—	—
20	—	61.50	—	—	—	—
21	—	—	—	—	62.50	60.10
22	—	—	—	—	—	—
23	—	—	—	61.50	—	—
24	60.10	61.10	—	—	—	—
25	—	—	62.10	—	—	—
26	—	62.10	—	—	62.65	—
27	—	—	—	—	—	61.80
28	—	—	62 0.	—	—	—
29	60.25	61.75	—	—	—	—
30	—	—	—	—	—	—
31	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table of the Number of *Bankruptcies* in England, from Dec. 1805 to May 1806, inclusive

Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May.
73	47	85	96	68	83

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